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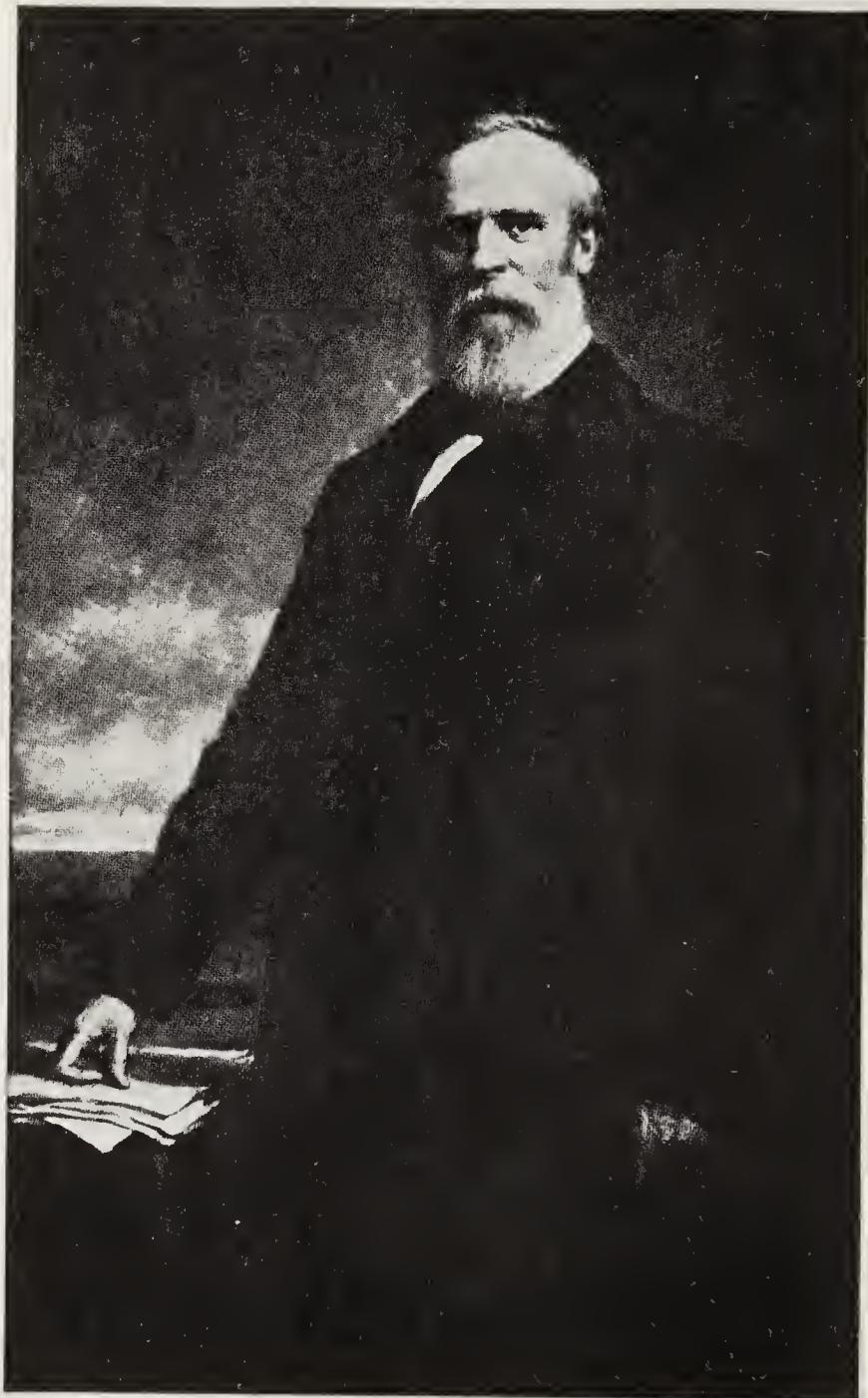
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**DIARY AND LETTERS OF
RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES**



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

From Portrait painted for the White House by Daniel Huntington

DIARY AND LETTERS OF
RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD
HAYES

NINETEENTH PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES

EDITED BY
CHARLES RICHARD WILLIAMS

VOLUME IV
1881 – 1893

THE OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL
AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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CHAPTER XXXIX

THE RETURN TO SPIEGEL GROVE — RESUMPTION OF PRIVATE LIFE — THE STAR ROUTE FRAUDS — TASKS OF ADMINISTRATION — THE ASSASSINATION OF GARFIELD — POLITICS AND TEMPERANCE — DEATH OF GARFIELD — CREATION OF SLATER EDUCATIONAL FUND — ATTITUDE TOWARD NEWSPAPER DETRACTION — PRESIDENT ARTHUR'S FIRST MESSAGE — MARCH-DECEMBER, 1881

FREMONT, OHIO, March 9, 1881.

MY DEAR COLONEL HARRIS:— I wish to thank you very heartily, and through you also the members of the First Cleveland Troop, for the courtesy extended to me in being my escort from Washington. The interruption of your purpose by the sad accident at Severn does not lessen the honor done me nor my obligation to you. I rejoice that none of the troop were injured seriously, and that all of its members reached home in safety.

With best wishes for you and the troop, and with renewed expressions of my thankfulness, I am,

Sincerely,

COLONEL HARRIS,
Cleveland.

R. B. HAYES.

March 10, 1881.—Rose at sunrise. Yesterday and today the sun rose beautifully. Thermometer 30 degrees. Walked rapidly around the north and west sides of the place; returned by the Harrison Road, and stepped off the route of a new drive farther from the house than the present one, so as not to have people

sitting on the verandah disturbed by persons driving about the place. From the new route the house looks low, rather "squatty." But this gives it an old-fashioned look which is not undesirable.

Last evening we got forty-two letters. The most of them were congratulatory on the success of the Administration or upon our escape in the railroad accident near Baltimore. There were letters from General Sherman, Mr. Schurz, our darling Fanny, John L. Thomas, Mr. Merritt, Colonel Burt, George William Curtis.

I suppose the list will soon fall off to reasonable proportions.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 10, 1881.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—A thousand thanks for your gratifying letter. We are, and we shall be I hope always, more than political friends—personal friends. Your interests, your career, your family will be in my thoughts and heart. Let it be so and let us enjoy it.

The two happiest people in the country are here in Spiegel Grove, where we hope to see you and yours often. Love to the young folks.

Ever,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL CARL SCHURZ.

March 11, 1881.—Rose at daylight. Weather colder but clear. Thermometer 22 degrees. Sunrise very beautiful—a little cloudy. Walked to depot. Weighed at butcher's on Croghan street one hundred and ninety-two [pounds]. Told the young man I must walk off five pounds. A Michigan company is operating the lime-kiln. They make three hundred barrels per day. Home by West's sawmill. A wilderness of logs have been hauled in this hard winter. Only one poor street tree pushed over by the logs. The elms on Buckland Avenue generally growing well. Got back at 7 A. M. Wednesday, forty-three letters. Thursday, only one mail, twenty-four. All congratulatory except two or three.

The *Nation* habitually talks as if I had but one thing to do, but one reform to establish, and as if men to aid in that were as plenty as blackberries. Suppose Mr. Evarts and Mr. Sherman cared nothing for a formal reform of the civil service, were they not the only men for their places?

March 13, 1881. Sunday.— Yesterday we had a March day, snow and sleet. Thermometer 33 degrees. Today cloudy with about two inches snow on the ground. Letters about thirty yesterday. Slowly diminishing. Thermometer this morning 37 degrees.

Our first Sunday evening finds a lively musical circle, singing hymns in the old home way. "The Old, Old Story" rings gloriously in our whispering gallery of a house. Henry Dorr, Mary Miller, and Annie Stilwell are with Lucy and her cousin, Lucy Cook. I am writing in Uncle's old room upstairs, but the open house below and the generous staircase permit the music to flow up fresh and full.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 14, 1881.

GENTLEMEN:— It would give me great pleasure to attend the dinner to be given to Mr. Schurz in Boston, March 22, to which I am invited by your kind note of the 8th instant. Mr. Schurz is altogether worthy of the high appreciation in which he is held by the citizens of Massachusetts whom you represent. I would gladly unite with you in doing him honor if it were practicable to do so. I am, however, compelled to decline your invitation by circumstances which I need not name, and beg you to receive my compliments and best respects.

Sincerely,

FRANCIS PARKMAN,

EDWARD ATKINSON,

— CHANDLER,

Boston.

R. B. HAYES.

March 16, 1881.— I walked [this morning] to the cemetery. Plank walk in bad condition. It must be repaired or rebuilt.

Most of the street trees look well. The cemetery is well cared for. Nothing expensive about it, but it is neat and fit. I met Uncle's old servant, Ed Walters—Irish. Drink has ruined him. He was already full. Was very friendly and affectionate. He said: "If I ever insult you or any of your family, let me be arrested. I am glad you are back among us." There seems to be no salvation for him.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 17, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your invitation to attend the class-day exercises of the senior class of Wesleyan University and the semicentennial anniversary commemoration of the oldest American Methodist college. It would be a particular gratification to witness again the literary exercises of the Wesleyan University of Connecticut. More than forty years ago I was a pupil of a preparatory school of which Isaac Webb was principal across the street from the university, and was present at several of its literary exhibitions. The opportunity to revisit the scenes of schoolboy days, and at the same [time] to attend the commencement of your important college presents attractions to which I would gladly yield. But circumstances to which I need not refer, put it out of the question for me to accept your kind invitation.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

[*Unidentified.*]

March 18, 1881.—[Besides various activities about the place, I] wrote twenty-three letters, and read an hour in "Life of Hamilton," second volume, where is considered the fact of Hamilton writing letters for Washington.

March 20. Sunday.— . . . Webb is twenty-five years old today. Twenty-five letters yesterday. Still busy with my correspondence.

March 21.—Today make up a balance-sheet of my condition, showing:—1. All I owe—every sort of obligation for money

in full. 2. All amounts due me. 3. All personal property available for debts — salable; this to *include* stocks, etc., etc., and to *exclude* books, furniture, carriages, stock,—in short, all I expect to keep. 4. All real estate I am ready to sell at fair prices, excluding my place and property I will not sell.

March 23.—I go this morning with General Buckland, Mr. A. H. Miller, Dr. Bushnell, A. E. Rice, cashier, and others to the funeral of Augustus W. Luckey at Elmore, Ottawa County. Mr. Luckey died suddenly, *instantly*, in the midst of apparent health, in church about 11 o'clock, Sunday. His death was by apoplexy — the bursting of a blood vessel in the brain which killed him instantly. On the way to church he met a physician and in a short conversation said, "There would be very little for doctors to do if everybody was as healthy as I am." Mr. Luckey was left an orphan at — years of age. On a tract of land in the Swamp, in debt, he by industry, perseverance, and honesty, kept the family, a mother and younger children, together, cleared the farm, paid the debts, and became a wealthy, useful, and popular man. The best of friends and neighbors loved him and admired him. Uncle first knew him soon after the death of young Luckey's father. The father was in debt to Uncle. "Gus" said, "I will pay it all." Uncle said, "You are not bound to pay your father's debts." "Gus" replied, "But I mean to pay the last cent that father owed." He did pay his father's debts. He was always trusted and honored by good men. I own land in partnership with him. Mr. Miller and Dr. Wilson are also partners with him. He judiciously and kindly helped the poor and distressed. He was cheerful, confident, and happy. A great loss to this whole region.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, March 29, 1881.

MY DEAR S.—I step out of the dust and confusion of getting into orderly living after our six years' absence, to ask, "Are you happy, and do you know anything?"

With us time passes swiftly and pleasantly. The escape from bondage into freedom is grateful indeed to my feelings. The equanimity of temper which has enabled me to bear without

discomposure the vexations and anxieties that every day brought with it during my term of office, no doubt relieved me from a great part of the strain upon the faculties which has broken down so many of my predecessors. But the burden, even with my constitutional cheerfulness, has not been a light one. I am glad to be a *freeman*.

Now a word to you. My obligations to you I do not attempt to measure or to describe. You were at the cradle and you have followed the hearse "of this ambitious life." I know that to you it has not brought the reward or the satisfaction which you deserved to have. No man ever had a more sincere, a more judicious, and a more unselfish friend than, in this matter, I have found in you. You have been generous, considerate, and forgiving. With all my heart I thank you, and beg you to believe me your friend ever.

Sincerely,
R. B. HAYES.

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
Chicago, Illinois.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 4, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your courteous letter of the 28th of March informing me of his Imperial Japanese Majesty's kindness in presenting to me, as a token of his personal regard, certain interesting and beautiful articles of Japanese workmanship. I beg you to make my friendly acknowledgments to his Imperial Majesty and to assure him that I shall treasure his gifts as a precious souvenir of the agreeable personal relations which you and your esteemed wife have formed between yourselves and Mrs. Hayes and myself. I assure you, my dear Mr. Minister, that we fully reciprocate your kind sentiments and shall always cherish most agreeable recollections of the friendship formed with you and Mrs. Yoshida during our late residence at Washington.

With the highest personal esteem, I am,

Sincerely,

MR. YOSHIDA,
Washington.

R. B. HAYES.

Cincinnati, April 5, 1881. — Reached John W. Herron's about 7 P. M. A warm welcome from these dear old friends — friends from 1850 or before.

April 6, 1881. — Visited Aunty Warren and others. P. M., unveiled statue of [General James B.] McPherson. Evening at the Music Hall; a word of thanks to the fine audience. Governor Cox made a good speech; good singing. A grand affair.

April 7, 1881. — Visited Jones, Mrs. Davis, and in the evening at the banquet at the Burnet House. The chaplain, ——, Bishop of Illinois, made a captivating speech; Dawes, a sharp, bright speech, bristling with good points, against *McClellanism*. I and my speech were warmly received.

April 12, 1881. — Reached home last night after an absence of a week. I visited Cleveland, Cincinnati, Columbus, Chillicothe, and Delaware. The reunion of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee was the occasion of my trip. They met at Cincinnati [the] 6th and 7th of April, the anniversary of Shiloh. More than the usual interest and enthusiasm was exhibited. A statue of McPherson to be placed at Clyde was unveiled. It is spirited and good. I prefer it to the equestrian statue in Washington.

[FREMONT, April —, 1881.]

MY YOUNG FRIEND: — Leave politics to your seniors. Try to fit yourself to be a useful man and a good citizen. Don't be lazy. Be truthful and industrious. Learn to support yourself. Study the history of your country, and always remember that to make others happy will make you happy.

Sincerely,

FRANK P. RICHTER,
Hamilton, Ohio.

R. B. HAYES.

April 18. — Rev. Dr. Wm. H. H. Adams, President of Central Wesleyan College, preached two excellent sermons, one in the morning, the other in the evening. He called in the afternoon to invite me to attend the commencement, June 16, with

Mrs. Hayes. I gave him no encouragement, but deferred final decision. I told [him] my desire was to get out of public life; to avoid for a while public attention; to become in fact again as far as practicable a private citizen. To do this, for the present I preferred to go nowhere out of Ohio.

I shall, if no special observance is had here, go to Bellefontaine Decoration Day, not to make *the* address, but prepared to speak a few minutes. I think of this as a topic:—“Country first, Party afterwards.”

“The men we honor today [I purpose to say] were many of them not of the party whose success furnished the pretext, perhaps I should say, the occasion for the Rebellion. The party they belonged to in the South made the war, or rather men of that party began the war. Many of their leaders sympathized with the South. They loved their party, they admired and trusted their party leaders, but they were for their country. Country first and party afterwards, was their motto, or might well have been. I do not deprecate the existence of parties. They are a part of our system. They are very permanent. Far [more] permanent than we are prone to suppose. The same general body of citizens continue to act together politically during their lives.

“The flowers we strew today will soon lose their beauty and fragrance and wither away. But the memory of those we thus recall and honor has been touched by God with immortality. It will live, fragrant and fadeless, as long as the annals of the country they served shall be known among men.”

FREMONT, OHIO, April 18, 1881.

MY DEAR GUY:—I am again almost settled down in my old Spiegel Grove home. With some changes in the house, and the accumulated dust and confusion of our six years' absence, we find it takes time to get all things straight and neat. Time passes swiftly and happily. I hope you will visit us this summer. We shall keep the latchstring out. We wish to get as completely back into private life as we can; to keep out of

public observation enough to show the truth that we have no hankering after the pleasures we have left.

The daughters in Virginia will I suppose soon return home. We will be specially glad to see them with you here. By the by, at the Yale dinner in Washington in February General Gibson gave a capital sketch of Colonel Jack, which was most handsomely received.

With love to Miss Betty and yours,
Sincerely, as ever,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 22, 1881.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— Your kind note is before me. *If I* should come I hope Mrs. Hayes will come with me. In any event we are ever so much obliged to Mrs. Kennedy and you.

It is now thought that the McPherson statue will be set up at Clyde Decoration Day. If so, my first engagement is at Clyde. We hope to know definitely in a week or two. Let there be no announcement of my coming until you hear from me again. I specially want to come to Bellefontaine.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL ROBERT P. KENNEDY,
Bellefontaine.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 25, 1881.

DEAR MISS SNEAD:— You must be very charitable to the sins of omission of Mrs. Hayes. She is not a correspondent, and if she was [were] a ready writer, the heaps now on her desk of good letters from kind friends would simply confound her. She is not likely ever to forget your goodness, nor to cease to value you as one of her Washington friends not to be forgotten. We are obliged for the interesting glimpses you give us of Washington affairs. Our sympathies and best wishes are with the President and Mrs. Garfield.

I see more clearly than ever, and I thought I saw before, that congressional life is not the best introduction or preparation for the President's house. Great, and fully equipped as the general is, there are embarrassments growing out of his long and brilliant career in Congress which Jackson and Lincoln, and Grant and myself escaped. The traditions and courtesies of the Senators and Representatives stand in the way of the Executive, however, as defined by the Constitution, and no man who is trained in the congressional school fails to suffer by them in a way that men of merely executive experience know nothing of. But I have confidence in his [Garfield's] purpose and hope for the future.

Our kindest regards to your mother and yourself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MISS AUSTINE SNEAD,
Washington.

April 28. — . . . There is an unearthing of crookedness, it is said, in the Star Mail Route business. I first heard of this as a suspicion about the time Congress investigated, or began the investigation of it. The subject was one of special popular interest to Congress. Additional mail facilities are always popular. Congress is always ready to investigate charges against the officers of an Administration. Their means are ample and their powers great. I had no means to take testimony or compel witnesses to testify. I called the attention of Judges Key and Tyner to the matter. They said all was correct on the face of things. I directed them to afford every possible facility to the congressional committees of investigation. The result of some months of active and angry controversy was that both branches of the Democratic Congress sustained the inculpated officer, General Brady. I had no relations with him. I found him in place when I became President, with a good reputation as a capable and faithful officer. I relied on Key, who had been on [the] Post-office Committee of the Senate, and on Tyner, who was able and of great experience. But I was satisfied that this

business required a supervision which it had not had. To secure this, I directed that hereafter no contract should be made or altered involving any considerable expense or liability unless it was submitted to the Postmaster-General and by him brought before the President and Cabinet. This no doubt would have prevented the frauds now complained of.

The only person named as among the crooked with whom I was personally friendly is George A. Sheridan. His acquaintance I made in Ohio election campaigns. He is witty, eloquent, genial, and humorous. I never suspected him of greed for gain. He seemed indifferent to money. I gave him an office where no corruption is likely ever to be found. If he is now guilty, I shall be disappointed. Not extravagant, he cares nothing for gold.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 30, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—I regret that Mrs. Hayes and myself are compelled to decline your valued invitation to attend the memorial ceremonies at Spartanburg on the 11th of May, and, as the guests of the State of South Carolina, to assist in the public ceremonies in honor of the victory of Cowpens. Deeply sensible of the interest and importance of the occasion and of the honor you have done me, I remain,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GOVERNOR HAGOOD,

Columbia, South Carolina.

May 3.—The weather has been cooler. Thermometer at about 40 to 45 degrees at 6 A. M. for three days. Frosts, but not severe or destructive here.

I went to Clyde Saturday by the old stone road — the Maumee and Western Reserve Road — in a buggy with General Buckland. Our object was to make arrangements for the unveiling of the McPherson statue which will soon be set up. We met a number of the citizens of Clyde at Mr. Lemmon's office, and it

was agreed that the formal dedication and unveiling should take place on the anniversary of General McPherson's death before Atlanta, viz., July 22, next.

Last night we had a meeting of the trustees of the Birchard Library. The condition of the trust funds was reported. Mrs. Ross, the present excellent librarian, was reelected and her salary increased from three hundred and fifty dollars to four hundred dollars. The library is supported by nine thousand dollars invested at six per cent in the bonds of the Harvester Company — five hundred and forty dollars — and the rent of one-third of a building in Toledo, which gives the library about five hundred dollars. The library owes the bank five hundred dollars and there is due the library about the same amount. Expenses annually about six hundred dollars. This will leave after paying taxes about three hundred dollars or four hundred dollars which may be spent for books. It is best to keep up the interest in the institution by adding new books. This I will try to have done. Let me gather up novels and other books which I have.

My library is approaching completion. I must begin to catalogue my books. I estimate that at least five thousand volumes can be placed on the shelves and that I have enough to fill them.

The Star Route frauds still attract attention. Brady denies corrupt practices. Nobody as yet accuses Tyner, and all agree that Key was honest but inexperienced and too confiding. Enemies blame me for not discovering the fraud and putting a stop to it. When I took office the Post-office Department was believed to be well conducted, with honesty and efficiency. Tyner was Postmaster-General. He had had large experience and was capable and efficient. Brady at the head of a bureau had the same reputation. I did not wish to change what was in good condition. Desiring a Southern man in the Cabinet on general grounds, Key, who had as Senator been on the Post-office Committee, and who as a man stood very high for fidelity and integrity, was selected for the Cabinet position and Tyner was secured as his first assistant. Tyner's experience and business ability were greatly relied on both by Key and myself and the friends of the Administration generally. The department was

well managed before and after my term began, unless this "Star" business was dishonestly managed as now seems probable.

There was a question of public policy which interested the country and Congress, about which there was much debate. Should the policy as to mail facilities for the new States be, [that such facilities be] liberally furnished, or should they be restricted to an extremely economical scale. The West generally — the new States — were for a liberal policy. The older States were for a restricted service. Key and Tyner were for a liberal policy. In this I concurred. Beyond this I had nothing to do with it. When the discussions arose as to the Star Routes and the contracts for them, the question of policy was the point which seemed to determine the course of Congress and its individual members. Those who favored restriction assailed the Star Route management; those who favored a liberal policy sustained it.

I called the attention of both Key and Tyner to the subject repeatedly. They both regarded the controversy as due not to mismanagement or fraud but to a difference of opinion on an important question of policy. The investigation was in the hands of Congress. They sustained Brady. But in the course of it I became satisfied that a more careful supervision of post-office contracts ought to be had. I directed that no more liabilities should be incurred or increased by contract without a full consideration by the Postmaster-General, and that the question after such consideration by him should be presented to the Cabinet and [the] President. This undoubtedly was sufficient to stop all crooked or even inconsiderate action by the head of the bureau (Brady) on contracts of this class.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 3, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR:— I have your note with the newspaper cuttings. No doubt the exact truth will, after the usual amount of misrepresentation and misinformation, be reached by the general public. Is it not true that under Tyner the Post-office Department was General Grant's best department except Governor Fish's? I, following sound principles, continued it without

change,— that is, Tyner as first assistant went on with it. Key, an honest, capable man was in the Cabinet. He made no changes. If he and Tyner were deceived, I shall not ultimately suffer for doing the right thing as it then appeared. Enemies will talk, but the outcome will not hurt.

For me and my friends the course is to let the matter go on. I do not and shall not deny or explain until the case requires it. Haste to deny or explain is always a sign of weakness. *I feel strong.**

[*Unidentified.*]

FREMONT, OHIO, May 3, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR:— I spoke to you of a loan of twenty-five or thirty thousand dollars that I needed, say in sums not less than ten thousand dollars — not to exceed 4 to 5 per cent interest — ten years or so with the privilege to pay off in five or so.

It will be my only debt. I am always punctual in interest, etc. Worth two hundred or three hundred thousand at *present* prices.

If you have nothing in mind about this, let me know before you inquire further, and I will, unless you advise me of some other course, apply to Mr. Abby of Boston. There is no hurry about it. I can get all I want here at 6 per cent. One bank yesterday reduced its standing rate of interest on all loans, short as well as long, to 7 per cent — lower than ever known here before.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO. May 3, 1881.

To —— Post No. ——,

Department of Ohio, Grand Army of the Republic:—

I have the honor to apply for membership in your post, basing my application on the following facts:—

In April 1861, immediately after the surrender of Fort Sumter, I took part in organizing a military company in Cincin-

* Very likely the first draft of a letter, and perhaps not sent.

nati, Ohio, called the Burnet Rifles; enlisted in it as a private and was drilled as such. Was soon elected captain of the company, and offered a company to the governor of Ohio for the service of the United States. This was repeatedly done by Colonel Stanley Matthews and General M. F. Force in conjunction with myself — our offers for the service being of companies or a regiment. These offers led to no result until in May, by the aid of Secretary Chase, we obtained authority direct from President Lincoln to raise a regiment. On the 9th of June, 1861, by reason of the authority referred to, I was appointed, commissioned, and mustered as major of the Twenty-third Regiment of Ohio Volunteer Infantry, and by regular promotions to lieutenant-colonel, colonel, and brigadier-general, and brevet major-general. I passed through these several grades up to the last named. On the 9th of June, 1865, by reason of the end of the war and in pursuance of a general order, I resigned my commission and was honorably discharged.

I have never borne arms against the United States, and have never been a deserter, or convicted of any infamous crime.

I am fifty-eight years old — will be fifty-nine October 4, 1881, if I live until that time. I was born in Delaware, Delaware County, Ohio. I now reside at Fremont, Ohio, am engaged in real estate and other general business, having quit the practice of my profession, that of a lawyer, on the breaking out of the war.

R. B. HAYES.

May 4. — I saw the first fruit blossoms of the year on a cherry tree in the old garden south of the house on the warm side-hill with an exposure south by east.

[*May 5.*] — I am trying to find a good supply of water in the old garden to be raised thirty or forty feet or more to the present flower garden and lawn by a windmill and pump. I think that a good supply can be obtained by digging along the foot of the bluff, possibly a very short distance.

May 6. — I have been chosen director of the First National Bank of Fremont; Trustee of the Western Reserve University,

at Cleveland, trustee of the Green Springs Academy, and one of the board of Oakwood Cemetery. I mean to give due attention to all of these matters.

I send today to Colonel Silas W. Burt, Naval Officer, ten dollars to pay dues and as a contribution to the Civil Service Reform Association of New York. The reform is necessary to give our official life the elevation and vigor which it ought to have, and sooner or later it will be accomplished.

I joined the McPherson [Eugene Rawson] Post of the Grand Army, or rather I applied for membership, Wednesday.

Sunday, May 8, 1881. — Two months at home. A lovely warm day. The cherries and plums in full bloom. The first peach blossoms on our tree in garden south of the house today.

May 9. — With Judge Cummings to Green Springs to begin the foundation of the Green Springs Academy under the auspices of the Toledo synod of the Presbyterian Church. Rev. Dr. McCracken and Dr. Bushnell were of the party. We met the school board of the village. I was chosen president of the trustees. The affair looks well. It will take a little time. The spring is simply glorious. Dr. Entreken is at the head of the cure and Mr. Joy is landlord.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 10, 1881.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — I have your note and am obliged to you for the suggestion. If there is no probability that disappointed men will successfully object, it would please me to apply for membership in the association. Colonel Travis gave me papers which I have mislaid, and the papers you refer to have not come to hand.

I have joined a post of the Grand Army which has recently been organized here. The old objection "politics" is with me no longer in the way. Indeed, I think it is not in the organization now.

Sincerely,

GENERAL M. F. FORCE.
Cincinnati.

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 11, 1881.

SIR:—To assist my friend, Rev. Dr. Leech, of Frederick City, Maryland, in enabling his second son, Edward Palmer Leech, to complete his college *curriculum*, I secured for him (Edward) a temporary clerkship in the Navy Department during the summers of 1879 and 1880. He has a letter from the chief clerk, Mr. J. W. Hogg, testifying to his faithfulness in the discharge of the clerical duties assigned him. He will finish his junior year in June, 1881. Dr. Leech is very desirous to have him graduate. He has six children and his salary is moderate. He is pastor of our friend, Honorable M. G. Urner. I will be gratified if you will interest yourself in having him, Edward, appointed to a clerical position for three months from June 20 to September 20 *proximo*.

R. B. HAYES.

TO THE PRESIDENT.

May 12, 1881.—I was initiated last night as a member of Eugene Rawson Post, Number 32, of the Grand Army of the Republic. The number present was about forty of whom at least one-third were like myself new members. The ceremonies were brief and simple. There was more of religion in the "work" than I expected. I went into the room with Judge Dickinson. The conductor I did not know. Generally those present were men in humble life. Buckland, Colonel William E. Haynes, . . . and others whom I knew, were present.

Speaking of Garfield's work and troubles, a gentleman asked me how they compared with mine. I replied I had four difficult things to do:—

1. To restore constitutional and regular governments to the Southern States, and as far as practicable, to put them in harmonious and proper relations to the whole country and to all classes of people.
2. To bring back prosperity by a return of a sound currency.
3. To improve the methods and system of the civil service.
4. To so do all this as to strengthen the Republican party and restore it to power.

The last was essential. If at the end of my term the party which was on the wrong side of the Southern question, the financial question, and the civil service question should obtain power, all that might be gained by me on those questions would be lost. They already had Congress. With the solid South they already had in the Electoral College eighteen more votes than were required to elect a President. In measuring my success on any or all of the first three points, it must be considered that success on the last was substantial success on all of the others, and failure on the last was inevitable failure on all the others.

May 14, 1881.—My new library room is almost finished; only a few shelves to be oiled. Webb and Rud, assisted by Henry S. Dorr, are bringing from Birchard Library, where they were stored, my books bought of Robert Clarke—the “Americanana,” as he called the collection.

I am interested in the letters of John Adams written in his old age, in 1818-19, in a volume entitled “Novanglus and Massachusetts.” They are full of fire and enthusiasm. No young man could be more terse and spirited. His admiration of James Otis is unbounded, and seems to be well founded. He says of the great speech of Otis against the Writs of Assistance that “it breathed into this nation the breath of life,” that then and there “American Independence was born.”

SPIEGEL GROVE, May 14, 1881.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I am sorry that in the confusion of my matters here I put you to the trouble of sending a second application. We are slowly getting into orderly life, but the temptation to be fussing in the garden and grounds these lovely days draws us away from the indoor regulating and renovating, so that we are still “in the suds.” I never enjoyed so much this semicountry life.

As to the proceedings of the *Congrès des Américanistes*, I should have said confidently that they had come to hand, if you had not said that others failed to receive them. My library room

will be finished next week, and I shall then begin to unpack, and expect to find the works.

Sincerely,

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,
Cincinnati.

R. B. HAYES.

May 18, 1881.—Conkling and Platt, Senators from New York, have both resigned. They expect, no doubt, to be reëlected as Republicans opposed to Garfield's Administration. It is a wretched business. They make a strong point in claiming that to remove Merritt is a violation of the President's principles as laid down in his inaugural message, and of all sound principles on the subject.

The capital mistake is to attempt to build up an Administration or a party by the use of the offices as patronage. The offices should be filled for the good of the service. Country first and party afterwards.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 21, 1881.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—. . . It looks a little like "suicide." I hope for this result. To settle the question of senatorial courtesy is important. It is the first step towards clearing the way for a reform of the service. This almost reconciles me to the removal of Merritt.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 1, 1881.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—Is it true you are editing the *Evening Post*? I must see what you write. If true, Mrs. Hayes will not forgive me if she loses anything you write. Please tell your business manager to put my name on his list for the tri-weekly, or semi-weekly, or whatever edition will contain your editorials, and send me the bill.

We are busy and happy. Time passes swiftly and agreeably getting ready to live in our country home.

All sorts of non-paying public trusts, of local significance merely, are piling up on my hands. I look out of the loopholes, and see what I do see! and am content.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL CARL SCHURZ,
New York.

June 6, 1881. — Decoration Day was more generally observed this year than usual. I spent the day with my old army friend, General Kennedy, at Bellefontaine. We drove to the highest point in the State, a short distance east of Bellefontaine. The county of Logan, east of Bellefontaine and south, is high, rolling, well watered with living springs, and very beautiful.

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 6, 1881.

MY DEAR ROGERS:—I send you a slip cut from the New York *Witness*. I have seen the *Witness* frequently and have supposed it to be a respectable and ably conducted religious newspaper. Anything it says of public men on its own authority is entitled to attention. I was greatly surprised to find in it the article which I enclose to you. Of course, under no circumstances, can I notice the *Sun*. Its libels hurt nobody. You know that the article in every statement affecting me is, not only untrue, but entirely without foundation. But I would not authorize a denial directly or indirectly. To do so would be to give the libeller what he wants, an advertisement. I have never paid the slightest attention to the *Sun* and do not mean to in this instance. But the *Witness* ought to make its own independent inquiries and on its own information deny the libellous matter it has spread before its readers.

Please return me the article with such suggestions as may occur to you.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

The last paragraph looks as if the *Witness* was disposed to endorse the libel. I hope not.

W. K. ROGERS.

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 13, 1881.

MY DEAR K—:—I am very glad to get your two letters, and also to see in the [Cincinnati] *Gazette* of last evening your correction of the very offensive and inaccurate report of my conversations. The report *did* annoy me. But your prompt action puts it before the public very well indeed, and I would not allow interviewers or others to draw you out again. All publication of private, and essentially confidential, conversations, is to be abhorred. No man remembers the connections—no man can report them. I make it a rule never to be drawn into a repetition of them for the press. I would clearly differ from your recollection of one point of *our* conversation. You must be mistaken. I never suspected Blaine of connection with the Star Route frauds, nor his friends. I regarded the rumors to that effect as a threat or a piece of strategy. The people I suspect in that connection belong to the other wing of the party—the ultra men like Dorsey, etc., etc. Again,—but I need not go on. You have placed the matter so well that I would not add to the statement. Silence will soon drop the matter out of sight.

When I saw the report, I thought of writing you, and of the propriety of going into print, but on reflection I concluded that on its face the report would be seen to be improbable and unnatural, and would carry with it its own correction. In your communication you have gone to the verge in reporting private talk. It is done in a friendly spirit—is well done and I appreciate it. But it is treading on questionable ground, and for your sake let me urge you to reflect before getting into print further. It is common in the confidence of private conversations to repeat what others have said in similar conversations. This is to be avoided, but it does not leave sinister impressions of character. But to print private conversations is another thing.

This matter will, I trust, not too much worry you. With me it is all right now and our relations are, I hope, to remain always of the friendliest character.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL R. P. KENNEDY,
Bellefontaine.

June 17, 1881.—Mr. Mefert, the brickmaker, came for his bill. He is as happy in his successful career as any man in the professions or other conspicuous walks of life. "I came here twenty-seven years ago. I had just one dollar. It was soon gone. I worked hard. In two years I earned one hundred dollars over expenses. I then took a yard. I worked day and night. But I did well. I made the brick for all the churches. I can sell all I make—good brick for [good (?)] prices." A happy man.

June 18, 1881.—I have had from my friend S. M. Shoemaker, of Baltimore, a number of Jerseys. We call the herd "The Augusta Herd" after Mrs. Shoemaker.

. . . -FREMONT, OHIO, June 19, 1881.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD:—It affords me pleasure to introduce to you an estimable and patriotic citizen of Trenton, New Jersey, Mr. S. Bayard Stafford. He belongs to the family of the famous John Paul Jones and has many titles to consideration, among the chief of which is that he desires nothing in connection with the Government except that it may deserve and receive his loyal support.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

June 20, 1881.—It is probable that no President ever had so many of his writings published by his party as campaign documents as I have had. For example: Letter of Acceptance, vetoes, letter (facsimile), on nomination for congress 1864.

FREMONT, OHIO. June 20, 1881.

DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your note enclosing what purports to be utterances of mine touching your character and conduct in reference to which you inquire if the report "is a correct or substantial representation of statements made or authorized" by me. In reply I have to state that the whole paragraph in which your name occurs is a fabrication, and that not one of the statements contained in it referring to you was either made or authorized by me.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE J. G. BLAINE.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 20, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your letter of the 17th instant and can assure you unqualifiedly that if injustice was done you in the removal I very much regret it, and also that I sincerely wish you well, and shall be rejoiced to know of your success in life. Your ability and industry are great, and you ought, notwithstanding the misfortune of the past, to be prosperous and happy in the future.

With best wishes and thanking you for your friendly expressions, I remain,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

[*Unidentified.*]

July 3. Sunday, 7 A. M.—The dreadful tragedy at Washington has occupied our thoughts since yesterday morning. The news this morning is encouraging. . . .

The death of the President at this time would be a national calamity whose consequences we can not now confidently conjecture. Arthur for President! Conkling the power behind the throne, superior to the throne! The Republican party divided and defeated. An Administration without the moral support of any of the best elements of the country, struggling to maintain

itself and to perpetuate itself; with all of the worst features of Tyler and Johnson, and without some of the redeeming features of those unfortunate Administrations.

But the people are at last the government. If they are wise and firm and virtuous, all will yet be well. If Arthur comes in, he should have a fair trial. He should be encouraged to do well by a warm and sympathetic support as far as he is right. His letter of acceptance was creditable. But our hopes and prayers are for Garfield. I sent our member of Congress, Dr. Rice, last night at midnight the following:—

“We are intensely interested in your dispatches. We pray to God that the President may yet be spared to his country and family.”

FREMONT, OHIO, July 7, 1881.

MY DEAR WEBB:—I have your note. The draft was duly honored of course. It now looks as if you were fairly embarked in an enterprise which may be successful. As an officer of the company, you are now a trustee for others. Honesty, good intentions, and industry, you will have of course. Without these your career would soon end with a loss of your good name. But you must be ambitious to be a good deal more. Protect the interest of your employers by the greatest watchfulness and economy. Inform yourself fully as to cost and value; let there be nothing left half understood in bargains; beware of being hasty; keep full and accurate accounts, accurate to a cent. If you make mistakes, don't be afraid to face them. Conceal nothing; be careful not to brag or talk too much—a common fault with all beginners.—This is enough for the first lesson.

All well. Good luck to you.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

WEBB C. HAYES,

Cleveland.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 7, 1881.

MY DEAR SENATOR:—I notice that you expect to return to Washington in case the assault on President Garfield turns out



MRS. LUCY WEBB HAYES

From Portrait by Daniel Huntington. Presented to the White House by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. Accepted by President Garfield, 1881

to be fatal. It now seems likely that he will recover. If this is happily the case, the Clyde affair [dedication of the McPherson monument] will go off on the 22nd according to previous programme, and Mrs. Hayes and I will expect to see you and Mrs. Sherman at our house with Mary. If, however, the President does not recover, it is likely that I ought to go to Washington to attend the funeral ceremonies there. In that case I would like to go with you to Washington, and in any event I would like your opinion as to what it is proper for me to do. I now am quite confident of a favorable issue. If so it will vastly increase the President's power and popularity. Stalwartism, which is synonymous with extreme, not to say, bitter and savage partisanship, will lose power and thus this great calamity may turn out well for the President and for the country.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Sherman and Mary from Mrs. Hayes and myself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Mansfield.

FREMONT, July 8, 1881.

MY DEAR SIR:—I send you a report of our local meeting on the Fourth. Garfield will now have a hold on the hearts of the American people like that of Washington and Lincoln. He can do any righteous and necessary work with an assured confidence of the firm support of the people. The extreme and savage partisanship, which "Stalwarts" have extolled as the cardinal virtue of a public man, can now be abated. A true and genuine reform of the civil service under Garfield is possible. I trust he will see his great opportunity. If he does what he can do, this great calamity will lead to the crowning glory of his life.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN HAY,
Washington.

FREMONT, July 11, 1881.

MY DEAR COLONEL:—The President must see many things to console and sustain him in his suffering. He is now loved and

revered by the people — by men and women in all sections of the country — with an affection and reverence felt only for Washington and Lincoln. The tragical event has softened partisan and sectional animosities until we are as a people more harmonious than ever before since the Revolution.

He has a power for good and wise measures and conduct such as no other President ever had. Mrs. Garfield, Mother Garfield, and his children are all embraced in the tender and supreme affections of the American people. Is not this some compensation for the agony, distress, and suspense of these last ten long and anxious days?

Sincerely,

COLONEL H. C. CORBIN,

Washington.

R. B. HAYES.

[FREMONT, OHIO, July —, 1881.]

DEAR COLONEL.— We will be glad to see you as our guest here 21st, 22nd and as long as convenient to you.

This letter is asking the President to send us a word of greeting on the 22nd, *if it is proper for him to do so in the opinion of medical advisers.* We shall greet him on that day with the warmest of heartiness.

Sincerely,

COLONEL H. C. CORBIN.

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 26, 1881.

MY DEAR MRS. GARFIELD:— After another Saturday night and Sunday of painful anxiety and suspense, Mrs. Hayes and I again with warmest feeling of joy and gratitude congratulate you with all our hearts that the danger is again passing away. On the day of the great assemblage at the unveiling of the McPherson statue at Clyde, every allusion to "our President" and yourself was heard with feelings too intense for words to describe. You have no doubt seen the action taken, which was sent by the press, but I enclose you a newspaper cutting containing an account of it. No words can give an adequate idea of the scene when, with uplifted hands, with swimming eyes, and a unanimous "aye" for the message to the President, the great multitude manifested

their interested and keen emotions in behalf of him and yourself. We pray that our Heavenly Father will sustain you throughout this dreadful trial, and bring to you and our country the relief which the complete recovery of our President alone can give.

With the warmest wishes and sympathy of Mrs. Hayes and myself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. JAMES A. GARFIELD,
Washington.

[July] 27.—The affair of the 22d passed off well. The visits of Herron and family and Force and family and of Sherman and others, Colonel Rhodes and Captain Lybarger, were enjoyable.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, August 1, 1881.

MY DEAR MRS. AUSTIN:—We are expecting the committee of ladies from Chicago with the curtains and volumes of autographs this week. We do not know the number of the committee. Not less than half a dozen, we conjecture, will come. We do not know the day of their coming, perhaps Wednesday or Thursday.

Mrs. Hayes, away down in her soul, thinks she will fail with her hospitalities—at any rate, with the etiquette thereof—if she is not supported by you. Now, can't you come? You have no work of philanthropy on hand, nothing in the humanitarian way, of more merit than to relieve Mrs. Hayes. I send this as a note of warning. Get your lamps trimmed, be ye ready, and I will dispatch you day and hour, as soon as we learn them.

The grove is looking its best; various traps have been laid away, duds have been cleaned, and altogether we are not as much in the suds as we were.

Your coming will make us and our guests happy.

With best wishes, sincerely,

MRS. LINUS AUSTIN,
Cleveland.

R. B. HAYES.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, August 2, 1881.

MY DEAR JUDGE:—I am very much gratified by the receipt of your kind letter. I want, more than you perhaps have supposed, that the friendship formed at Washington between us and our respective families shall be kept up while we live. We are not likely to visit the South this summer or fall. We would be glad to do so, and would enjoy the trip, but our only trip out of Ohio will probably be to New York and Boston in October. In the meanwhile we are now ready to welcome our friends here. We are near the lake—fifteen miles distant; only an hour or two from the resort at Put-in-Bay Island; only an hour from Green Springs; near to Toledo and Cleveland; and an old-fashioned place is our home where our friends seem to enjoy themselves with plenty of room indoors and out. If you or yours can come at any time, Mrs. Hayes and I can make it happy for us, and we believe for you.

Birchard is settled in Toledo as a lawyer in a firm with two of Judge Swayne's sons. He spends almost every Sunday with us. Webb is treasurer and secretary and a stockholder in a manufacturing company, just moved to Cleveland from Connecticut. We see him at home often. Rutherford and the two young folks are still at home. We are *free* and *happy*—never more so than now.

I felt a peculiar interest and pain in the sufferings of the President before and since his awful wound. I rejoice at the prospect of his recovery. If he lives he will be able to do much more by reason of this attempt on his life.

We will visit you some day. Our bad weather here is the spring. March is often worse than any winter month. We hope to escape South often at that season.

Mrs. Hayes joins me in warmest regards to yourself and Mrs. Key and the young ladies. Now, one thing more: Let your family all understand that to come North anywhere means coming to Fremont, either coming or going.

With best wishes, sincerely,

HONORABLE D. M. KEY,
Chattanooga.

R. B. HAYES.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, August 6, 1881.

MY DEAR MRS. SMITH:—You see the scrape you are in. It is never safe to begin a correspondence. You can never stop it.

Our house is like Webster's at Marshfield. He said it was as big as a barn. So, let your committee [of presentation of the Illinois women's memorial volumes, etc.] come at any time—in great or small numbers. We can bed and eat them until the formalities are gone through with. But I am rather glad the thing can't be done now. It would make a row in the newspapers, and I don't like to make a flame while our President is still lying helpless and suffering. So let it be postponed. I mean let the *formal* exploiting of it wait a while. *But for your private ear*, we would like to have the articles sent to us by express *quietly* as soon as may be. Unfortunately our best room (37 by 27) is waiting for carpet, furniture, etc., etc., because a lady of taste told us we ought to first see your curtain[s] in order to match it, that the harmonies of the spheres might not be turned into discord. All of which you know about better than I do. Now, if without trouble or uproar, you can manage to send along curtain[s], books, etc., etc., why we can go on with our upholstery.

Finally, you and your lord can just drop in on us and stay for a good visit about the time of their arrival and talk it all over, "which is what I rose to explain."

With the love of us and ours to you and yours,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Mrs. Hayes (cautious woman!) says don't let our dilemma be talked of out of your own precincts.—H.

MRS. EMMA R. SMITH,
Lake Forest, Illinois.

August 12, 1881.—Returning in a buggy I saw a young woman, slender and cleanly dressed, with a large basket going in the dust and heat my way. I asked her to ride. She was walking out to her sick husband five miles in the country.

Name Heinelein, at Louis —'s, in Jackson. I took her in and carried her to her destination, a long and dusty ride, but I was rewarded by her and his genuine gratitude. She said: "We are poor, but I can pray for you, and I will pray for you every day." They were Catholics, evidently devout and sincere.

Thermometer on porch 96 degree at 1 P. M., 97 at 2 P. M. I do not recollect ever seeing it so hot as this before by the thermometer on our verandah.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 13, 1881.

MY DEAR GUY:— Returning after a short absence I found here your letter of the 4th instant. You are now again so near to us that it would be a great satisfaction if you could make us a good long visit. We are enough settled to make it agreeable for you and yours. We want the young people also if possible.

Our friend George W. Jones has met with a sore affliction in the loss of his noble boy George W. jr. He was one of a thousand. A finer nature and character I have never known.

I wrote to the President about the post-office, and received such a reply that I had some hope that it might not be too late to correct the mistake. But his condition has of course prevented further correspondence. He wrote me that it was done on the report of a special agent; regretted it; found it had gone too far to change, etc.

The defeat of the machine in New York is an event of importance. There are however other machines. The system is shocked but not overthrown. If Garfield recovers, I have great hope that he will push the reform of the civil service. He has an opportunity to do more in the direction of wise and necessary changes than any of his predecessors. On the Southern question, I am confident of his course. He will be conservative, moderate, and liberal. On the other question I have great hope.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—I wonder if it is remembered in "old Botetourt" that the whole of the old Northwest Territory was once in Botetourt

County, Virginia. Where I now live was once in Botetourt County!—H.

HONORABLE G. M. BRYAN,
Botetourt Springs, Virginia.

August 23.—Chaplain Collier (George W.) of the army came last night, remained with us and will leave this morning. He is distressed with the condition of the [Ohio Republican] canvass. Fears Foster [candidate for governor] will be beaten by the Prohibition movement. Certainly, the movement is ill judged. It seems to be the work chiefly of Methodist ministers and will seriously injure the Methodist Church, the Republican party, and the cause of temperance which it seeks to promote.

August 24.—General Mitchell and Laura with Fanny, Jennie Andrews, and John came last night late. The gas in the lamp-post north of the house was lit the first time in their honor. We anticipate much pleasure in their visit.

[*August*] 25.—Political ambition and party spirit are not the forces which will promote any moral reform in individual character and life. Education, example, religion, which reach the judgment and the conscience,—that which convinces and persuades,—these are the true agencies which can be most successfully employed to promote the temperance reform.

The Rev. Mrs. Anna Oliver should be informed that her excellent sermon on "Lessons from the Life of Lucy Webb Hayes" contains an error of fact which ought not to be repeated. The story that Mrs. Hayes prevented a card party at the White House between members of the Cabinet and President Hayes is without foundation. No such occurrence took place. It is true there was no card playing at the White House by Cabinet officers or others with the President or Mrs. Hayes as neither of them play cards. But the anecdote in question was a pure invention, told by a correspondent as a joke and inadvertently copied into a volume entitled "The Women of the White House" without due examination as to its truth.

I am firmly convinced that one of the obstacles to the temperance reform has been the effort to enlist in its behalf political ambition and party spirit to the neglect of other means of advancing the cause. If the same thing was done with religion or education, I suspect that it would soon be found that a serious injury was done.

August 27, 1881. — The President is losing ground. The doctors report that he is weaker this morning than yesterday. General Drum says there is hardly any hope. Eight weeks ago this morning he was shot. How he has suffered and how the whole country has suffered during these long and anxious weeks!

Our mocking-bird, a fine singer, died last night. We had him at Columbus in 1876, took him to Washington where he sang in the White House during our four years there, and returned with us in March and sang his best in rivalry with the uncaged songsters of Spiegel Grove. His death is unimportant of course, but one feels a foolish presentiment that the death of the bird presages that of President Garfield. It is a time of universal anxiety and gloom.

Lucy and her friends the Carlisles, with Ellie McKell, went to Cleveland yesterday. Laura and I have in Lucy's absence changed the clock from the hall to the staircase, and various pictures, besides hanging a great many.

There is a good deal of discussion about the attitude of Methodist ministers towards the Temperance party. That party is especially hostile to the Republican party. It seeks to defeat it at the hazard of giving the victory to the Democratic party. It prefers the Democratic party. It makes bitter war on the Republican party.

This appears to me to do great harm not merely to the Republican party but to the cause of temperance and also to the Methodist Episcopal Church. Republicans will not support a church which makes war on their party. Effort wasted on party organization is taken away from temperance work. Party organizations do not promote temperance or religion. A friend of the Presbyterian Church, wishing to promote its interests, if he is a wise man would as soon think of organizing a Presbyterian army

as a Presbyterian political party for the purpose of bringing in members to his church. To invoke the spirit of party and to adopt the methods of practical politics in behalf of religion or temperance tends to increase and spread the evils of intemperance and to weaken and destroy the power and influence of religion.

August 28, 1881. — Lucy is today fifty years old. She returned from Cleveland last night. . . . Lucy enters on her second half century in good health. We are satisfied with the roominess and convenience, not to say beauty, of our new home. Our children are healthy and promising, Birch, a lawyer in Toledo, Webb is a manufacturer of house-building hardware in Cleveland. Rud will spend one year in a scientific school. Fanny, almost fourteen (September 2), and Scott, ten, will go to school here.

It is impossible to keep my thoughts from the President. He is very low. No doubt he is a great sufferer. We are anxiously waiting.

Conkling has been in conference with Arthur. The less Arthur has to do with Conkling the better for his Administration, if he is called to form one. He should have fair treatment. He will come in, if at all, under embarrassing and difficult circumstances. We must give him a fair trial — a fair hearing.

Mr. Riggs, the wealthy banker of Washington, a useful financial member of the Board of Peabody Trustees, died at Washington last week.

(*Telegram.*)

FREMONT, OHIO, August 28, 1881.

MAJOR D. C. SWAIN,
and

COLONEL CORBIN,
Washington, D. C.

Your dispatch gives Mrs. Hayes and myself greatest relief and joy. Our heartiest congratulations to Mrs. Garfield.

R. B. H.

August 30, 1881. — Dr. Hamilton's [expression], "We are afloat and off the breakers," is likely to turn out a truthful announcement of the blessed tidings that the President has passed the crisis. My only hope last week was a blind confidence in my hopeful presentiment that he would pull through!

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 5, 1881.

DEAR SIR: — I have your note of the second as to writing an article, or letter, for *Scribner* on civil service reform. I am glad to know that you intend to keep the subject before the public, and that your purpose is to persevere to the end.. There is no doubt an increased and increasing public interest in the question. But machine politics is deeply rooted in our political system. It stands in the mind of the average party worker in all parties on the maxim that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." He thinks that the offices and honors should go to those "who have borne the burden and heat of the day." This is plausible and the system which has grown up on it still stands strong. But it can and will be overthrown. We must not divide on measures. Any one of the proposed measures is better than nothing. I would say these are the chief points:—

1. Divorce the appointing power from the control and influence of Members of Congress.
2. Let all minor appointments be determined by competitive examinations, and let their tenure be [during] good behavior.
3. Let no partisan services or contributions be required or expected from office-holders.

To secure needed legislation and to give the Executive independence and strength, the absolute and entire separation of Senators and Representatives from the exercise of the power of appointment is the essential feature of any wise plan of reform. With this established the rest will follow.

My engagements will not at this time permit me to prepare an article for your magazine. Indeed, I think it better that others should push the discussion. To write now, I must merely repeat

what I have said often during the last ten years in speeches and messages. What I would say would be stale repetition. But let no man be discouraged. There has been great progress. We can now get a hearing. The public will listen. The discussion ought to be resolutely and perseveringly pushed.

[Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.]

MR. R. U. JOHNSON,
New York.

September 10, 1881. — Last evening Lucy and I returned from a very enjoyable visit at Lakeside. The annual reunion of the Twenty-third was held there for three days, 7th, 8th, and 9th. About forty of the veterans — Ellen, Henry, Killam, Kimberley; one from Omaha (Parmelee); one from Kansas, etc., etc. There were eighteen ladies and perhaps half a dozen children. It was a friendly family gathering, without orator, poet, or committee.

I made the acquaintance of the leading Lakeside people. — All very cordial. Mrs. Baldridge refused to accept pay from Mrs. Hayes and I [me].

I talked up with Major James and Mr. Clements and others the importance to the peninsula of a railroad towards Columbus, to connect at Upper Sandusky with the railroads of central and southern Ohio. They are very sensible of its importance. . . .

September 14, 1881. — The anniversary of South Mountain. It happens that the old coat which I wore when wounded was brought out of its antimoth box today.

Parties are necessary, or inevitable, in free governments. But the excesses of party — ! As Mr. Bayard said in his speech on the electoral commission bill, "The dangerous excess of party feeling is the cause of the troubles that afflict our country today."

September 19, 1881. — All day thinking of Garfield, [and] of the battle of Opequon (Winchester) seventeen years ago, and how I got over the slough — alive!

Now, almost 11 P. M., the telegraph operator telephones to me: "We have a report from Cleveland that Garfield died at

10:30 Washington time." I replied, "I can [can't(?)] believe it." I do doubt it, but I fear, I dread it. "Assassination does not change history." The march of events will go on, but it is a personal grief.

(*Telegram.*)

FREMONT, OHIO, September 20, 1881.

HONORABLE WAYNE MACVEAGH,

Long Branch, New Jersey.

I have just heard with deepest sorrow that President Garfield is dead. He was the best loved man in the United States. Whatever the people can do to show their affection for him, and their sympathy with Mrs. Garfield and his mother and children, they will do promptly and with all their hearts.

R. B. HAYES.

WASHINGTON, September 22, 1881.

MY DARLING:— I reached here at eleven last night after a pleasant journey. Came to Senator [Sherman's] house. Lieutenant Baker, his nephew, and wife occupy it.

It now seems that none of the Cabinet except MacVeagh will go to Ohio. We start at 6 P. M. tomorrow evening. I hope you will go to Cleveland at once. If you can meet us before we reach Cleveland, it may be well to do so. Or, if you can go out to see Mother Garfield, and be with her when the funeral escort meet her, that would seem well. All this I leave to your preference and judgment. *Only be sure to be at Cleveland Saturday, before we get there.*

I shall call today on a number of our friends. I met on the train McCook, Washburn, of Minnesota, Davis, of Chicago, Bayard, and others. McKinley could not come on account of his wife's sickness.

Affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES,

Fremont.

September 28, 1881. — Absent ten days attending the obsequies of President Garfield at Washington and Cleveland. Lucy went only to Cleveland. Nothing could exceed the universality and depth of feeling shown by all sorts of people. It is a most unnatural crime. Mrs. Garfield is calm and quiet. General Banks says what frightens the world is, that it is an attempt to administer government by assassination. The uprising is a protest against assassination.

September 29, 1881. — I sent to one of the host of my correspondents, Mr. Frank Edgerly, Concord, New Hampshire (a person unknown to me), the following:—

“The important lesson of this most pathetic tragedy, as I see it, is the folly and wickedness of the extreme and bitter partisanship which prevails in our country.”

What has it not done? Forgery, perjury, violence, and fraud in elections, and now assassination. Last fall we had libels, forgeries, perjuries, and frauds. Now we have —!

FREMONT, October 1, 1881.

DEAR SIR: — The question is asked, What are the lessons of the mournful tragedy whose pathetic circumstances and scenes now attract the attention of all civilized nations?

One of its lessons, perhaps its most important lesson, is the folly, the wickedness, and the danger of the extreme and bitter partisanship which so largely prevails in our country. This partisan bitterness is greatly aggravated by that system of appointments and removals which deals with public offices as the rewards for services rendered to political parties or to party leaders. Hence crowds of importunate place-hunters of whose dregs Guiteau is the type. The required reform will be accomplished whenever the people imperatively demand it, not only of their Executive, but also of their legislative officers. With it, the class to which the assassin belongs will lose their occupation, and the temptation to try “to administer government by assassination” will be taken away.

Sincerely,

EMILE KAHN,

EDITOR, *Fair Journal of the Jewish Orphan Asylum*.

R. B. HAYES.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, NEW YORK, October 6, 1881.

MY DEAR WEBB:—We are having a good time. Our list of callers was never larger. Invitations are constantly coming. If you do not see our names in the French reception, it is because we simply can't be in different places at the same time. The convention people, of our side, have been very cordial. Miller, Hiscock, Roberts, McCook, and a steady stream of the plain people who were delegates made yesterday afternoon like a New Year's reception at the White House.

The picture [for the Harvard Law School] is begun. I had the first *standing* yesterday morning. It is to be large — heroic size, not unlike the Brown picture in that respect. Chase is a slight young fellow from Indiana, who is now almost the rage. He has just finished a good picture of Choate, another of Peter Cooper, and one of Colonel James Watson Webb. They are all good as likenesses — somewhat of the coarse and hasty in work. The studio is a great curiosity-shop. Seven years spent in Europe gave him an opportunity to collect relics and curiosities, and he worked like a beaver — as you or Crump would have done. His rooms, three or four in number, are crowded with the greatest variety. Books, dogs, birds, skins, old cabinets and furniture, Aztecs, etc., etc., etc., in quantity beyond rivalry. He will take at least ten days more. His first sketch was done in forty minutes — a standing figure — left hand hanging freely at the side, and the right raised as if talking, not unlike the photograph in the White Room.

We go today with the [Peabody] trustees up to Governor Fish's home, opposite West Point. The ladies are more numerous and interesting than usual. Dr. Curry's report and work are excellent. Mrs. Curry is charming. General Grant looked well and turned down his glasses at our trustee dinner last evening.

Rogers is here, apparently well employed.

Lucy will probably give two or three days to Governor Claflin and New Haven. . . .

Altogether we are having one of our best visits to New York.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

WEBB C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, October 7, 1881.—Mrs. Hayes and I left home Monday morning, and reached here about 11 A. M., Tuesday, 4th. The railroad war had put down fares to New York to four dollars. The traveller bought a ticket for thirteen dollars, but received a paper which authorized him within one hour after arrival to receive from the railroad nine dollars. This was to prevent travellers to intermediate points from using New York tickets.

The objects of our coming were to attend the Peabody Education meeting and to have a portrait painted by Chase, with some pecuniary transactions to fill up the time.

We were cordially greeted by Mr. Hitchcock, the proprietor of the hotel, who said we were as welcome as ever and on the old terms! Soon callers began, and ever since our card basket has been well filled. Captain Eads sent Mrs. Hayes elegant flowers, and did not forget a London present for me.

On the 5th the board met — Mr. Winthrop in the chair. Dr. Curry's report was full and excellent in matter and style.

The 6th we lunched with Governor Fish at his home opposite to West Point, a lovely spot, and in the midst of historical scenes, famous and interesting.

I visited Chase. His work seems coarse but good. Also Huntington whose work is better, according to my taste, than Mr. Chase's.

The New York convention was a triumph of those who opposed Conkling. I received a host of calls from its members. The president (Miller), Mr. Hiscock, McCook, Rogers, Merritt, Dwight, half a dozen leaders only called; but the plain people —

the country members — were warm and cordial. They called in great numbers. Mr. Alley, formerly Member of Congress from Lynn, Massachusetts, just called. He spoke in strong terms of my Administration, and pronounced it "most successful." Among other things he said: "Mr. Sumner I knew intimately twenty-five years. He was more free from envy of other men's honors, success, and achievements than any man I ever knew.

"Charles Francis Adams told me that his father, John Quincy Adams, said, 'The four most miserable years of my life were my four years in the Presidency.'"

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, NEW YORK, October 7, 1881.

MY DEAR FANNY:— We are having a good time. Yesterday we went with the Peabody trustees up the Hudson and lunched at Governor Fish's, opposite to West Point. The day was bright and cool, and the attractive scenery and beautiful homes on the Hudson were never more beautiful. Governor Fish lives on a fine elevation that overlooks the Hudson and is in the midst of the scenes of the Revolution of most romantic interest. On his place is [the] house still standing, and occupied by Governor Fish's son-in-law, where Arnold plotted his treason. Nearby is Washington's headquarters, and the country and river traversed by André. A short distance below is the region made famous and inspiring by the writings and residence of Washington Irving.

We meet a host of old friends at the hotel and elsewhere, and your mother is enjoying meeting them as you know she would.

We hope you and Scott are happy in school and with your studies. We met Rutherford here. He remained only a few hours and returned to the Polytechnic Institute at Boston, with which he seems to be well pleased.

Much love to you and Scott. With kind remembrance to Adda, Mary, and the whole household.

Sincerely and lovingly,

R. B. HAYES.

FANNY RUTHERFORD HAYES,
Fremont.

October 8, 1881. — Major Burt, of [the] custom house, called and after a half hour's very agreeable conversation, rode with me down [the] Sixth Avenue elevated railroad to Eighth Street. Thence I went to the studio of Mr. Chase. He is the representative of the new school of painters. They study in Europe; gather new ideas, adopt new methods, and are in competition with the old favorites. Am I right in supposing that the new school are less cultured in tone and finish? They seem to rely on that which strikes, etc., etc. Mr. Chase puts me standing; a corpulent figure, head one side; not I suspect either graceful or commanding. The most I look for is a recognizable portrait. Not one so satisfactory as Mr. Brown's which is at home.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, NEW YORK, October 8, 1882.

MY DEAR GUY: — I came here last Tuesday to meet with the members of the board of trustees of the Peabody Education Fund. Your letter from Hollis Academy reached me in due time. I need hardly assure you that if I have an opportunity to aid you by suggestions to persons likely to buy Texas lands I will be glad to do it. You must know that I am somewhat in the same situation with yourself. I know what it is by disagreeable experience to be "land poor." With considerable property, almost all of it unproductive real estate, I find it hard to raise enough money for current expenses. To sell at fair rates is my wish. When the mania for railroad enterprises and securities which here prevails has run its course, I hope there will be more capitalists inquiring for real estate, both in your State and mine. At the East real estate is now salable. In my neighborhood there are some favorable signs.

Mrs Hayes is with me. We expect to remain here a week longer. Birch is settled in Toledo, Webb in Cleveland, and Rutherford is attending the Polytechnic Institute in Boston. The little folks at school in Fremont.

As ever, truly yours,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

October 9. — Rev. Leonard W. Bacon, of Norwich, Connecticut, called on me with a letter of introduction from Chief Justice Waite, to lay before me a project in which he wished me to take an interest. One of his parishioners, Mr. Slater, a man of large wealth, wishes to found a charity with an endowment by him amounting to a million of dollars. His ideas were generally on the model of the Peabody Educational Trust. He wishes to educate young men to teach the colored people of the South. The education is not to be denominational except that [it] is to be Protestant. The board of trustees will, it is thought, be nine in number, of whom I am requested to be one. Others named are President Gilman, Mr. William E. Dodge, President Woolsey, Rev. Mr. Bacon, Chief Justice Waite, Justice Strong, Governor [Colquitt] of Georgia, Rev. Phillips Brooks. The expenses of [the] trustees are to be paid as in the case of the Peabody trustees. No buildings to be erected. Existing institutions to be used for educating the young men. A general agent to superintend and see to the execution of the trust. Not less than two persons of financial experience and skill to be trustees. One lawyer, at least. To send scholars to be trained for teachers of the colored people, either,

- (1) Wholly supported by the Slater Fund, or,
- (2) To be supported in part by the Slater Fund.

The name of the corporation or institution, The Slater Education(al) Fund, or what?

For young *men* only, or for all young persons of both sexes, white as well as black, who will engage in the education of colored pupils? The latter, I have no doubt.

Today Lucy and I [attended service at] the Brick Church of L. D. Bevan; heard a good sermon, and Lucy partook of the sacrament. At the Twenty-third Street station of Sixth Avenue, the ticket agent knew me, and we exchanged greetings. At the Brick Church the usher evidently knew me, and requested to show me to Governor Morgan's pew. We were a moment late and I preferred a seat in the rear of the church. When we came out it was raining, but a hackman was ready and we road to [the] Fifth Avenue [Hotel] for two dollars.

NEW YORK, October 9 (Sunday), 1881.

MY DARLING DAUGHTER:—The gentlemen and ladies of the Peabody Trust will “dissolve” tomorrow morning, and go to their homes. Your mother is in doubt as to her visit to Governor Claflin at Newtonville near Boston, and to President Porter’s family at New Haven. My impression is that she will make the visits, and at any rate that *probably* Saturday evening next we shall be seen coming into “our own premises” at Spiegel Grove.

Your mother has been made happy by having Mrs. Ferris with her to aid in shopping and sightseeing, and also by Miss Russell, one of the New York ladies who visited us at the White House last winter. But your mother is not fond of a great city. It is bewildering and the contrasts of condition between the prosperous and the unfortunate are painful to her.

The hotel life, for a short time, is very agreeable. We meet very many pleasant acquaintances. The number of Ohio people at this hotel is large—particularly so from Toledo.

At this moment, before breakfast, Adda’s good letter was handed into the room and we read with great satisfaction that you are all well and happy. Good news coming with the sun just breaking through the clouds, after a rainy and threatening morning, will prepare us for a cheerful breakfast.

I hope Birchard and Webb are with you today, and that Spiegel Grove has not been much hurt by the frost. Here the change was great and bitter. Up at Governor’s Fish’s lovely place, the more tender plants were all cut down.

With love to Scott and Adda and with thanks.

Sincerely and affectionately,

R. B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY R. HAYES,

Fremont.

October 10, 1881.—Last evening I visited Charles L. Mead in his home in a flat (Fifty-fourth Street)—a comfortable home—cheap, quiet, and sufficient. Mrs. Mead is a fine-looking, sensible, matronly woman of sterling merits. Kitty, about fourteen, is growing tall; Lark, a stout Hayes-looking boy—that is, sandy-

haired and complexioned—and the little one, dark-eyed and handsome. A happy family. Our route on [the] Fourth Avenue street cars led for several blocks underground in the old track of the Hudson River Railroad. Surely, if that is a specimen of underground railroads, they are capable of good things; they would relieve vastly the communications of large cities.

This afternoon Lucy has gone to Orange, New Jersey, with her old friend Emma Foote Glenn, to be gone until ten or eleven tonight. I took the occasion to call on Dr. Holcombe, No. 54 Twenty-fifth Street. As I walked along Fifth Avenue, I met a well-enough-looking young man who accosted me, "I am very glad to see you. I can't call you by name. I am —, of Bailey and Company, jewellers, Philadelphia." I told him I was General Hayes. We separated. Soon after, near the corner of Madison Avenue and Twenty-fifth Street, I noticed another well-dressed young fellow following me. I turned and he accosted me with, "How are you, General Hayes? You don't remember me. I am son of one of Mayor Bishop's sons in Cincinnati, where I have seen you often, and knew you better than you knew me." We parted and I went to call on Doctor Holcombe. I stayed perhaps ten minutes. I took my way towards the Fifth Avenue Hotel, when I met Mr. Bishop (?) again, all smiles. "Glad to see you again, I have got such good news. I have just heard that I have drawn a prize in a lottery. Congratulate me on my good fortune." I saw at once the whole thing. Before I could reply, he said, "Come, go with me to the office and see how much the prize is." I began to laugh and said, "No, no, you will excuse me," and went off laughing; young Bishop (?) striding away rapidly.

October 11, 1881.—Lucy left for Boston this morning with Charley Mead on the New Haven and Hartford Railroad at 11 A. M. I stood for my picture in Mr. Chase's studio about forty-five minutes. After Lucy left I called on Mrs. Chief Justice Waite; had a pleasant chat. I then went to the Fine Arts Museum in Central Park. Its pictures and statuary are goodish, no doubt, but its feature is the collection of Phœnician, Cyprian, and other Cesnola antiques. The obelisk is taller and larger

than I supposed. It is about three thousand years old. In the afternoon I left the *Evening Post* with General Schurz and rode to the end of the Sixth Avenue elevated railroad. This gives one the best possible view of the growth of the city.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, NEW YORK, October 11, 1881.

MY DARLING FANNY:—Your Mother will go this forenoon to Boston to make her long talked of visit to Mrs. Governor Claflin. We have written to Rutherford to meet your mother at the depot.

Last evening she went out to Orange, New Jersey, with Emma Foote Glenn, our old Cincinnati friend, and had a delightful visit with some of Emma's relatives in that beautiful suburban town.

On her return, about eleven o'clock, the whole city was lighted by the burning of the large car stables a few squares from here. Your mother, you know, is always greatly interested in the excitement and scenes of fires, and wanted me to go with her to this one, but I was in bed, the night was sharp, and I persuaded her to be content with seeing it from an upper window of the hotel.

The portrait painter, Mr. William Merritt Chase, has two or three rooms—large rooms—as his studio, filled with curious things of the greatest variety. He has a large, slender greyhound, black in color, of a beauty and grace that will attract one in spite of himself. Also two macaws, one blue in its general color, with golden yellow under its wings, and long tail, and with green about its neck and head. The other is in general red, with other brilliant colors on the under side of wings and tail. They are constantly moving and use their strong crooked beaks almost as much as they do their claws in hanging on to their perch and in climbing. The rooms are filled with antique furniture, skins, robes, curtains, carved-wood articles, and pictures. While he is painting I amuse myself with examining his curiosities and watching the work of his pupils. He has three pupils—one lady and two gentlemen. They copy pictures or

articles that are scattered about the room. The young lady seems to be well advanced. She works rapidly and skilfully.

I still think your mother will be back in time to reach home Saturday night, but I am not so confident of it as I was when I wrote you last.

With love to Scott and Adda.

Affectionately, your father,

R. B. H.

FANNY R. HAYES,
Fremont.

October 12, 1881. — The news from Ohio this morning indicates the election — the reëlection — of Governor Foster by a handsome majority, and that the vote for the so-called Temperance ticket is not large. I trust this is all so. The lesson needed is that temperance is not — in Ohio at least — to be promoted either by legislation or by the organization of temperance parties. Its true methods are education, example, argument, and friendly and sympathetic persuasion. Legislation and political parties in the interest of temperance all aim at the liquor seller. They do not reach his customers. If he is a criminal, what is the man who tempts him? If there are no customers there will be no sellers. Party spirit and party methods are not the agencies for moral reforms.

Moral reforms are advanced by example, by education, by religion. Force is not to be resorted to in such cases. Law is force. When public sentiment pronounces any business or occupation a nuisance, it will seek a way to put it down but not before. The field for temperance work is a wide one. But it is not the political caucus or the criminal court. The time and zeal and labor and money wasted in political efforts by sincere but mistaken temperance men and women would, if devoted to better methods — to religious and educational methods, and to persuasion and example — have carried the reform forward to points which it now seems not likely to reach in many years.

The political field is not the field in which effective work can be done for temperance. The only laws which apply to the sub-

TRUE METHODS OF TEMPERANCE REFORM 47

ject are laws to prevent nuisances. When the liquor business becomes a nuisance, it is not a question for temperance people merely, but all citizens become interested in removing the nuisance. The legislation required in such cases is not temperance legislation — not legislation in the interest of temperance reform merely, but legislation in the interest of good order, for the suppression of crime and violence, and such legislation may well be left to the sense of duty and self-interest of the community at large. The work of the temperance reformer is with individuals. Its methods are religion, education, example, argument, and persuasion.

Dr. William Frederick Holcombe, an occulist, descendant of George Hayes, [of] Granby, called and gave me many interesting facts about the Hayes and Holcombe family. He is a genealogist and is getting up a family book. He says the old George Hayes [home], more than one hundred and fifty years old, still stands — a fairly good house for the period.

NEW YORK, October 12, 1881.

MY DEAR WEBB:— I am glad that Foster has a handsome majority, and that the Prohibition ticket seems to have had a slender support. The latter is a good result on many accounts. No moral question gains by adopting the methods or spirit of party. Temperance is a question for the individual. With each citizen sound in principle and practice, there would be no demand for legislation. On the other hand, as long as the citizens in opinion and practice regard liquor making and selling as legitimate business, no law against it will avail. The true methods for advancing the temperance reform are to use religious and moral agencies — education, example, argument, and persuasion. The small fragment of Ohio friends of temperance who rush into political movements do harm to both religion and temperance. I am glad to believe that our new preacher is not tainted with fanaticism on the subject.

Your mother has gone to Boston. She will return, I think, Friday. We may go home Saturday, but I think not until next

week. I am getting on nicely. Carl [Schurz] is well and happy. Speaks cordially of you and Fanny.

With love to Mr. and Mrs. Austin.

Sincerely,

WEBB C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

H.

October 13, 1881. — I am now regularly attending upon Mr. Chase at his studio, 51 West Tenth Street, from 9 to 10 in the morning and from 2 to 3 P. M. He is, I suspect, getting a very truthful likeness. I would like it better if [it] was not so gray, not so cramped about the eyes, and not quite so corpulent. But is not this quarrelling with nature?

October 20, 1881. — We returned after an absence since October 3. Our trip to New York was first to attend the meetings of the Peabody trustees and second to give to Mr. William Merritt Chase an opportunity to paint the portrait for Harvard Memorial Hall.

October 23, 1881. — I am still honored with the hatred and persistent attacks of the New York *Sun*, the Philadelphia *Times*, H. J. Ramsdell, and a small number of followers in various parts of the country. A few are Democrats. More of them are malignant Stalwarts. Their course proves that a good deal was done during my Administration which was worthy of admiration. I am at a loss to say what act gives me most claim on their attention. With some it is temperance at the White House, with some it is fair and wise dealing with the South, and with more it is my blows at the patronage of the bosses. Mr. Lincoln is reported to have said of certain assaults on himself, "It seems to be a comfort to them and doesn't hurt me."

October 25, 1881. — It is stated that "a friend of Mr. Tyner" says that he made a report of the Star Route frauds to Judge Key; that Judge Key did nothing about it because "it would hurt the party"; that President Hayes' attention was called to it also. Why he didn't act is not known.

So far as I am concerned this is not true. Neither Tyner nor Key ever hinted anything against the efficiency or the integrity of Brady. On the contrary, both sustained him in their conversations with me. The only attacks made on him which reached me were from Members of Congress. Congress was at the time engaged in an investigation of the charges against him with ample powers and means to make it thorough, and it seemed to me that the disposition was to go to the bottom of the matter.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 26, 1881.

MY DEAR S—:— I am glad you are still watchful of my reputation. No doubt there is a disposition in some quarters to throw mud. Precisely what attention, if any, I should give to these attempts is perhaps a question. Remembering the maxim of the French, "He who *excuses* accuses himself," my habit is to let these things pass. When authentic and responsible statements are made, it will no doubt appear that Key and Tyner both assured me of the perfect integrity of Brady and his administration, and that nothing to the contrary appeared before me until Congress took it up with far ampler powers and means for investigation than I had. That *then* I took steps immediately to put a stop to all further practices of the sort complained of. But as it now stands, I am clear that nothing should come *either directly or indirectly* from me on the subject. "*One of Tyner's friends*" is not a person I can dispute with personally or through friends.

If you, after further reflection, think otherwise, I rely on your friendship to keep me informed and not to act until you hear from me and consult me. One thing you may be sure of, I was not a party to covering up anything.

Brady and his set of Stalwarts were always my enemies, as you know.

With thanks. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
Chicago.

October 27.—Vice-President Wheeler came to Fremont and was the guest of his old friend Mr. F. S. White. We gave him a dinner yesterday which was very enjoyable and in all respects successful. Plain but good. (1) Tomato soup, (2) whitefish, (3) oysters on toast, (4) roast beef, chickens, and vegetables with coffee, (5) blanc-mange by Adda Cook—excellent, (6) fruit, (7) cigars—and a chat for an hour and a half.—Mr. Wheeler is in fair health. A noble, honest, patriotic man!

Guests: Wheeler, Buckland, Rev. Drs. Mather and Bushnell, White, Drs. Stilwell, Wilson, and Rice (our Member of Congress), Moore (John P.), Colonel Haynes, and Mr. Keeler. Mrs. Hayes and myself at either end of the table.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 5, 1881.

MY DEAR JUDGE:—I am in receipt of your prompt and altogether satisfactory reply to my note of last week.

I had not seen your interview—only allusions to it—or I would not have troubled you about it.

I suspect that Tyner has not said all that is attributed to him—at least, I hope not. My confidence in you and him accounts for all I did, and all I did *not* do in that affair. With Brady I had almost no personal acquaintance. Let me say that your treatment of the present difficulties is what I would expect from you—characteristic, that is, straightforward and manly.

The only presentation of the present prevailing opinion ever made to me in a way to attract attention was by General Hawley. I immediately had Rogers [private secretary] see the Postmaster-General (I am uncertain whether it was you or Maynard) and Tyner. He soon reported to me that both were confident that Brady was perfectly honest in the matter. On personal inquiry the same thing was reported to me. The matter was then under investigation by Congress and the question of policy and conduct under discretion. It was proper to postpone decision until the results of their work were reached. But in the meantime, you will probably recollect, the further progress of the course of things complained of was stopped by my directions

that notwithstanding the law vested in Brady the discretionary power, it must not again be exercised so as to increase the liability of the Government until the matter was submitted fully by [to] the Postmaster-General by Brady and by the Postmaster-General examined and submitted to the President in Cabinet meeting. All this Tyner knew and approved.

But I am content, and only write this as perhaps due in view of our relations — always friendly.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE D. M. KEY,
Chattanooga.

November 27. — Friday evening the post of the G. A. R. had a good meeting to receive a portrait of Eugene Rawson from his parents. General Buckland made the presentation and I received it on behalf of the post. Remarks were also made by Captain Lemmon, Congressman Rice, Captain Tyler, Major Snyder, Dr. Stilwell, and Dr. Bushnell; with music, the occasion was fittingly and pleasantly arranged and the speaking good.

Austin George, of Ypsilanti, Michigan, spent the day with me yesterday. A good specimen of the educational men of that intelligent State. He invited me to attend the convention of educational men at (Lansing? Ann Arbor?) in December next and address them on the subject of National aid to Southern education.

December 1, 1881. — Yesterday our telephone was connected with Toledo and for the first time we talked with Birchard in his office!

December 3. — Firing with Scott [I] found that my short eye, the right, would [not] do to shoot with; this for the first time in forty years. A little dim, but at twenty yards I put nine shots into a visiting card.

December 7, 1881. — Weight yesterday one hundred and eighty-four. Rather less than usual during the last four or five years. Open-air life and better outdoor exercise agree with me.

Lucy goes to Delaware today; Columbus and Chillicothe before her return. She is called away as president of the Woman's Home Missionary Society.

December 8, 1881. Thursday.—I notice that there is complaint that the rooms in Platt's new building for the temporary accommodation of the United States courts at Columbus are too small. Talk of the contract being due to favoritism, I being President, of course. I had nothing to do with it. But there is a lesson [in] it for young Rutherford Platt. Never seek any *public* employment or contract. This from the school district to the Government of the Nation. I wouldn't own gas stock even. If in Rutherford Platt's place I would say to the authorities, you are released from your contract if the accommodations don't suit you.

December 10, 1881.—I have read the President's message. It will be called "a business message." That is, it is a message made up at the Departments with very little of the President in it. The important questions of the time are the reform of the civil service, the Mormon or Utah question, and education at the South. He *leans* to the right side on all of these questions. Perhaps we should except the civil service question. On this subject he evidently has no faith in the reform, but in deference to public sentiment, he yields so far as to recommend an appropriation of twenty-five thousand dollars to carry it out and expresses a readiness to [do] so.

On the Mormon question he strikes in the back. He deals with it as if polygamy were the beginning and end of the affair. Polygamy is one of the evils attendant upon a system which is utterly inconsistent with our republican institutions. Utah is now governed by an irresponsible priesthood. It is a hierarchy. The Mormon Church is the government. It controls Utah and is likely if unchecked to govern other Territories which will soon become States. The remedy—the only remedy—is to destroy the political power of the Mormon Church. No union of church and state is one of the foundation stones of our system. Utah is governed by the church—and such a church! Take from it political power, and it falls and polygamy with it

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within five years. How to do this? The measure should be radical. Half-way measures have been tried for twenty-five years. They have failed. Let the territorial government of Utah be reorganized. Let all power, I mean of course all the power that it is deemed wise to entrust [to] a merely territorial government, be vested in the registered voters of the Territories. Let them alone hold office, vote, and sit on juries. Allow no one to be registered who does not prove affirmatively to the satisfaction of United States courts, or other United States officials, that he neither practices the crime of polygamy, nor belongs to or supports any church or other organization which upholds it.

On Southern education by the aid of the general Government, the President is in sentiment favorable and sound, but he evidently doubts the constitutional power of the general Government to do what is required.

There is no ground for hesitation for this reason. The general Government has made voters of the late slaves. It is its duty to fit them—to enable them to vote. Let education be provided for them; through the States, if they can and will faithfully discharge the duty, and independent of them if they refuse or fail.

On the large list of important subjects with which Government deals, the message is sound and explicit. Notably so on foreign affairs, the Panama canal, the finances, the Indians, and the Southern situation. On the latter subject the silence of the message is more significant than anything the President could have said. *The question is settled.* The policy of the last Administration is acquiesced in even by the most "stalwart of the Stalwarts."

FREMONT, OHIO, December 14, 1881.

MY DEAR S—:—I am very glad to hear from you. Too much work is seriously injuring you. Can't you turn over a new leaf? It is a duty. You can't postpone it safely. Come down here and see how to do it. We are busy as bees, and rid of all perplexing and wearing work and cares.

Just now Birchard is down sick with a mild but stubborn winter fever. It is slowly leaving him. Too much work and reckless exposure have caused it.

In politics, it is observable, I think, that the President moves with great caution. This is the feature that strikes one in his message. When he leans to the right side, as on Mormonism, education at the South, etc., etc., he is timidly careful to make no decided or distinct committals. He is almost Van Burenish in non-committalism. And when he leans to the wrong side, as on the civil service question, he is even more careful to avoid decided expressions. Perhaps in the present prosperous condition of the country this caution is politically wise. We want to be let alone. King Log is not a bad king sometimes.

I look upon these three as the real questions at this time. The civil service, education at the South, and the Mormon hierarchy. On all of them it seems to me the time has come for decided, comprehensive, and radical measures. The civil service is likely to have attention enough. Southern education should be aided largely, liberally, efficiently, and promptly.

The Mormon Church should be deprived of its political power. It is idle to waste time on one of its minor incidents — polygamy. That will fall the instant that the priesthood lose their political power. No man should vote, hold office, or sit on juries who upholds the union of church and state, which nourishes the vices and despots of Utah.

I am glad you do not care much about my silence when attacked. The fact is, Tyner always maintained the honesty and efficiency of Brady. He insisted on his remaining in his place because of these qualities. I doubt the reports that *he* now talks differently. His friends may do so.

But the thing I would talk of, if I ever defended or denied or explained, is the Arrears of Pensions Act. That act was required by good faith. The soldiers had the pledge of the Government, and the people. Congress, State Legislatures, messages, the press — everybody assured the soldier that if disabled in the line of duty, he would be pensioned. The pensions were due from the date of disability, if discharged on account of it, and from the date of such discharge. The act was passed

by practically a unanimous vote. A veto would have been in vain. But I signed it, not because to veto it would have been ineffectual, but because it was right. It was a measure necessary to keep faith with the soldier. I had fought repudiation on the bond question. Here was a failure to pay a sacred debt to the national defenders. We could not afford — we ought not — to haggle with them. Suppose there was danger of fraud. Was there no fraud in raising the revenue to pay the bonds? Whiskey and other frauds? Defective legislation is largely the cause of the frauds complained of. Secretary Schurz recommended the remedy. Again and again it was endorsed by me. Let the witnesses in pension cases be subjected to cross-examination by the Government and the greater part of the frauds would be prevented. The failure of Government to protect itself against frauds is no reason for evading just obligations. It is said the amount to be paid is larger than was anticipated. That is no reason for repudiating the obligation. The amount is small compared with other war expenditures and debts. And the frauds and hardships upon Government are less than in many other items of unquestioned obligation. We can't make fish of one and flesh of another creditor. Look at the good done. In every county in the North are humble but comfortable homes built by the soldier out of his arrearage pay. They are in sight from the desk at which I write. *I would do it again.* But I will keep silent, and don't want to be quoted. If nobody says what ought to be said in Congress or the press, I will speak at some soldier meeting and *print*.

Come and see us. — Oh, I almost forgot to say, as I have said a thousand times — we are *not* going to Europe. We have *never thought* of it, *spoken* of it, or *for one moment deemed it desirable*. I have no means for the trip, and under the circumstances would not go if I could. To visit Europe, as you suggest, "in a quiet way," "to go strolling around, observing, studying, musing," etc., etc., would be a happiness. But for me that is not yet possible. I get invitations and all sorts of urgent talk from England, Scotland, Italy, etc., etc. A few years hence, if desirable in other respects, I can travel and be an American citizen merely.

With best wishes, kindest regards to Mrs. Smith and the young Smiths.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Wanted a good cabinet or larger portrait of you.—H.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 19, 1881.

MY DEAR S.—:—I am glad you are in charge of a sensible woman. You do need a guardian on the question of health. Get away from your desk. Outdoor life and simple outdoor work is the panacea for a used-up man. When I get the "trembles," I rake leaves, trim trees, or build fence. Two days of this sort of work stiffens the nerves and puts life into the veins.

No, no. Do not quote me on the [Pension] Arrears Bill. The argument is a plain one. The debt was the most sacred obligation incurred during the war. It was by no means the largest in amount. We do not haggle with those who lent us money. We should not wish those who gave health and blood and life. If doors are opened to fraud, contrive to close them. But don't deny the obligation, or scold at its performance.

My views, if they are your views, may of course be printed in any way that does not call up my name. Although almost twenty years in public life, my periods of public employment were merely episodes — parentheses — in my private life, my citizen's life. I never sought public life, except I did seek a place in the war. Now I am back where I belong, I mean to stay there.

So come and sit down in a rocking-chair, put on slippers and a gown, and play the patriotic philosopher.—Kind remembrances to Mrs. S.—Birchard better.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Is there an engraving — a good one — of Sheridan's ride? Buy it for me.—H.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

December 25, 1881. — No finer Christmas morning possible. My walk on the verandah in the crisp bracing air, with the roar of the high waters in the river at the rapids for music, was stimulating enough. . . .

December 26, 1881. — The presents were distributed in the old way. After breakfast we gathered in our sleeping room — the bay-window room, first floor, which is the family room a good deal of the time — viz., Birchard, Webb, Fanny, Scott, Adda Cook, the two house servants, Mary and Annie, and Lucy and myself. The list of presents was larger than I expected. The principal were brought from Cleveland by Webb. . . .

CHAPTER XL

REVIEW OF ADMINISTRATION—ITS MANY ACHIEVEMENTS — PARTICIPATION IN LOCAL INTERESTS — ATTITUDE TOWARD NEWSPAPER ABUSE — FIRST MEETING OF SLATER TRUSTEES — INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION — GREAT FLOODS IN OHIO — DECEMBER, 1881-FEBRUARY, 1883

DECEMBER 29, 1881.—My old friend Clark Waggoner is preparing a short sketch of my life for an Ohio biographical book. He shows the general merits of my Administration in a very satisfactory way. To my mind, the conclusive argument in behalf of my Administration is its results. Success is the final test of public men and public measures.

What was the result of the Administration on the country and on the party which elected it? The Administration found the country divided and distracted and every interest depressed. It left it united, harmonious, and prosperous. The Administration came in with the Republican party discordant, disheartened, and weak. When the Administration closed, its party was united, strong, confident, and victorious. At its beginning the South was solid and the North divided. At its close the North was united and solid and the South was divided. At the beginning both houses of Congress had been lost. When it closed both houses were regained. I can say with truth:—"I left this great country prosperous and happy and the party of my choice strong, victorious, and united. In serving the country I served the party."

The measures which did the most to bring about these auspicious results were, as a general statement, opposed by the leaders of my party; by the men who were most bitter in their hostility to me, viz., Conkling, Blaine, Cameron, etc., etc. I refer especially to the Southern policy, the civil service policy, and the financial policy of the Administration. The great success of

the Administration in its civil service policy was in getting the control of the New York custom house and in changing it from a political machine for the benefit of party leaders into a business office for the benefit of the public. This was where the spoils system was strongest, and where the reform was most difficult. All of my opponents were on the wrong side of the question. The victory was signal and in its results complete. The successful reform in New York is the corner-stone of the final thorough and complete reform of the whole service of the United States. What has been done in New York against such odds can be done and surely will be done everywhere.

The Southern policy, these leaders all reviled. Now all are silenced by the results. Their President utters not a word on the subject. His silence is the most significant proof of the wisdom and success of my policy.

On financial measures, all of the leaders named, Blaine, Cameron, Conkling, either opposed openly or secretly. They were all unsound on the Greenback heresies. I point to the results for my endorsement.

December 30, 1881. — Married twenty-nine years ago today. An event that gains with time. Yesterday Lucy and I took our friends Dr. and Mrs. Stilwell and Anna in our carriage out to Judge Finefrock's to attend the wedding of their daughter Helen to a young lawyer of this town, Mr. Samuel Garver. There was a part of the road not macadamized. That part was bottomless. The mild winter and the rain have made the country roads horrible. A pleasant gathering, and a reminder of our own wedding day — like it, on the Thursday between Christmas and New Year's.

Fremont, January 1, 1882. Sunday Morning. — Last evening I rejoined Croghan Lodge I. O. O. F. I belonged to it when I left Fremont in 1849, almost thirty-three years ago. Without an especial tendency to "the work" of secret societies, I have long been satisfied that they were in many ways very useful. Leaving out the beneficial feature, which is certainly valuable, the social and educational elements are excellent. All descriptions of reputable people are here brought together and in-

structed in the orderly management of public business. All are on their best behavior, a fraternal friendship is cultivated, virtuous and temperate habits are encouraged, and the best of our social instincts are called into play. The festive organizations, convivial clubs, and the like, are not safe places of resort for all natures. No man can be worse for the associations of Odd Fellowship and their kindred organizations. Most men will be made better. With this perhaps too moderate estimate of the society, I am glad to unite with it again.

I joined Croghan Lodge, Number 77, in 1848 or 1849. I took a visiting card soon after when I removed to Cincinnati, and in 1850 on card joined Eagle Lodge, Number 100. I remained a member until 1857 when I took a withdrawal card. Until I married I was a faithful attendant. After that, with increasing business, I found my evenings fully occupied, and hence withdrew.

In 1869-70 I had a semi-official connection with Capitol Lodge at Columbus. Perhaps I was a regular member on the books. I think I paid dues. But I never "worked" my way in — never saw an initiation, I think, and only attended when some committee called and had use for a governor as a notability.

Something of the same sort was my connection with a lodge in Washington — the Metropolitan, I think. In both places I did whatever I properly could on the request of the brothers for the benefit of the order.

January 2, 1882. — The day of New Year's calls opens beautifully. A perfect winter morning. During the year past we have been blessed with health. I have attended church, the morning service, every Sunday during the year. Lucy has enjoyed excellent health, and with slight exceptions the same is true of all of our family.

FREMONT, January 2, 1882.

DEAR MRS. GARFIELD: — The Honorable William A. Courtenay, the mayor of Charleston, South Carolina, and the city council of that city, have done me the honor to assign to me the

duty of transmitting to you, for yourself, the members of your family, and Mrs. Eliza B. Garfield, and for Colonel Rockwell, copies of the proceedings of the city council and of the citizens of Charleston, upon the death of President Garfield. Among the consolations which reach you in affliction, not the least certainly, is the fact of which these proceedings afford a signal example, that all the countrymen of President Garfield are united in mourning his loss and in their high appreciation of his character and services.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. J. A. GARFIELD.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 3, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your valued favor of the 29th was received yesterday. The memorial copies of the proceedings of the council and citizens on the death of President Garfield came by express a few hours earlier. I have sent the copies intended for Mrs. Garfield and her family, and for Colonel Rockwell, with a short letter of transmissal by my son Webb C. Hayes, who will in person deliver them to the proper persons today. I enclose you herewith a copy of my letter to Mrs. Garfield. When a reply is received by me I will send it to you.

I am specially gratified by the receipt of the copy sent to me and beg you to accept my thanks. The three remaining copies I will send to the State Library at Columbus, and to the public libraries of Cleveland and Fremont.

With the greatest respect, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM A. COURTENAY,
Charleston.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 3, 1882.

MY DEAR MAJOR:—Thanks for your prompt and vigorous friendship. You made short work of it. You might have added that I have *never talked* or *thought* of going to Europe and *am not going*. I do not plead poverty in any case. My neighbors

can testify that I do my share freely on all occasions. While I am not a millionaire, nor wealthy, as the word is now used, I am, happily, independent, and again your debtor, as in the past.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MAJOR W. D. BICKMAN,
Dayton.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 11, 1882.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I received a letter from the Loyal Legion authorities at Chicago some time ago from which I inferred that it was their expectation that there would be an Ohio organization. What do you say?

I have just read your capital book [“From Fort Henry to Corinth”]. It is perfect, according to my opinion. This I can’t say of the other one of the series which I have looked through. The beginning of the war was not well told. It is a disappointment.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,
Cincinnati.

January 12, 1882.—I have just read the speech of the temperance advocate, Francis Murphy, at Dundee, Scotland. He puts the case well. He says: “If you want the liquor sellers to quit selling liquor, the people must quit buying it.” “When you come to be a sober people, there will be no difficulty about legislation.” “If you have legislation before you have sobriety, you will not keep the law.” “Help the publican out of his business by quitting buying his drink.”

FREMONT, OHIO, January 14, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. SHERMAN:—I am obliged for your note. It is pleasant to know that you are not greatly irritated or disturbed by the attacks on you. Since the death of Garfield, Stalwart abuse that would have fallen on him, is divided between

Blaine, you, and me. The Tilden Democratic faction is at the bottom, I think, of the attack on you and most of the flings at me. It is the cue of the Tilden faction to keep alive the fraud issue. One of their favorite modes of doing this is to abuse the members of my Administration. You are not hurt by it. You seem to be altogether successful in the debate on your bill.

With best wishes always,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 17, 1882.

DEAR SIR:— Your letter of the 11th instant is before me. Your testimonials, as you name them, are of the best character. Your uncle, Colonel C. B. White, I loved and esteemed. He was a rare man. My inclination is to comply with your request, and if, on reflection, it had seemed best, I would certainly have done it. Under the circumstances you will take the will for the deed.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

DAVID T. WHITE,
Wilmington.

January 21.— Chaplain McCabe with us last night. He lectured on the "Bright Side of Libby Prison" at the city hall to a good audience. Very entertaining; singing good. The chorus, "Marching on," very effective with the whole audience joining.

January 22, Sunday.— Uncle died eight years ago yesterday on a similar day, except that it was far more foggy and gloomy.

We had a visit yesterday from Mrs. Jay and Mrs. Moss. A pleasant and lively chat ranging over society, Washington, and bookish topics.

January 23.— I do not notice nor care for the abuse of the partisan and factional newspapers. A cipher ally or an ultra Stalwart organ may fling at me and I give them no attention—not a second thought. It is according to the logic of the

situation. But when I saw yesterday in the *Christian Union* the fling, "Great Britain has an income of four hundred million dollars and yet Queen Victoria is as poor as Mr. Hayes," I was vexed and felt like calling the attention of the editor, Lyman Abbott, to it. The squib is based on the malicious falsehood that I refused on the score of poverty to make a subscription to the fund for the Garfield monument. The slander was exploded the day after it was published, and everybody knows that in fact a suitable subscription — two hundred and fifty dollars — was made cheerfully and without demur on the ground of lack of means or otherwise. Perhaps I will write to my friend and kinsman in New York, Charles L. Mead, and ask him to give the facts to Mr. Lyman [Abbott].

FREMONT, January 23, 1882.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS: — Yes, indeed, those messages will surely be sent. The door will be closed between us. Our loving greetings will after that be exchanged no more this side of the river. And you have hit the nail on the head. The lesson is to do now and say now all we would wish to have said and done after the change has come to one or the other of us. To be so just and thoughtful and kind and good always and with everybody that no regrets can reach us if we remain, and nothing but happy recollections of us be left behind when we go, — this is the duty of this life.

This is easily said. Perhaps I should change my questions. Now they are you know, "Are you happy?" "What do you know?" Should they not be, "Who have you made happy?" "What can you do?"

So, so, a happy and healthy winter we have had thus far. One of the best of all our lives. I hope with you it is the same.

It is not best for Lucy to go East. This is truth, I am confident.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. JOHN DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

February 2. — Bright, still, beautiful. The woodchuck can see his shadow.

My friend Bryan in a letter alludes to the recent attacks upon me. In reply I have written this morning as follows:—

FREMONT, February 2, 1882.

DEAR GUY:—I am rather gratified by the criticisms you allude to. They call attention to what must, I think, be written down a very fortunate and successful Administration. It found our financial affairs in wretched condition, with a plan of relief in every mouth, and predictions of failure and ruin if the Administration followed the course to which it was pledged. In the face of opposition and unpopularity rarely equalled, it adhered to its own line of policy and left the finances of our government the wonder and envy of all the world.

It found laborers out of work, uneasy, in want, and riotous, and it left them fully employed at good wages and contented, hopeful, and happy.

It found the sectional and race bitterness dangerous and increasing, and it left it with the people of all sections and races more harmonious and united than ever before. More than all, these results were reached by measures and a policy which were strenuously opposed, in whole or in part, by most of the powerful leaders of both political parties.

By the reformation in the great offices in New York, the spoils system was uprooted where it was strongest and a demonstration afforded to the American people that a non-partisan civil service on business principles is entirely practicable.

I am pursued personally by the organs of two factions — each a minority faction — in the opposing parties. The ultra supporters of Tilden for next President, in order to keep alive the "fraud issue" for his benefit, let no chance for calumny to go unimproved. But the better brethren of the Democratic party have no hand in this. They follow Hancock, Bayard, Pendleton, McDonald, Lamar, Stephens, Hampton, Gordon, Gibson, Bailey, Colquitt, etc., etc. In my own party the organs of the ultra Stalwarts, Butler, Conkling, etc., etc., etc., are, if possible, still more bitter. The death of Garfield turns their batteries on

me. The blows which he would receive if living, I now get. But it does not injure me or my Administration. A mere nothing, a King Log, a dead level, never attracts so much attention. Hence the satisfaction I find in this stream of obloquy. It means that their political system — the spoils system and boss system united into one — has been sorely wounded. "But something too much of this."

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 6, 1882.

MY DEAR S.—:— I ought to have acknowledged your note before. But I expected to see you here so soon that I omitted to do so.

I congratulate you on your escape from official duty and care, and especially with such a reputation for integrity, courtesy, and efficiency. The notices you send me leave nothing to be desired. The past is secure.

Do not give up your visit to the Grove. Let it be one of your objective points at all times. This includes, of course, your whole household. I know there are some dangers connected with it. Since Garfield's death I am assailed with increased bitterness by old enemies, and new ones have opened upon me.

But, with best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,

Chicago.

February 10, 1882. — President and Mrs. Payne came this evening from Delaware. The president lectured on "Shams" to a good audience at the city hall. The humorous treatment of the subject was not particularly well done. But the serious closing part of the lecture, in which he treated of the attacks of Huxley and Tyndall on Christianity, was exceedingly well done and carried the audience.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 10, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:—I hasten to assure you that I am very glad to have found you. Mr. Birchard, having lost his parents in childhood, was adopted by my father and brought to Ohio in 1816-17. My father died before I was born, and in due time I was adopted by Uncle Birchard. He lost his health before he was twenty-five and was an invalid about fifty years. He never married; was a good business man and fortunate; lived to his seventy-fourth year; was very happy; generous and friendly; became a Presbyterian, and interested in all religious work; was liberal in opinion; and was ready to go when the end came. His death was without suffering. He talked calmly and nobly of the approaching change up to the last instant of his life, and passed away with a smile of joy on his face.

Uncle often spoke of you and wondered what became of you. I am not clear as to how much, if anything, he knew of your life. After his death, I had it in mind to find you. My friend General Force, of Cincinnati, had a classmate, I think, at Harvard who became and who is, I believe, a professor at Harvard, named Torrey. Torrey wanted to know about the pardoning power in Ohio. General Force sent me his letter. I asked Force to ask the professor about "Charles W. Torrey." I sent him your letter to Uncle Birchard. He was interested, and wrote to a railroad man, B. B. Torrey, who was interested in genealogy. *He* furnished a *mem.*, not of a lawyer, but of a clergyman named C. W. T. Hence my letter to you. You will perhaps be interested in the *other* Torreys, and I therefore send you the correspondence. Please return it when you are done with it.

Now let us meet. Come and see me at any time. I *always* have a bed and a plate for a friend. I have a son resident in Cleveland—Webb C. Hayes—and [I] am at Mr. L Austin's, eastern part of Prospect Street, very often. Mrs. Hayes joins in my invitation.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

REV. C. W. TORREY,
Richwood, Ohio.

February 17, 1882. — William Henry Smith spent the last two days with me. We fought over our old political campaigns from 1856 down to the last in 1880. The general result of a review of the past tends to satisfy me with my political life. No man, I suppose, ever came up to his ideal. The reform is either not accomplished or it fails to do what we hoped it would do. The first half [of] my active political life was first to resist the increase of slavery and secondly to destroy it. Both have "happened," as Mr. Tilden would say — or "come." Great and beneficent are the results. The second half of my political life has been to rebuild, and to get rid of the despotic and corrupting tendencies and the animosities of the war, and the other legacies of slavery. I feel that I need not defend or explain the Southern policy, the financial policy, or the civil service policy of the Administration, or its general course in a party point of view. Those who opposed its measures and policy must now take the stand. Let them defend and explain and apologize.

A gifted lawyer in Arkansas is reported by Miss Willard to have said in a temperance meeting: "*Law is merely public sentiment organized.*"

Public opinion enacted into constitutional statutes — embodied in constitutional enactments, in valid statutes — statutes which embody the settled public opinion of the people who enacted them and whom they are to govern — can always be enforced. But if they embody only the sentiments of a bare majority, pronounced under the influence of a temporary excitement, they will, if strenuously opposed, always fail of their object; nay, they are likely to injure the cause they are framed to advance.

February 24. — Touching the alleged inconsistency between words and deeds. First, consider the *paramount* importance of the Southern question when my Administration began; second, the paramount importance after that of the financial question; and third, the paramount importance of *regaining* power and retaining power in 1880. This last consideration has not been generally regarded as it deserves. But it was imperative and controlling. The Administration would have failed throughout if

THE HOUSE AT SPIAGEL GROVE
From a photograph taken in 1889. The house remains unchanged in external appearance



the Government in all branches had passed into the hands of the Democrats. This was predicted as the inevitable result of the Southern policy and the civil service policy by Blaine and other Stalwarts.

Speaking of Stalwarts. There are, says the *Tribune*, "Stalwarts *and* Stalwarts." I suppose they may be designated as Guiteau Stalwarts and Arthur Stalwarts. Brass-medal Stalwarts and Guiteau Stalwarts are identical. "A Stalwart of the Stalwarts" was Guiteau. Emory Storrs is a Guiteau Stalwart — the favorite model lawyer of Guiteau — his model statesman also.

February 28. — We talk of getting up a savings bank. What are the facts about such institutions? Are they safe, profitable, and useful to the community?

FREMONT, OHIO, February 28, 1882.

MY DEAR S.—:—Yes, indeed, the binder is an artist and this book — three volumes — are [is] the gems [gem] of my collection.

Sensible man, Mr: Rice. And now we have the predestined surprise which poor Arthur could not escape. What a fatal obligation! It is like the sale of the soul to Satan. I can not but feel grateful that it was my good fortune to have all such men my enemies. I can well think, if I don't publicly say it, "a man is known by his enemies." Perhaps I ought to claim this as a *mot* of my own invention.

Your full and explicit statement in the Sherman affair puts that to rights. In fact, Sherman is better before the public than if it had not occurred. Nobody will believe a word against him now. On reflection, was not a more strenuous treatment of the culprit required? Is it possible that he was so misled as to be without fault?

Thanks, thanks. Mrs. Hayes and Webb were both full of regrets at their absence. But come again soon.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

[Mr. Smith had written from Chicago, February 25:—

"I send by today's express a copy of the 'St. Clair Papers,' enclosed in the fairest covers American art can produce. Even though the [my] literary work falls short of your expectations, I would fain hope the binder's part may prove highly gratifying. He has succeeded so cleverly in shaping, polishing, and gilding the fragrant Levant (whose beauty unlike that of the rose is heightened by being crushed), as to embolden a comparison with the famous binders of Europe. If not quite equal to the work of Le Gascon or Roger Payne, it nevertheless when compared with books of ten years ago, shows decided progress in the art, and on that account has a certain value.

"The Virgilian line, *Fugit irreparabile tempus*, is true as to 'things temporal' (physical), but it is inapplicable to the spiritual. I recall the two pleasant days spent with you last week and live them over again. I find all of the incidents, tone of voice, and conversation fresh and again enjoyable. The interval has only served through the aid of reflection to deepen the first impression.

"I came away without touching on many topics that had been prominent in my thoughts before leaving home, and that gives rise to a feeling of regret; but, after all, it is doubtful if I would do better on another occasion.

"I enclose copy of an open letter to Emory Storrs which you will probably find in your *Tribune*. It was written by a State Senator, Honorable Isaac Rice, and refers to the extraordinary utterances on the occasion of the recent celebration of the Lincoln Club of New York. . . ."]

March 5, 1882. — A petition by Hayes, Waite, John A. Stewart, Phillips Brooks, Daniel C. Gilman, William E. Dodge, Colquitt, Morris K. Jesup, and William A. Slater, to [the] New York Legislature for a charitable corporation under the laws of this State (New York).

March 7. — The best hopes of any community rest upon that class of its gifted young men who are not encumbered with large possessions, or weighted with — discouraged by — large expec-

tations. I now speak of extensive scholarship and ripe culture in science and art. For the sons of the rich other fields are opened. They have their place, but the claims of society, of business, and of property absorb their efforts and shape their careers.

It is not large possessions, it is large expectations, or rather large hopes, that stimulate the ambition of the young.

March 15, 1882.—With Dr. Bushnell to Cleveland to attend the meeting of the trustees of Adelbert College of Western Reserve University. Fixed time of commencement, July 7 next; discussed salaries; settled expenses (without change). President Gilman will deliver the address. I am to prepare a minute on the death of Garfield and a short address on behalf of the trustees of the university.

Private and confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 17, 1882.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—The enclosed letter explains my writing to you. Without pausing to comment on the singularity of the request it contains, it is probably enough to say that the veto referred to did not discuss the subject matter of the bill before me, except so far as to show that it was a summary and in my judgment unwarranted disturbance of our existing treaties with China. I still think I was right in this and have never seen in California or elsewhere any reason to change my opinion. I am surprised that so intelligent a person as Mr. Perkins could have been misled. But I suppose he never read the veto or has forgotten it. It has no bearing on the measure before Congress. Of course, I do not desire to obtrude my views and do not authorize any statement on the subject. I certainly never expressed or entertained any doubt about the rightfulness of the veto.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Please consider the enclosed letter as laid before you in confidence and return it when read.—H.

HONORABLE W. S. ROSECRANS.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 20, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am astonished to learn that General Sturgis, in testifying before a Senate committee, accuses Mrs. Hayes of improper purchases and use of property at the Soldiers' Home. The specifications are said to be that she caused the purchase of extravagant furniture for the Home, and that she used for herself and family flowers from the garden of the Home. If Sturgis gave such testimony, as of his own knowledge, he was guilty of false swearing. If he lugged into his testimony such a charge on hearsay merely, he was guilty of conduct unbecoming an officer and a gentleman. I cannot believe that a Senate committee would allow a witness to name a lady in connection with such an imputation on hearsay. In any event this is the truth:—

1. Mrs. Hayes had nothing whatever to do with furnishing the Home. It was represented to us that it had been already furnished for the President's family under previous Administrations. Besides, the furniture of the President's house at the Home was not extravagant, but was plain and economical during the whole time of our occupancy of it. If expensive furniture is now there, it has been placed there since we left it.

2. The flowers used by Mrs. Hayes while we were at the Home were brought from the conservatory at the White House. If others were sent to her from the garden of the Home, she did not know it and did not order them.

If the Senate committee has anything from Sturgis reflecting on Mrs. Hayes, let it be thoroughly investigated and let there be an opportunity to meet it. We did not intend to come to Washington during this session of Congress, but will both of us do so if our testimony is required to get at the whole truth. The committee should send me a copy of any testimony reflecting on Mrs. Hayes.

This note is not for the public, but you may, if you think it advisable, show it to a judicious member of the Senate committee. No imputation against Mrs. Hayes must remain before the committee unanswered and without full investigation.

Sincerely,

[*Unidentified.*]

R. B. HAYES.

March 22.—Attended the funeral of David Deal, the last survivor of the war of 1812 in Sandusky County. A pioneer of 1830, aged eighty-eight [years], five months.

Saturday, March 25, 1882.—Lucy went to Sandusky this morning to visit Mrs. Fanny Boalt Moss and Mrs. Chester Moss. The young folks left with me to entertain. First a visit to the pond. Too much ice for rowing, and not enough for skating. A hunt after eggs with good success. Then John [Grant Mitchell] loads and fires his first shot. He put in the cartridge and cocked the piece. He made a line shot but too high. His second was a centre shot. Good for J. M. G. Jr. Then we all set to work gathering brush about the old stump and had a huge fire.

Longfellow died yesterday. "Loving, lovely, and beloved." I read to the children his "*Morituri Salutamus.*" All of these little folks had read some of his pieces and had their favorite pieces.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 30, 1882.

MY DEAR S.—:—I am surprised at and regret your sensitiveness. I must repeat what I have often said to you. Such abuse is an encomium. The highest praise comes from that quarter in this form. A man is known quite as much by his enemies as by his friends.

I can see why Mr. Medill would like a reply. The other side *would be* an interesting article. But for me or my friends to prepare it, is totally inadvisable. The obnoxious article acquits me beyond peradventure of all the harm charged. The charge I suppose is a ring to swindle the Government out of money by the purchase of Ambrose Thompson's interests at extravagant figures. Read the article and you will see that the opportunity and the authority of law, etc., etc., to do it were ample, and *that I did not do it.* The article furnishes its own reply.

But the truth is, it was never in contemplation to buy for coaling stations anything more than small patches of land at a few hundred dollars. The committees of Congress who recommended the appropriation that was made thought that our coaling sta-

tions would dominate the two best harbors in the vicinity of the Panama Canal route, and that with the consent of the local authorities they could be fitted up with shipping and storing facilities for two hundred thousand dollars. Moving cautiously, not a cent of the appropriations was expended, and the affair was left to the Administration of President Garfield. *Not one word* of explanation should come from me or from my friends of an attack from such a source. Do not, as you love me, be worried into a word. All well.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

April 7. — Temperance is like religion. It gains nothing by force — by coercion. Neither the force of law nor of arms can promote it. It is advanced by religion, by argument, by education, by persuasion, and above all by example. Men's interests may be enlisted for it as they are against it.

[*April*] 13. — Returned from a pleasant visit to Chillicothe, Columbus, and Delaware. All these places are thriving. Building greater than usual — perhaps more than ever before. All fine towns.

My aged relatives all greeted me with affection. All are feeble, but none of them is in immediate danger. Uncle Scott Cook was seventy-nine on the ninth. Aunt Lucy is in her seventy-second year and is not likely to recover, but may remain some time. Aunt Moody is in her ninety-second year — feeble in body, somewhat deaf, but her intellect is good, and her conversation bright and sparkling. She remembers the current daily news well and is interested in what is going on in the world. Aunt Phœbe, sixty-eight, is gaining and is quite herself again.

April 29. — Yesterday we received by express a beautiful brindle, mouse-colored greyhound named "Grim." He is said to be two years old. He is good-natured and neat in his habits. He came from Mr. William Du Pont, of Wilmington, Delaware.

Our kinsman Austin, of Cleveland, is the medium. "Grim" took all our hearts at once; especially the affections of Fanny and Scott. Our other dogs soon discovered that their noses were out of joint. "Hector," the Newfoundland, and "Dot," the terrier, both about six months old, at first showed some jealousy of the stranger, but his social qualities and talents quickly established good relations with them.

April 30.—In the afternoon Lucy and I attended the laying of the corner-stone of the large new Catholic church—the St. Joseph's Church. We were much interested in the ceremonies. Bishop Gilmore delivered a strong and interesting address on the topic, "The public has a right to know what doctrines will be taught in the building whose corner-stone we have just laid." It was liberal and fair. For the most part it would have been approved by Christians generally. He said among other things that our institutions were founded by earnest Christian people; especially was this the case in New England and Maryland. Although freedom of conscience as to forms and sects is secured in our Constitution, yet the Christian religion is at the foundation. New England was fairly dealt with. He stated squarely the difference between Catholics and others on, first, the authority of the church, second, on religious school education.

FREMONT OHIO, May 5, 1882.

DEAR MRS. MAYNARD:—Mrs. Hayes and I were greatly shocked and grieved by the sad intelligence of the sudden death of your noble and honored husband. The whole country will mourn his loss. To us it seems like a personal bereavement. Our sympathies and prayers are with you in your great affliction. That the best consolation of Heaven—the support which Christianity gives—may be yours is the heartfelt wish of your sincere friends, Mrs. Hayes and myself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. HORACE MAYNARD.

May 7. — Webb brought last night a beautiful black shepherd dog, called "Shep" for short, about one year old.

The Slater charter has become a law in New York. I will now try to make the most of this good charity. Industrial education, as well as religious education, must have attention. To make the colored people respected and influential, they must be successful in accumulating property — in doing the work which our civilization prizes most highly. Let them be not merely bookish scholars, but good mechanics and good business men. Let them show architects, civil engineers, and the like.

Tuesday, May 16. — Left home for New York to attend the first meeting of the trustees of the John F. Slater Fund.

Fifth Avenue Hotel, May 17. — Called at Chase's room. Portrait improved. Evarts' very lifelike. With Charlie Mead to Sypher's store of old furniture and thence up the elevated railroad to Harlem River. Tea with Charlie Mead. The conversation mainly on the Slater Fund and the policy to be adopted.

[*May*] 18. — Prepared before breakfast notes for the business in hand at the meeting of our board. Also remarks to be made at the dinner to be given to Mr. Slater by Mr. Jesup.

[At] 11 A. M., board met at place appointed [Mr. Morris K. Jesup's office]. Present: the Chief Justice (Waite), Governor Colquitt, Mr. John A. Stewart, Rev. Dr. Boyce, M. K. Jesup, President Gilman, William A. Slater, and myself, trustees, and Mr. John F. Slater and Dr. Bacon. After pleasant greetings, I called the board to order and asked Dr. Boyce to open our meeting with prayer, which he did briefly and fitly. We proceeded to organize by electing President Gilman secretary, Stewart, Jesup, and Dodge a finance committee, Jesup treasurer and Chief Justice Waite, Governor Colquitt, and Dr. Boyce [committee] on organization and by-laws; Hayes, Colquitt, Boyce, Gilman, and Dodge, on executive committee. Some conversational debate, brief and to the purpose. Adjourned to 12 M. Friday, 19th.

In the evening dined at Mr. Jesup's. Present, besides Mr. Slater and the trustees, Drs. Storrs, Taylor, Dix, and Bacon, Governor Morgan, John Welsh, Mr. William E. Dodge Jr., Carl

Schurz, Professor Baldwin. No reporters. Pleasant speeches and a most enjoyable time.

NEW YORK, May 18, 1882.

MY DARLING:— My trip was an exceedingly good and comfortable one. No dust, a good temperature, and good company. Not a single former acquaintance on the train but a number of very agreeable people. There were no babies to look after. I was, however, well cared for.

I took tea with Charlie Mead last evening. Mrs. Mead won me more than ever before. She is a superior woman. She discussed you so warmly and so discriminately! Katie is changing rapidly to a young lady. She sends Fanny the enclosed tintype. It has the great merit of costing only one cent and a quarter!

I bought the eagle-head knocker. It will have "Hayes" engraved on it — old English letters — and be sent by express. It is to be put on the side of the door which we habitually open — the *right-hand* side as you approach the door from the *outside*.

Mr. Evarts' picture by Chase looks well — very well. Mine has vastly improved. It is big and grand in its new frame, and the admirers of Chase admire it with ardor. I have one more sitting.

I visited Sypher with Mead. I suspect your favorite wardrobe is gone. They say so, and I did not find it. I saw one thing not that I wanted but that we might in a plain way have imitated to advantage. A sofa or settee with a huge chest under the seat which is hung on hinges. What a cavern for old boots and shoes!

Love to Fan and Scott. And "s' much."

R.

MRS. HAYES.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 22, 1882.

DEAR MADAM:— Your esteemed favor of the 12th instant is before me.

The Slater Fund has been placed in the hands of the trustees

only within the last week. The *income* is alone to be expended for the purposes of the trust. There will be no income until the interest for the first half-year of cash investment is in hand. No plan to expend the income will be adopted therefore for several months. *No buildings can be erected* with the Slater Fund. There is therefore no room for encouragement in the affair you have at heart in this quarter. The case seems to be a very meritorious one, but it plainly does not come within the scope of this trust.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MISS SARAH E. MACOMBER,
East Marshfield, Massachusetts.

May 23. Tuesday.—The Fisk Jubilee singers staid with us last night and yesterday afternoon and are still here. Their concert was successful. Miss Lawrence is lady-like and intelligent — a mulatto; Miss Sheppard, even more so. Mr. Loudin has intellect. All but two are of mixed blood. Loudin admires the English, has strong feelings against the Irish, and argued with me warmly against my opinion that the true treatment for the Irish was liberal trust, self-government, opportunity — the overthrow of all oppressive laws. He can't think of extending to the Irish what he claims for his own, and apparently all other races.

May 26.—With Lucy, Fanny Pease, and Rutherford drove up the river towards Tiffin about eight miles to the new railroad — the New York, Chicago, and Saint Louis. . . . The dogwood, now in full bloom, never looked finer than it does.

Last evening Lucy read a short speech presenting a banner to the comrades of Eugene Rawson Post — “the gift and work of the ladies of Fremont.” A good audience and an agreeable time. Captain Al. Tyler, a badly wounded veteran of the war, received it in a speech of some length, fervent and appropriate.

May 31.—Decoration Day was observed satisfactorily in all respects. The singing might have been more popular and enjoyable. General Buckland delivered a written address. Well

done and timely in its suggestion of a soldiers' monument. I spoke offhand and acceptably enough. Altogether a successful commemoration. I marched with the comrades of the posts from Birchard Hall the whole line of march to and including the return to the hall, and without fatigue. Probably few bore it better than I did. The weather and roads were very favorable. Mrs. Hayes with her carriage took her list of old ladies to the cemetery and home again, viz., Mrs. Gallagher, Mrs. Claghorn, Mrs. Dickinson. A happy day.

I yesterday settled my account with the old First National Bank of Fremont and paid for my stock in the new First National Bank of Fremont, leaving me to receive from the bank for general purposes eleven thousand dollars. This will enable me to pay off all floating debts and I hope at least three thousand dollars on my funded debt of about thirty thousand dollars. . . . I am to keep for myself thirty-six thousand dollars of stock and whatever I am required to furnish to home stockholders is to come out of the forty-one thousand dollars which is in my name.

I am invited to attend the reunion of the Army of the Potomac at Detroit the 14th and 15th of June. The toast assigned to me at the banquet is "Our Country." I may also be called on to speak at a general open meeting of the society. On these occasions I must speak of General Burnside and of the Seventeenth Michigan. Its gallantry at South Mountain and Antietam—an illustration of the effects of the educational system of Michigan; its system for general and higher education; its illustrious university, "known and honored throughout the world." Of General Burnside's military and civil [career]. I knew him slightly as a military commander, serving under him only a brief period, and at the remote distance of the commander of a corps and a lieutenant-colonel obscurely leading a gallant regiment. In civil life I knew him intimately when charged with the high duties devolved upon a member of the Senate of the United States.

On the Seventeenth Michigan, of the "thinking bayonets": Those who know what bondage is, even though deeply and brightly gilded, and those who also know what emancipation is—emancipation to an independence and freedom that need no gilding.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 3, 1882.

DEAR WINNIE:— I fear some one is using your name improperly to get money from me. Within a year I have sent through Mr. Gustin to you over nine hundred dollars. Now I have a letter which purports to come from you asking for a loan of four hundred dollars. What does it mean? Are you not earning any money? You speak, or rather the letter speaks, of your paying “very large interest.” Get some one to write me in his own name, that I can trust, explaining all this. Mr. Crook will write for you, or Mr. Gustin, or Mr. Headley.— We are all well.

Sincerely,

MRS. WINNIE MONROE,
Washington.

R. B. HAYES.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 6, 1882.

DEAR SIR:— Your note is very kind and the excellent “Hand-book of American Politics” is a welcome addition to my Americana. The friendly notice of my Administration is appreciated. The general public, content with the peace and extraordinary prosperity which signalized its close, are apt to forget the circumstances of unusual difficulty, violence, and danger with which it began. It encountered at the threshold a more serious situation than has confronted any Administration of recent times except Lincoln’s.

Notice these: The Southern question; the money question; the hard times and riots; the Indian question; the Chinese question; the reform of the civil service; the partisan bitterness growing out of a disputed election; a hostile Congress; and a party long in power on the verge of defeat. Is there any one of these which was not left in a better condition than it was found? I have often said that, leaving out of the question Lincoln’s Administration, it would be difficult to find one which began with so rough a situation, and few which closed with so smooth a sea. A good deal too much of this.

Sincerely,

MR. ALEXANDER JOHNSON,
Norwalk, Connecticut.

R. B. HAYES.

July 2, 1882. — At reunion of Army of Potomac in Detroit 14th and 15th June. At commencement of Kenyon 28th and 29th June — at Bishop Bedell's. [On the] 29th P. M. to Columbus. Platt not improved; serious doubts of his recovery. He bid me good-bye, July 1, as for the last time. Returned home with Lucy last night.

Our new savings bank started. Stands as follows: Deposits \$87,622. Loans and discounts \$90,553. This is a much larger business than I anticipated at so early a date.

July 4. — I occasionally hear that the rule as to interference of Federal officers in elections was not enforced. But it must be admitted that on this subject a vast and beneficial change was effected. The Administration did not through its office-holders interfere or seek to interfere with the freedom of elections. Those who were active were not as a rule friends of the Administration, but its opponents. Take the case of the important offices at Portland, Boston, Providence, New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, St. Louis, etc., etc. For the first [time] in fifty years these great offices were not used to promote the party and personal ends of the Administration.

As to assessments: All officers were distinctly notified that they need not contribute to political purposes. There were large numbers who did not do so and none of them were removed or prejudiced by their neglect or refusal to contribute.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 5, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:— I am very glad to get your letter, and to hear the exact condition of affairs. I have suspected for some time that "to get even" was the key to the Conkling-Arthur policy. No merit will save any officer who was a friend of the Hayes Administration. Only fear of public opinion spares those who are left.

I am glad you can say what you do about Rice and Ritchie. I believed they would stand by Waggoner, but his enemies started a report that all the Members of Congress, yourself included, were against him. There are no Arthur men in this region except a few who want place at any price.

Your situation is, of course, uncomfortable. But you may feel sure that none of the attacks on you are injurious. All the people regard them with contempt.

As to the Louisiana expenses, it is right that they should be paid. I am not, however, now in need. Land sells at fair prices, and I am independent again. My income is not large, but it is sufficient, and my debts are now in manageable shape. A year or two more of these good times and I am as easy as an old shoe. I say that much on my improved pecuniary condition because I had told you of my embarrassments.

With kindest regards to Mrs. Sherman.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 5, 1882.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—For several weeks I have had it in mind to say we expect you this summer at your own convenience, with Mrs. Force and the young gentleman, "done-finished" with your household. We are in somewhat more satisfactory condition than when you saw us last. Come prepared to stay long enough to be and to feel at home — a fortnight at least. We expect to remain at home with only absences of a day or two at a time until October.

With friendly regards to Mrs. Force, and in all this Mrs. Hayes joins warmly.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—"Say, the sooner the better." So says Lucy; so say we all.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE.

SPIEGEL GROVE, July 8, 1882.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS:—You did celebrate the Fourth beautifully. With us "gunpowder day," as you fitly call it, was boys' day. Scott and Fanny, with a chum of Scott's, began early and held on late into the night. As he crept to bed tired, begrimed,

and with burned fingers, he said, as you do, "It was [the] best time in my life."

You seem to have doubted about Chautauqua. Why, it was your intention to go that decided Lucy. She was, of course, averse to going, but with you there, all will be well with her. Without you, she will send "regrets" — "unavoidably prevented," or the like.

We too have had our best year these last months. If we could expel from it the great national tragedy, clearly our last year would have been our happiest.

That debt must be paid to you and the doctor in Spiegel Grove. When? We hope soon.

All well and full of good wishes and friendship for you and Doctor.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. ELIZA G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 10, 1882.

DEAR SIR:— . . . I have for some years been satisfied that the next important step to be taken in the progressive improvement of our educational systems is the introduction of instruction in "the arts by which civilized men live." An education that will do this will be a vast improvement on what existing methods furnish. Whatever encouragement and aid to this much needed progress it is in my power to contribute, will be heartily given.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. EDWARD DANIELS.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 26, 1882.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— I send you the autographs herewith.

I have an official document from the headquarters of the Loyal Legion authorizing the organizing of the Ohio Commandery. I suppose similar papers were sent to all of the applicants. I wrote to Colonel Dawes as suggested therein. October 4 may be an inconvenient day for me to attend, but I now think I can

do so. I am to be in New York on the 6th or 7th, and am a young person of sixty (!) on the fourth.

We would be very happy to extend our invitation to Miss Stettinius and the Andersons, if we thought they would enjoy coming. We admire them, are very fond of them, but are afraid we are too — well, say, immature for them to be quite jolly in our old-fashioned place. Our big barn would hold them and all their calamities if they would like the camp.

With kind remembrances to Mrs. Force.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Mrs. Hayes goes with Rutherford and Adda Cook to Chautauqua today for five days' absence, leaving Fanny and Scott to take care of me.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,
Cincinnati.

July 31, 1882.—I am urged to talk at the missionary meeting in Cleveland next November. I will do it if Congress fails to pass the bill appropriating ten millions for education at the South, and take the "Nation's Duty" for my topic.

August 2.—Last evening Bishop Wiley and Dr. and Mrs. Rust at tea and guests for the night. Mr. and Mrs. Meek and Mrs. Bristol spent the evening. A fine pleasant little gathering. The topic was education in the South and the work of the church in that connection. Views of all liberal and hopeful.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 2, 1882.

DEAR SIR:—I have your letter of the 31st ultimo. You are no doubt altogether sound in your notion of the importance to Toledo of manufacturing establishments. Commerce alone will not make it a large city. If your own citizens are so attracted by the chances of operations in produce as to be indifferent to enterprises of the sort you name, it will be natural for outsiders

interested in Toledo to wait until local interest is aroused; and unless informed as to probable location, and a more general feeling in its favor in your city, I am not disposed to give the matter much consideration. When Toledo people care to take hold themselves, I will do my full share in all such projects.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. C. B. PHILLIPS,
SECRETARY.

August 8, 1882. — We hear today from Columbus that Brother William A. Platt died this morning. He married again a few years after the death of my sister and now leaves a widow and three children of hers. He has been a successful man and raised a family of fine children. The daughters married well and have families of lovely children. Rutherford, the only son, is unmarried. He is a young man of sterling qualities — a promising young lawyer. We go to the funeral. It will be Thursday next.

August 9, 1882. — After a week of heavy rains, it is today very cold. We had no destructive rains here, but a few miles east on Green Creek, and a few miles west, the water fell in sheets or rivers. Two railroad accidents in the county by wash-outs and bridges destroyed; sheep drowned and much damage to crops.

August 19. — A good reunion at Lakeside of the Twenty-third. Forty to fifty veterans and as many more — wives and children. No grandchildren in the regiment yet, so far as heard from.

August 27. — We must not divorce the mind from the hand. The way to make a living need not diverge widely from the way to become a scholar.

September 5, 1882. — Mrs. Sneed and her daughter, Miss Austine Sneed, are visiting us — Washington correspondents of excellent character. They are not here to write us up. We are much interested in their accounts of Washington affairs. Nothing could be further from our desire than to return to Washington

and enter again its whirl, either socially or politically, but we are interested in seeing Washington with the *roof off*.

September 20, 1882. — Yesterday with General Force attended a fine reunion of the soldiers of Huron and Sandusky Counties at Bellevue. We both made speeches. This morning the general and his family after a [week's] visit which we have greatly enjoyed left for home.

This morning Lucy with Fanny left for Cleveland. Fanny goes to attend the school of Miss Mittleberger. This is her first departure from the family roof. She will be near us — less than three hours by rail. But it is the first absence! Bless the darling!

September 23, 1882. — General Grosvenor and Colonel Corbin stayed with me last night. A good talk over matters. General Grosvenor said President Garfield told him with a good deal of feeling, during the pendency of the controversy over the nomination of Robertson, that a very few days before the resignation of Conkling and Platt, MacVeagh and James held a conference with Conkling and Platt in Philadelphia — this without advising Garfield of it either before or after the conference!

Reverend Lyman Abbott wants an article for the *Christian Union* on the legal aspects of the temperance question. In reply I told him that the publication of my opinions, if they attracted [attention] at all would "provoke profitless controversy."

"Certain experiments [I added] must, as I see it, be tried before there will be any general concurrence of sentiment among the sincere friends of the cause. The tendency to division and discord is already so strong that I am averse to doing anything which will add to it. The true agencies for good in this work, as I look at the subject, are example, education, discussion, and the influences of religion."

September 27, 1882. — The editor of the Danville (Kentucky) *Tribune* sends me an extract from the Mount Sterling *Sentinel*, implying that Arthur was turned out for personal dishonesty. To this I send the following:—

Private and confidential.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, September 27, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have your letter of the 25th instant. You will excuse me from saying anything in reply for publication. I have adopted a rule, and thus far adhered to it, not to deny or explain in regard to my official record. Exceptions there may be, of course. But this charge is old and has been properly met often. Sherman in public speeches has said that no reflection was intended on the personal integrity of Messrs. Arthur and Cornell by their removal. In 1879 I authorized the statement that if I were a citizen of New York I would support for governor Mr. Cornell; that it was not the personal character of the collector and naval officer of New York that was involved in their removal, but that the action taken by me was for the purpose of changing the system on which those great offices were administered.

The spoils system of necessity leads, in my opinion, to extravagance and corruption and for that reason the change was made. All this sufficiently appears by the public documents issued at the time, copies of which* I enclose to you.

As my letter is not to be published I retain your favor of the 25th. Hoping that you will concur with me in what I have said, I remain,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. DAVID A. MURPHY,
Danville, Kentucky.

September 28, 1882. Thursday.—Dr. Fred Baker and his wife are with us from Akron. They came to attend the wedding last evening of Thomas Stilwell and Fanny Miller.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 1, 1882.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I noticed your arrival at home and had it in mind to welcome you with a letter, and an invitation to our

* Message to the Senate and letter to General Merritt.

grove. Webb came over from Cleveland yesterday, and we were talking about you and your coming *as Webb and I would talk, of course*, when your letter was handed to me. Mark Twain says it is always or often so. A letter is heralded by a premonition. Well, we are glad you are back; would vastly prefer you would "settle" in Ohio—but not at the expense of health.

We go to New York tomorrow to be absent a week or two. After our return we hope to see you here as soon as may be. We will walk and talk—swap experiences, as Lincoln used to swap anecdotes, and so catch up and get even, after these lost years.

Mrs. Hayes says, on politics, that she feels as you do—"all torn up in her mind."

I want to know it, if you are likely to go off West or East suddenly; for it you can't come here I will go down to Cincinnati as soon as I return. We must have a meeting.

With all best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL GEORGE CROOK.

New York, October 4.—Sixty years old today.

Our Peabody meeting today. The Slater Fund trustees meet tomorrow. A few ideas seem to be agreed upon. Help none but those who help themselves. Educate only at schools which provide in some form for industrial education. These two points should be insisted upon. Let the normal instruction be that men must earn their own living, and that by the labor of their hands as far as may be. This is the gospel of salvation for the colored man. Let the labor not be servile, but in manly occupations like those of the carpenter, the farmer, and the blacksmith.

I had my photograph—face and standing—taken by Anderson, 783 Broadway, this birthday morning. Mr. [Peter] Cooper had his taken some time ago, on his ninety-first birthday, at the same place.

New York, October 6, 1882.—We have had a harmonious meeting of the Slater trustees. We invite Rev. Dr. Haygood,

of Georgia, to act as general agent. My only doubt as to the whole matter is from the nature of the investments of the funds. Over half a million, Mr. Slater had invested in the bonds of a railroad from Louisville to Chicago. This may always be good. But I prefer a security more safe than railroad bonds. The rest of the fund, so far as it has been invested by the finance committee, is also in railroad securities. I vastly prefer governments or bonds and mortgages. The finance committee is of Mr. Slater's choosing, viz., Mr. Stewart, Mr. Jesup, and Mr. Dodge. They are all men of good financial reputation in New York. But Mr. Slater's anxiety to get a good income from his fund I fear will lead to unsafe investments. I shall insist on better security even with the loss of interest. With forty to forty-five thousand dollars income we can educate eight hundred young colored people one year and have the services of a general agent who will be able to do a great work for popular education in the South by his lectures, speeches, writings, and influence.

What the people are their government will be. No doubt our government will remain republican "in form." But governments republican [in] form may be and sometimes are very bad governments. They may be corrupt, inefficient, unjust, or cruelly oppressive. I repeat, under them we may have inefficiency, corruption, injustice, and cruel oppression. There is no savor of salvation in mere forms of government. That government is best which is best administered,* has in it the element of truth; but, better still, that form of government is best which is most likely to be best administered.

Fremont, Ohio, Wednesday, October 11, 1882. — Returned from New York late last night. The Democrats seem to have beaten the Republicans in Ohio. Divisions and dissatisfaction with the Administration accounts for the change.

Our visit at Tarrytown with Mr. and Mrs. William E. Dodge was most enjoyable. We saw the fine places on the Hudson under most favorable circumstances: Aspinwall's, Gould's, Field's,

* For forms of government let fools contest;
Whate'er is best administer'd is best.

— Pope, "Essay on Man."

Governor Morgan's, Phelps'. Mr. and Mrs. Dodge celebrated their golden wedding more than four years ago! They are vigorous, active, and happy people who are doing a world of good. I never, certainly, saw a husband and wife of the same age who could compare with them in health, strength, blessings, and the disposition to do good. They have seven sons, all living, and the youngest with three children. All are in prosperous circumstances and are leading honorable and useful lives.

SPIEGEL GROVE, October 21, 1882.

MY DEAR SISTER DAVIS:— Since I reached sixty I feel that I ought to drop "Aunty" and accept the suggestion that I am now "Brother" Rutherford.

You do not invite me in that urgent letter. But I guess I'll come. We will if we can. We are committed to invite a host of the best brethren to our home October 27 from Cleveland, where we spend the 25th and 26th. Mr. and Mrs. William E. Dodge, Governor Colquitt, President Gilman, Dr. Bacon, and others are on the list. We hope they will come. If *they don't*, we expect to go to Cincinnati Saturday or Monday, and will astonish and dismay you with our traps and calamities. But as you see, *it is a case of more than doubt. I suspect we can't come.*

With oceans of good wishes, love, and gratitude to you and the good doctor for all these years of kind and considerate friendship, poorly repaid, I am, with brotherly affection,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. E. G. DAVIS.

Fremont, Ohio, November 7, 1882.—We left home October 25 for Cleveland. Stopped with Mr. George H. Ely. Attended meetings of trustees of Adelbert College, of Slater Fund, and the American Missionary Association. Reported resolutions on death of Garfield. Spoke at the dedication of Adelbert College; and, [on the] 26th, in Tabernacle to a large audience on "Na-

tional Aid to Education." At Mr. Eell's home on Rocky River [the] 27th. [On the] 28th to Cincinnati (Dr. Davis'); evening, Literary Club—thirty-third anniversary. Lucy presided over Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Trinity, 30th and 31st. November 1 to my friend Herron's. Visited Judge Johnston with Herron and Willie Herron Sunday, 29th. Dined with University Club to President Angell, Hoadly presiding. Dined with Shoemaker (R. M.), November 1, "M. H." [Murat Halstead] and George Jones, Mrs. Halstead and Nannie.

Saturday, [November] 4 (Birch's birthday), to Deleware. Aunt Moody well and interesting. She will be ninety-three the 24th of this month. She talked entertainingly of present events; had read the accounts of our doings in the newspapers; spoke of the comet and in that connection repeated verses written seventy years ago of the comet of 1812 and not seen by her since then! She compared the two comets! How agreeably the evening with her and with Lucy's friend Callie Little did go by. At nine P. M. down to Columbus. Laura and all well. A happy visit. Qualified as guardian of Susan, Lucy, and [Sarah] Platt. Home [the] 6th on time. This was our best trip. Found Rud, Adda, and Scott well and glad to see us. Scott, *high report* in all his studies.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, November 12, 1882.

DEAR MISS MITTLEBERGER:—I am gratified by the contents of your note of the 7th instant and by the record of Fanny as your pupil. I am particularly pleased by your disposition to relieve her of overwork. Too much is required of young girls at all of the schools with which I am acquainted. It is a great evil. Health and life are sacrificed cruelly. One-half the study's work should be dispensed with. I shall never find fault with a school because too little is attempted. A few studies and thorough work is the true aim.

Sincerely,

MISS MITTLEBERGER,
Cleveland.

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 12, 1882.

MY DEAR MR. MORTON:—I am in receipt of a letter of which I send you a copy marked (A). I also enclose you a copy of the invitation referred to in letter (A) marked (B). Now, I do not know Mr. Musgrave, nor by what authority he acts in writing to me. I therefore have to ask your aid in this matter. I, of course, do not want any gossip or publicity about it, that can be avoided. I prefer to pay the bill. Only half of the party [to the Yosemite] was *in fact* my party—but that is unimportant. In one sense it was all my party.

My suggestion is that you have a talk with Colonel J. P. Jackson, whom I regard as a friend. I will write to Mr. Musgrave to call on you. What I desire is prudent treatment of the subject. I will put you in funds to pay the bill if it is necessary.

I am sorry to trouble you with this affair, but I can think of no one to whom I can more properly apply for the favor.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN M. MORTON,
San Francisco.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 14, 1882.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:—We had a pleasant little visit of two hours at Delaware—a jovial journey there with Mrs. Williams and Mrs. McCabe, a good time at Columbus, and a safe return home one week ago yesterday. Altogether this Cincinnati trip was one of our best. We are now settled down for the winter. Not sorry to be out of politics and public life, notwithstanding intimations to the contrary in “the intelligent press.”

I send you my check for \$108. This will pay you my debt on account of the Toledo property to date, viz., ninety-eight dollars and leave ten dollars to be given Eliza to bring her here. She is one of the slaves that came to Lucy from her father’s Kentucky property, and we both think we ought to support her in her old age, if she can be content with us. If she can let us know the time of her arrival, we will have her met at the depot. If this fails, let her take a carriage at the depot and be driven up to the grove, where she will find a room and be welcome. I

am sorry to trouble you and Mrs. Davis with this matter, but I guess you'll charge it to some good cause and get your return after many days.

With love to Sister Davis. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

DR. JOHN DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

November 18, 1882. — The object of the [Civil Service] Order was to secure the attention of government officials to business, to the duties of their offices, and to prevent them from managing primaries and conventions.

SPIEGEL GROVE, November 19, 1882.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — Your note is before me. Any time will suit us. Our only possible engagement away from home is a bare chance that we may want to spend Thanksgiving in Cleveland.

"November's sky is chill and drear,
November's leaf is red and sear."

With nothing out of door to distract, we are jollier within. For years I have had no time to read. Now I am a reveller.

Well, come.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S. — Sunday is Webb's day. Why not make it one of your days in the Grove?

GENERAL J. M. COMLY.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 23, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR: — I am glad to get your note and the accompanying cutting showing the favorable condition of the New Albany, Louisville, and Chicago Railroad. This is one of the railroads whose bonds were purchased by Mr. Slater before he turned over the fund to the trustees.

I trust that in future no bonds will be purchased except those of strictly first-class railroads whose payments of dividends are regularly made. The investments made of trust funds stand on a very different footing from individual investments. Individuals invest their surplus. A trust fund has no surplus. We are to look for hard times to occur frequently during the lifetime of our trust, when at least three-fourths of all of the railroads of the country will fail to pay their interest. Our investments, we must hope, will be made exclusively in the securities of the remaining fourth which will continue to pay.

You will excuse me for these needless suggestions. I have great solicitude on the subject. The desire to have a good income wrecks a host of trust funds at every recurring financial panic. Let us avoid this sure road to ruin.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. M. K. JESUP,
New York.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 25, 1882.

MY DEAR SENATOR:—Thanks to you and Mrs. Sherman for your kindness. But the Toledo paper was not well informed. We shall not be able to be in Washington next week. Indeed, we do not expect to visit Washington the coming winter.

You perhaps remember that I was given one of the "Jefferson desks."* I have lost the key to it. Can you send me yours, to be returned when used.—Mrs. Hayes unites in kind regards.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

November 26, 1882.—Practical politics means selfish ends promoted by base means. Sunday-school politics means serve your party by serving your country.

* A facsimile of the small desk on which Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence. Now in the Hayes Memorial Library at Spiegel Grove.

SPIEGEL GROVE, November 26, 1882.

MY DARLING DAUGHTER:—Our first snow is now falling this Sunday morning, and the appearance now is promising for good sledding.

We had a birthday party for Addie Friday evening. It was carefully prepared for. Birch sent ice cream and other "truck," as he called it, from Toledo, and our girls did their best with the home articles. Addie knew nothing about the affair, as in honor of her birthday, but supposed it was an elderly ladies' party for Mother. She put in her energy and skill to make it successful, but never discovered the trick until her young friends came in force to surprise her. It went off beautifully.

Scott and Rud rode the ponies to the new Fremont Club House—nine miles—at the head of Mud Creek arm of Sandusky Bay yesterday morning, and returned after dark. Scott killed five ducks, divers, and mudhens. Rud killed two. Both returned happy with their good fortune, but as tired as ever you saw a couple of youngsters.

And you have been sick with a bad cold! My darling must be very careful of her health. We almost feel that you ought to be at home again.

We expect the whole of the Austins to take Thanksgiving dinner with us. You will come up with Webb and them, I suppose, Wednesday.

General McDowell spent almost a day with us. A very pleasant talk up of California things we had.

Affectionately,

MISS FRANCES HAYES,
Cleveland.

H.

December 7, 1882.—Lucy met me at Columbus the 29th [from Cleveland where Fanny was ill] and we went that evening to Chillicothe. We found all except one of Uncle Scott's children assembled to be with him during his last days, and at his death [November 28] and funeral. He was fortunate in his children. All of them, nine, are still living, and all of them kind, affectionate, and in every way worthy. He was a man of the finest character — tender, considerate, and with ability and gentlemanly

instincts of the best order. His face in death was very beautiful and showed plainly the sweetness of his disposition. His funeral was Friday afternoon towards evening of a bright winter day — December 1. Lucy and I returned December 2. . . .

Mr. Evarts tells this. Fernando Wood, excusing himself to some of his supporters when he had taken the right side of a moral question, "Oh, we must sometimes *pander* to the religious sentiment of the community."

FREMONT, OHIO, November [December] 8, 1882.

MY DARLING:— This morning is our coldest. The thermometer *now* stands 8 degrees *below* zero. This is the coldest I ever saw it in Spiegel Grove. It has no doubt been colder, but I did not see the mercury. It is now fifteen minutes before eight A. M.— the sun is shining beautifully — very little air is stirring, and the snow and ice on the trees is dazzling and charming. Unless the weather is milder tomorrow I doubt the safety of bringing Fanny home tomorrow. We can keep our house very comfortable. The journey is all that I dread. The sleighing is perfect. A snow of three or four inches fell on the old snow and slush just before the cold became so intense. The foundation therefore is ice, and the roads were not very rough.

Scott just galloped past the window on his pony, carefully bundled up by Sophy, looking like a courier from Valley Forge. He thought he frosted his ears a little yesterday. He carefully covered them with Sophy's help this morning. I couldn't persuade him to walk.

When I was in the garret looking for duplicates, it struck me that our gift-books — perhaps a hundred volumes — ought to go into a library where they would be read. After you come home we will look them over. The religious might go into the Sunday-school library, and others into Birchard Library.

We do miss you sorely. But don't hurry home. When darling daughter can safely come — then!

Love and kisses to her.

Affectionately,

MRS. HAYES,
Cleveland

R.

Private and confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 12, 1882.

DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of a copy of the *Baltimore Methodist* of December 2, which contains an article by you in which statements are made in reference to myself to which I wish to call your attention. You say:—

“We heartily commend the private example of Mr. Hayes, *though it should not be forgotten that it was charged again and again during his Administration, doubtless by some of the same persons who are now assailing Mr. Arthur, that ‘bowls of Roman Punch’ were liberally provided for[?] on occasions of public dinners where all that chose could imbibe.*”

I shall be glad to know on what evidence you make this statement. This charge, if it was ever made, is wholly untrue; but until you show me the evidence on which you rely, I must believe that your statement that such charges were in fact made again and again is also untrue.

Again you state:—“The pastors carried their case (certain charges against the District Commissioners) to Mr. Hayes, *who promised redress but failed to perform it.*” The redress asked for, you say, was “that a new board be appointed.”

This charge of yours is untrue. No promise of the sort was made. No removal of the commissioners could be expected until the accused had an opportunity to be heard in their defence. The complaint against the commissioners which you refer to was handed to them. They replied to it fully, and explicitly denied the allegations against them. No attempt to sustain the charges was made by the parties preferring them.

I am out of public life with no desire, expectation, or purpose to return to it. Having been greatly honored by my countrymen, I am solicitous to so conduct myself that no shadow may be cast on the great office I have held by reason of any act of mine. While I am not indifferent to misrepresentations of my official and personal conduct while in that office, I do not undertake to correct them before the public. This note is not for publication. But the office you hold as a pastor in an important Christian church leads me to think that in this case I should dis-

tinctly call your attention to your errors of fact. To correct misstatements about President Arthur is altogether fitting. But to go further and drag my name needlessly into the discussion, and to do it especially in connection with a repetition of libellous and untruthful statements, is only less reprehensible than to undertake to leave the impression that the dead President had decided to throw the weight of his name and example against temperance in the White House, and this too in the absence of an authoritative and final decision by him of the question, and especially when, in this connection, there is no valid reason for referring to him at all.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

REV. C. HERBERT RICHARDSON,
Washington.

Saturday, December 16.—Our gathering for the Young Folks' Woman's Missionary Society last evening was a genuine house-warming. Articles for sale were arranged in the large parlor or library. In other respects it was like any large social attended by old and young—with an unusual large sprinkling of young Sunday-school pupils of all races and conditions. The plan of such affairs is to charge an admission fee of twenty-five cents which covers the common refreshments, with extra charge for ice cream and the like. Not liking a charge for admission to my house, I told the young folks if they would keep a list of the guests I would pay the admission fee to their society and thus get rid of the charge at the door, and no loss to the treasury.

December 18, 1882.—I see the squirrels running about more than ever before in cold weather. It must be that the failure of nuts the last fall has left them without the usual store of food. To prevent them from starving, I will scatter corn for them around the trees where they seem to live.

President Angell invites me to deliver the principal address at the next commencement of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor the last Thursday of June next. I am tempted to accept. A merely literary address I could not think of. But I may dis-

cuss some educational topic with a squinting towards public questions, such as the true functions of law, its limitations in a free country. . . .

We must educate the people. Find a higher level. Law as a result, not a cause or a means. The cart cannot go before the horse. Education—discussion, general and intelligent, is the conserving force and at the same time the progressive force. At last, humanly speaking, character is sovereign. A frivolous people will have a frivolous pilot—a feeble government. All who make character frame institutions, enact laws, and execute them. The life—character—is more than the creed; deed than word. There is a Divine Providence. In the hollow of his hand are all our interests. . . .

Too much law, too little general education. Time, energy, efforts, brain spent—wasted—in trying to force the stream to flow higher than its source. In vain. The forces of nature are against you. A spasm of mighty effort may succeed for a day. Statutes by the score are dead letters. The silent but sleepless never-ceasing law of gravitation is against them.

The great educators, press, pulpit, railroad, schools and colleges and universities. The progressive force and the conservative force of our institutions is discussion—intelligent and general discussion.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 21, 1882.

MY DEAR SIR:—Believing that in the long run education—using the word in its broadest sense,—will prove, in our country, the most effective means of preventing the evils of intemperance, I fully agree with what is said by President Porter in favor of instruction on this important subject in the public schools.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. H. L. READE.

Tuesday, [December] 26.—A Merry Christmas we had yesterday with the *whole family* at home. . . . Presents by

Lucy to all of her Sunday-school scholars, to all of the servants, and to many friends. Also presents enough to us. . . .

December 30, 1882. — Thirty years ago we were married. No holiday season was ever happier with us than this. Lucy has some symptoms of ill health which give us anxiety. But on the whole she is so strong, our children are so promising and good, that as a family we may deem ourselves peculiarly blessed.

Monday, January 1, 1883. — Lucy is happy assisting Adda and Fanny to receive the New Year's callers. The small parlor and library parlor are lit up brilliantly; fires in small parlor and library; altogether a very cheerful house. Fanny in white is very charming.

Thursday, 4. — Last night at the post of the G. A. R. was put at the head of the committee to attend to the soldiers' monument at Fort Stephenson Park. The installation of officers took place. Our former commander was A. F. Price, a capital man, [who] leaves us. He goes to Dakota. A great loss. I invited the members of the post with their wives to meet him at my house next Wednesday evening, 10th instant. Shall prepare for about one hundred and fifty to two hundred persons.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 4, 1883.

MY DEAR JUDGE: — We have had a very happy holiday season. Among its pleasant incidents we prize your kind note of the 31st ultimo. In the natural course of things we are not likely to meet often, but Mrs. Hayes and I will never cease to recall with satisfaction the genuinely kind and friendly relations between Mrs. Key, yourself, and family and ourselves. We do mean to go South in the raw weather of spring, hereafter, but precisely when is yet undetermined. We shall, of course, aim to meet you on such trips. We hope to see you in like manner in the hot weather of the summer. We remain at home during all of the warm weather, and *will always* welcome your coming.

I agree perfectly with your views of the political situation. But while the party is placed in an awkward and unpromising condition by the errors we deplore, there is in the general affairs

of the country much to be seen that is gratifying. We have great national prosperity. The Southern question is no longer threatening. The views we fought for, in the midst of so much that was discouraging, on the civil service are likely to be tested by practical measures. So the country at large may look hopefully forward. Possibly, also, the chastening influences of recent events may bring better things to the old party. I am not without hope. On Tuesday, in one of our districts, we made a gain over October, enough to redeem the State if carried through all the congressional districts.

Governor Ramsay sent me a saddle of Minnesota with one of his cheery letters. Sherman writes gloomily. Schurz and Devens are both content in their present places. Altogether the members of the old Cabinet, are as well treated and as well satisfied with their treatment as any collection of "the outs" that can be found anywhere.

With hearty greetings from Mrs. Hayes and I [me] to Mrs. Key and the young folks.

Sincerely,

HONORABLE D. M. KEY,

R. B. HAYES.

Chattanooga.

January 5, 1883. — The first number of the *Commercial-Gazette* is disappointing. I had hoped to see a great newspaper. I don't understand it.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 5, 1883.

Please send me by mail the daily *Commercial-Gazette* from the first number inclusive.

It is to be one of the greatest — perhaps the greatest — newspaper on "the dim spot which men call earth." And yet it is with a certain regret and gloom that I reflect that the old *Gazette* and the old *Commercial* are to be seen no more.

Sincerely,

MESSRS. SMITH AND HALSTEAD,
Cincinnati.

R. B. HAYES.

Sunday, January 7.—Read Bancroft's "History of [the] Constitution." He shows how great was the work of Washington in the crisis of 1783-87. It is not generally known how important it was.

January 11.—We had our Grand Army friends, the band, a glee club, and a few others, perhaps two hundred in all, from seven to ten last evening. A very successful party; good music, and good humor prevailed.

Lucy with her usual tact and magnetic cheerfulness looked after the happiness of all until after nine o'clock, when she was compelled to leave by one of her severe and now too frequent colics. This she did so quietly that no one understood the cause. She found relief in about one hour.

SPIEGEL GROVE, January 13, 1883.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER:—Your nice letter, received this morning, makes our hearts glad. I hope you will be very considerate and cordial with your new roommate, and that she will prove in all respects an acceptable chum. *Chum* may not be the proper word for a female, but you know what I mean. . . .

You have perhaps heard of our Grand Army reception. It was a happy and beautiful affair. Miss Sherman and the Glee Club enlivened the occasion with old soldiers' songs, the band gave us their best music, and all passed off as we would have wished.

Your mother has still occasional attacks lasting an hour or two, which cause her much suffering. I suppose they are fits of indigestion or dyspepsia. She is now taking medicines which it is hoped will bring relief.

Your letter is well written. You do not always use periods at the end of a sentence, and you sometimes begin a sentence without a capital letter. . . . But your letter is so good and has so few faults that on the whole I must compliment you on its excellence.

I will write Miss Mittleberger not to worry you *too much* with examinations or severe studies.—With love from all.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Cleveland.

Affectionately, R. B. HAYES.

January 23, 1883. — Nine years ago today Uncle Birchard died. A beautiful life ended with a death serene and happy.

Why not introduce Governor Colquitt [when he speaks at Cleveland next month] with a few words about education in its largest sense, as superior to, the forerunner of, law. Law without education is a dead letter. With education the needed law follows without effort and, of course, with power to execute itself; indeed, it seems to execute itself.

A gentleman honored, trusted, and loved by the community in which he lives,— and whom [who] we are glad to believe is altogether worthy of that honor, trust, and love,— a State which favors a prosperity and a progress so great and so encouraging as that which belongs to the State of Georgia.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 26, 1883.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— Your letter of the 23rd starts off with “It would do for you to be absent on the 7th, etc.,” which is possibly *not* precisely what you intended. But I will come if I properly can. For more than a month Mrs. Hayes has had occasional attacks of acute rheumatism lasting from one to three hours, and occurring almost daily until the last fortnight. While her general health and spirits are excellent, these attacks are such that I would not leave her until they are broken up. It *now* seems likely that she will be entirely rid of them soon, *and that I can come*. Indeed, I now expect to come.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,
Cincinnati.

January 29. — I have a dispatch from W. Little. Aunt Moody died at Delaware yesterday. I go to the funeral.

Delaware, Ohio, Tuesday, January 30, 1883. — I reached Mrs. Dr. Little’s with Rud after eleven last night. William Little, (cashier) and his mother received us. Visited today Mrs. Watson, the Delaware County Bank where I saw young Hills and

Sidney Moore, my playmate in boyhood. With Judge Thomas Jones called on Benj. F. Powers, now a feeble old man of eighty-three. Mrs. Wasson talked of old times with a clear and definite memory of events almost seventy years ago.

She says that my father started with two waggons loaded with furniture from Dummerston, and a spring waggon for the family, in the fall of 1817. Mother and Mrs. Wasson went to Wilmington and staid perhaps a week. Uncle Austin took mother and Mrs. Wasson to the top of the Green Mountain, where they were joined by my father with the teams. Two children, Sophia and Lorenzo; Sophia, an infant of two or three months old, was often carried in a basket hung on one of the bows of the cover of the waggon. Lorenzo, an active little fellow of two to three, walked long distances when the roads were steep in the Allegheny Mountains. Roads, properly speaking, there were none. Once in the mountains the waggon with the family upset but no one was hurt. This from Mrs. Wasson.

Cousin Sarah is broken up and lonely by the death of her mother. She is grateful that her mother died without lingering suffering. Three weeks ago she had a chill, not a severe one, and failed slowly without pain until her death about noon Sunday, [the] 28th.

February 4.—The last two days will be long remembered. Yesterday for the destruction of trees; today for the greatest flood ever known at Fremont. The rain Saturday morning early began to freeze as it fell. The telegraph wires became so heavy with ice that the poles were broken or pulled over, and the whole telephone and telegraph system of this neighborhood broke down. The small twigs were covered with ice until they were an inch in diameter. All the weak-limbed trees suffered greatly. For two or three hours the crash of falling limbs was almost constant. Even a small limb falling with its ice and the ice on other limbs which it broke would make a roaring noise. Lucy and the family watched the scene with the greatest interest. Many favorite trees were badly marred. Old trees of all sorts lost large limbs. Soft maples, cottonwoods, and elms suffered particularly. Young white oaks and evergreens stood up best. The

losses that grieved us most are the injury to the large elm northeast of the house; one half of the tall sassafras; the tall young hickory in the orchard; the damage to three of the large old oaks, [and] to the four street elms.

Sunday was given up to the flood and the rescue and relief of the sufferers. No such flood was ever seen here before. The water filled the valley from bluff to bluff. It ran two to four feet the whole length of Water Street, and drove from their homes perhaps one to three hundred families. Men in skiffs were at work all day Sunday, rescuing people. One woman was drowned — others perhaps. The water reached on the pike (State Street) to the west side of Arch Street, on Croghan Street south side to the —. On Birchard Avenue it ran in rear of the Ball House and was within about two inches of the lower side of the water table of the building. The anecdotes of escapes, losses, and experiences are without number and often very interesting.

Monday, February 5. — The river has not fallen a great deal — perhaps a foot. The water still runs through Front Street and is at the front steps of the bank on Croghan and Front, covering the basement perhaps eight inches. A citizens' meeting was called to provide aid for the sufferers. The mayor presided; Tyler, secretary. Tyler made a speech favoring application to the Legislature for power to issue ten thousand dollars bonds. [Isaac M.] Keeler, [editor of the Fremont *Journal*,] opposed this; said the aid was wanted without delay, and the citizens were ready to give it. The mayor called for my views. I made a short speech for immediate voluntary contributions. I ended by moving a committee (five) to report on the whole subject. Carried. Haynes, Keeler, Osborn, —, and myself as chairman. I called the committee to meet at once in the room, promising to report in a few minutes. We agreed to organize with three committees — finance, supplies, and distribution. I was appointed chairman of the first, E. H. Underhill of second, and George Engler of the third. All unanimously done, and about one thousand dollars soon raised, I heading with one hundred dollars.

February 6, 1883. — Rud and I start for Cincinnati today. Railroads broken up by the great floods. But we hope to get through without much delay.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 6, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR: — I am greatly obliged to you for your letter about the portrait. My personal friendship for Mr. A — and a certain indifference about the matter might have led me to yield assent. The family, especially Webb and Rutherford, are very much opposed to it, and wish me to say to you decidedly that it will not do.

We have unparalleled floods in the whole State. It is the only business talked of here.

You have noticed the talk in the papers about the L'Abra and Weil awards. The action of the Administration in 1878, '79, and '80 was cautious and wise. The awards were made by a commission of which Sir Edward Thornton was umpire. There was no charge of fraud in the court. The judgment was of the same force and conclusiveness as the judgment of any other competent tribunal. But, out of abundant caution, for a year or more payment was withheld and the question referred to Congress, especially to the Senate — the treaty-making power. In 1880 the matter was fully investigated by the Senate Judiciary Committee. Senator McDonald made the report in June, and by unanimous consent the award was allowed to stand. After that the executive duty was plain, viz., to distribute the money.

I would like to have you send me McDonald's report, or better still, the volume of Senate Documents which contains it.

I hope you will succeed in passing a tariff bill. It is very important to the business of the country, and equally so for the interest of the Republican party.

Sincerely,

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

R. B. HAYES.

February 13, 1883. — I returned last night with Governor Colquitt from Cleveland. My week's absence has seemed a great while although the trip and visits were very enjoyable.

I was at Cincinnati from Tuesday night until Friday afternoon — from 6th to 9th inclusive. At Mr. Herron's found John had gone to Washington, but Mrs. Herron and the young people made me welcome and the visit a good one.

At Cleveland the Austins made me happy from Saturday morning to Monday afternoon, 10th to 12th. At Cincinnati, the events were the meeting and banquet of the Loyal Legion. I was made commander, cordially, apparently, of the Ohio Commandery. After installation adjourned to meet the first Wednesday in March at 8 P. M.

At Cleveland, presided in the Tabernacle over the Educational Bureau, addressed by Governor Colquitt. He was received very heartily and won by his good sense and warm good nature.

They [the audience] gave me an ovation, especially when the governor gave me the greatest credit as a peacemaker between the sections.

February 17. — The Maumee has risen at last. All bridges except Lake Shore either carried away or impassable. The long sluggish stream is a week behind the more rapid Sandusky and Cuyahoga, and even behind the great Ohio three or four days to a week.

February 18. — All the boys at home. Birch crossed the Maumee, after he reached the Wheeling and Lake Erie trestle that was broken, on the ice and so very unexpectedly reached home as usual.

Finished "Jerusalem Delivered." A noble poem and nobly rendered into English verse by Wiffen. The obvious criticism is too many love episodes for a heroic poem. On the whole, better than I expected.

Two invitations on hand for next summer. One to deliver the address of Yale before the Law School, and the other to speak at Woodstock, at Mr. Bowen's annual Fourth of July meeting. I am under some obligation to accept Mr. Bowen's invitation from former committals.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 19, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR:— I am glad to get your letter of the 9th instant. It goes without saying that I am much gratified by the friendliness of your letter, and to hear that you are in health and prosperity. I shall never cease to feel a warm personal interest in your welfare.

Touching the affair in hand, I did write you last fall, and enclosed you copies of two letters, one by Joseph Musgrave, secretary of Yosemite Stage and Turnpike Company, and the other by Colonel John P. Jackson, endorsed by W. H. Weeks, Yosemite commissioners.

I told you that being unacquainted with Mr. Musgrave, I wished you would act for me, and give or withhold the letter of the Yosemite commissioners as you deemed advisable. I regard Colonel Jackson as my friend, and would not get him into the least trouble. I want no publicity — no gossip about it. I would greatly prefer to pay the bill of the stage company than to have a fuss about it. I authorized you to pay the bill, or to draw on me for it. Although if presented at the time only half of it would have fallen to me, I now prefer to pay it all, rather than cause friction in any quarter. This is the substance of my former letter. It was written promptly on hearing from Mr. Musgrave in October or November last.

I hate to trouble you with this matter, but do not see any better way of getting rid of it. Perhaps a preliminary talk with Colonel Jackson would be advisable. But I put it all in your hands.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.— Do not let there be any doubt of my entire willingness to pay the bill. If that is the course to be taken I will at once put you in funds.— H.

HONORABLE J. M. MORTON,
San Francisco.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 20, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR:— You must excuse me for declining to depart from the rule I have laid down for myself. But allow me to express my satisfaction with the kind sentiments of your letter and my grateful appreciation of what you say.

In 1877 I believed that a radical change of policy with respect to the South would bring ultimate safety and prosperity to the colored people and restore good feeling between the hostile sections. This change could be most successfully made by one who represented the victors in the Civil War. Many were disappointed because in the South there were those who did not accept the olive branch. I am *not* of the number. The change did its work. Not instantly, but slowly and surely. The anticipated progress is still going on. A wise observer has said: "The colored people are now as well treated in the South as they are in the North." This is nearer the truth than many of our Bourbons are willing to admit. Certain it is, the people of the North have not in the last six years made greater progress in getting away from barbarism in the treatment of the colored man than the people of the South have made in the same period. But I do not wish to institute comparisons. We are all to blame in this matter. How few can say sincerely with Dr. Haygood, "our *brother* in black."

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. B. T. TANNER.

CHAPTER XLI

GARFIELD'S CHARACTER — PROGRESS IN THE SOUTH — LIBERALITY TO THE CHURCH — DEVOTION TO THE CAUSE OF EDUCATION — PRESIDENT NATIONAL PRISON ASSOCIATION — PAYNE'S ELECTION TO SENATE BAD POLITICS — INTEREST IN WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY — THE CINCINNATI RIOT — NOMINATIONS OF BLAINE AND CLEVELAND — 1883-1884

FEBRUARY 21. Wednesday.— I have just read President Hinsdale's account of Garfield as a student and teacher. Here was his strength. In both capacities he was a model. He had large faculties, memory, analysis, fluency, the debating faculty. He was the best popular debater of his time. He was not executive in his talents, not original, not firm,— not a moral force. He leaned on others— could not face a frowning world; his habits suffered from Washington life. His course at various times when trouble came betrayed weakness. The *Credit Mobilier* affair, the De Golyer business, his letter of acceptance, and many times his vacillation when leading the House, place him in another list from Lincoln, Clay, Sumner, and the other heroes of our civil history.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 23, 1883.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— I was lucky in letters yesterday. Not a single bore, viz., a letter in which I take no interest, but to which I *must* reply, and several good ones, capped by yours.

Mrs. Hayes' ill health was *merely* rheumatism. It left her in excellent health and spirits.

The hope of your coming to Toledo will keep me in "such spirits." I do not know Bottelle, but if his success is in your way, down with him.

The Pond book is good. Your article is splendid.

This writing is to say again, bring Mrs. Comly here and leave her among the Christians of our grove while you go over to meet the wild beasts at Ephesus.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL J. M. COMLY.

[*March*] 18.—Fanny came home last night with Webb. She is looking well and is full of animation. All of the family are together at home this morning. The Methodist Episcopal brethren decided to make an effort to build a new church at the official meeting last week. I proposed three ideas which were adopted.

1. Church not to cost exceeding fifteen thousand dollars complete.
2. No obligations to be incurred until four-fifths of the estimated cost has been secured in reliable subscriptions.
3. A committee on collections to proceed with a canvass for subscriptions as soon as plans are adopted.
4. A committee on plans; plan to be adopted by official board before a canvass for subscriptions is made.

I shall add, "No debts more than three thousand dollars in the aggregate."

SPIEGEL GROVE, March 22, 1883.

MY DEAR S—:—I am more than glad to get your talk about the battle.* Your description is in penmanship and English clean-cut. The fight was notable. I would listen eagerly to full details. Perhaps when I come to New York next month—about the twenty-fifth—you can find time to waste an hour or two on me in telling it. Such battles as you fought are the modern substitute for the combats of the crusaders, and of the gunpowder fights of later times as well. Gould, Garrett, Vanderbilt and such are our giants and warriors. They dwarf the gladiators of the press, the pulpit, and the forum. You had a great triumph.

* A contest between the New York and the Western Associated Press, in which the latter, under the generalship of Mr. Smith, was victorious.

Of course nothing is ever final. "He shall keep who can." But the past is secure and we rejoice with you.

By the by, what a growth you are making. I wonder if you are conscious of it. That short article of yours on Randolph, the "Krank," I read to Mrs. Hayes. She has an instinctive judgment of such things that is almost unerring. She said: "How good that is! It is better than he has done before—better than anybody else." There is something in it.

If H— and H— write to you, you will try to do their work, I hope. You needn't look to me. I write with a stiff pen. I can move only by jumps. The gift, or the acquired faculty, of a flow I never had. Too much self-knowledge stands in the way of effort—of improvement—and the misfortune is, it does stand.

Comly's case is a hard one. I saw him in bed where he had been lying a month—hopeful and cheery, bright and witty—but! !

Don't work too hard. Take warning by our friend. Remember us when you have time. We always have time to think of you and yours.

With all good wishes to you all, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
New York.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 23, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your note inviting me to address the comrades and citizens next Decoration Day at Piqua is before me. I appreciate this renewed invitation, and would be glad to accept if the situation would permit. May I do this? Let a speaker be secured for the occasion, who will in any event make *the principal address*. I will be present and make an offhand talk after the formal address. If I go anywhere on that day away from Fremont, I will be at Piqua. I will write you next month or early in May more definitely. Let there be no announcement of my coming until after you hear from me again.

Sincerely,

[Unidentified.]

R. B. HAYES.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, March 24, 1883.

MY DEAR MAJOR:— My thanks for your prompt and hearty denial of the uncalled for charges of the *News*. I cannot see the excuse or the explanation for its assault. As you say, I am in private life—and with no wish to leave it. As to the suggestion that I may be nominated for next governor, it is enough to say that on all suitable occasions (there is no reason to rush into print) I inform everyone that *I would not under any circumstances accept the nomination if it were offered to me.*

You will perhaps be interested in hearing what I suppose to be the explanation of this charge of parsimony. All who know me understand how foreign it is from the truth. When wine was excluded from the White House, there was a buzz both in society and among the talkers in public resorts. A disappointed office-seeker, who erroneously supposed he had failed by reason of his convivial habits (the fact being that the place he wanted was well filled already), saw his opportunity and explained the reform at the White House as a measure of economy—due to parsimony. Hence a host of falsehoods in that line. But too much of this.

We are all in usual health, and were never more contented or happier than now.

I hope Mrs. Bickham and your flock are in like condition. Mrs. Hayes joins me in all good wishes to Mrs. Bickham and yourself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.— Please regard this all as between ourselves. As in fact I care very little for abuse, I do not want even to seem otherwise by noticing it.—H.

MAJOR W. D. BICKHAM,
Dayton.

March 27. Thursday.— Last night a meeting of the trustees and official board of our Methodist Episcopal church met with

Dr. Mather in the basement of the church to discuss plans for the proposed building. The Lima plan — the plan of the Presbyterian church at Lima — was generally satisfactory. Mr. June came in during the evening and objected to it because it had no basement. This was discussed, and to some extent he yielded. Mr. Stairwalt was requested to prepare an estimate of the cost of the Lima plan with an improved spire. Adjourned to meet Monday night, two weeks hence. It was resolved to make subscriptions binding on procuring nine thousand dollars subscriptions on or before July 1.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 28, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR:— Your note of the 24th instant is before me. I have not the least objection to stating my intention as to a return to public life, and am quite willing it should be generally known. But I do not wish to publish nor to authorize the publication of anything on the subject.

When I left office two years ago, it was my intention not to return to public life. I have seen no reason to change this purpose and would under no circumstances accept the nomination referred to in the marked article you have sent to me. This I have said to all who have consulted me, and I think it is well understood in the State.

My chief interest in pending public questions is on the subject of education in the South — particularly for the colored people. Whatever I can do on this subject to promote favorable action can best be done out of politics and out of public life.

I am gratified by the general tone of your articles on my Administration and wish to assure you of my appreciation of them.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. ALFRED T. WAITE,
Boston.

April 2. — Fanny left this morning for her school in Cleveland. She is healthy and rosy, growing well. She plays beautifully. Her mother's singing last night was as charming as ever. Not artistic, I suppose, but I never heard finer. A happy reunion. . . .

Friday, April 6, 1883. — I returned from a Loyal Legion meeting in Cincinnati on Wednesday. I met Colonel Corbin who talked much of Garfield and his affairs. Garfield [he said] never spoke of religion. His only reference to it was when Rev. Mr. Powers (?) was either spoken of or called. He said: "I am willing to stand by the account as it is made up."

Blaine and — both began to trim their sails for places in Arthur's cabinet as soon as it seemed likely that Garfield would not live. Very soon after Garfield was shot, Blaine prepared an able paper and read it to the Cabinet on the disability question, showing that Arthur should assume the duties of the President, for the time. Two members of the Cabinet only were of this opinion. The paper was sent to Arthur in New York. It was afterwards destroyed (?).

April 17. Tuesday. — We go today to Kingston, Ross County, to the funeral of Aunt Lucy. She was a good friend of ours — a very sensible and efficient woman.

My reflections lead me to the idea that the practical good thing for me to try to give the public is general education. With my family affairs, my place, my town, and this as an object, I can always be agreeably and usefully employed. I am averse to writing for the public; I am out of official life; but it seems to me I can accomplish something in this direction.

April 21. Saturday. — We met thirty-seven Cooks, counting the wives and husbands of Cooks, at the funeral of Aunt Lucy. The Boggses were about thirty. The most of those present were both Cooks and Boggses — about forty-five relatives in all — mostly young people. A promising number of young people.

NEW YORK, April 25, 1883.

MY DARLING: — I arrived on time yesterday morning at 10:30. The trip was pleasant, and the company very good. I

met; of course, people interested in you specially. One, an editor of a Rochester paper, was really disposed to gush. He went so far as to say, chiefly on your account, that "ex-President" sounded so much like "next President" that he couldn't but think the latter was in truth the equivalent of the former. But it stirred no emotions in me and will not, I am sure, in you.

I will take an early breakfast this morning, and after it sally out for a walk in the crisp, bright, frosty air. No doubt you have the same frost, and I am trying to conjecture how much mischief it has done in old Spiegel. If you inquire how it happens that I am up so early, I have only to remind you that you are not with me. It is a just punishment for not fetching you with me. I never come without you that I am not filled with remorse, as Fan would say in her intense manner. I now, for the dozenth time, resolve not to do so again.

I took tea with Charlie Mead's family last night. Kitty has grown tall and handsome. It is a model family. They grow on one. I told war stories. Little Lark said to his mother:—"How much better they are than the foolish things in that old 'Guy Mannering' that you are reading to us."

I see no reason why I should not start home Friday, as I intended, and be with you again Saturday night.

With ever so much, affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

SPIEGEL, April 29, 1883.

MY DEAR S—:—I was called home suddenly Friday morning by a dispatch from Rutherford that his mother was very sick. I was relieved by a dispatch at Rochester that she was much better, and on reaching home found the trouble gone and Lucy in good spirits, and entirely rid of the trouble. I have told you of the nature of the attacks — rheumatism or neuralgia of the stomach.

I received the dispatch indicating your return Friday morning and had arranged to hunt you up and have a good time with you Friday afternoon and evening. I am no doubt indebted to you for a very enjoyable dinner with a distinguished company at

Whitelaw Reid's. I was happier than at any New York dinner when I was President.

I hope Mrs. Smith is well again. — I had counted on a summing up with you. But better luck next time. I hope to go again June 30 or July 2.

In haste. With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
New York.

May 5. — At home again. Left Cincinnati this morning about 8 A. M. Stepped on to my verandah as the clock struck 5 P. M. via Columbus and Fostoria. Last night with Mrs. Herron went to Music Hall to see Othello. The best night of the famous dramatic entertainment. John McCullough as Othello, Barrett as Iago, etc., etc. A noble spectacle — the stage, the great audience.

May 7. A. M. — Scott goes this morning to Green Spring to attend the academy in the care of Rev. R. B. Moore. We are all interested in fitting him out for his six weeks' experiment. He can come home to spend Sunday; is only eight miles away. But it is away from *home*. His first launch in the world alone!

This afternoon Lucy and I took Scott in the carriage with his trunk, valise and carpet over to the academy. . . . We were much pleased with the room. Lucy arranged Scott's little property with her usual tact. The young gentleman seemed very happy. After he had kissed us good-bye and we were off he walked away from the hotel, where we parted, towards the academy in a manly way. But his mother watching him through the small glass in the back curtain of the carriage saw him turn and look after us, when [we] were almost out of sight! We shall see him soon. Dear boy.

May 13. Sunday. — The death of the Union heroes to their fathers and mothers, wives and sisters — to all of this generation of their blood — is a life-long sorrow; to all of the future generations a life-long pride and joy. .

Monday, May 21, 1883. — We have raised our church building subscription to ten thousand dollars and upwards. The building now goes on. Birchard and Webb think our dining-room improvement should also go on.

Tuesday, 22. — In the evening met with the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal church; decided to begin building; authorized Mr. Stairwalt to take charge at three dollars per day for time actually employed.

Received a letter from Musgrave, secretary of the stage company, as to pay for Yosemite trip.

Wednesday, 30. Decoration Day. — Left Columbus on train for Piqua about 10 A. M. At Urbana, in the rain, Mr. J. O. Neer, assistant collector internal revenue under General Kennedy, and committee of invitation for Piqua G. A. R. joined me. Reached Piqua soon after noon. A barouche drawn by four splendid grays with an escort of the G. A. R. and band took me to Colonel Orr's, corner of Green and Downing Street. Met there Colonel Orr and the orator of the day, Captain E. Morgan Wood, *et al.* The cemetery ground was reached after a nice lunch at Colonel Orr's. It is a fine site and well improved. The view of the valley of the Miami from the high grounds west of the hydraulic canal was beautiful. Dr. Dorsey presided. During the delivery of Captain Wood's oration it rained cruelly, but the audience with outspread umbrellas kept their places and the gallant captain under very difficult and discouraging circumstances acquitted himself most creditably. I spoke offhand and well enough, with the rain appeased, as long as seemed wise.

In the evening, Rev. Mr. Ely, Presbyterian, presided in his church. Good singing of stirring army songs by Mrs. Barnett and a good choir, all hands the chorus.

The short speeches were successful in that they did not bore the people and that of Rev. Lyman J. Fisher was very felicitous, and Hon. R. M. Murray was taking. On my suggestion he (a Member of Congress) was instructed to support national aid to education in the South. He accepted heartily and gave the pledge. Slept and breakfasted at Colonel Orr's.

The drift of my talk was that Decoration Day is entitled to

be and to remain forever one of our national holidays. Also that Lincoln was the Commander-in-chief and fell in battle! That Decoration Day is therefore Lincoln Day. I quoted three verses of George Alfred Townsend's poem before the Society of the Army of the Potomac at Washington a few days ago.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, June 1, 1883.

MY DARLING DAUGHTER:—We came from the Grove to Laura's Tuesday. Lizzie accompanies your mother and is very helpful. Wednesday I went to Piqua and had a part in very agreeable Decoration Day ceremonies, both afternoon and evening. Yesterday I returned here. Your mother seems very happy meeting old friends and acquaintances. We shall probably remain until Monday, and then visit Mr. and Mrs. Herron during the most of next week in Cincinnati.

I am made a little uneasy—not seriously, however—by the mysterious intimation of your last letter to your mother. You must curb your rebellious spirit. You inherit, I know, enterprise and daring from a long line of Scotch borderers—the Scotts, the Rutherfords, and the Hayeses. There are, I must tell you, a basketful of reasons why a demure and subdued line of conduct is most becoming in you. Your immediate ancestors, maternal especially, have a place in the good opinion of good people not to be imperilled by their children's wild oats without misgiving and perhaps tears. Think of it, darling, and make us all happy by your considerate and discreet conduct.

We found the dear ones here all just as we would wish them. More of happiness and less of the opposite in their several cups than often falls to the lot of mortals. Three better and more promising and admirable children than Laura's are under few roofs. Fanny Fullerton is greatly blessed also in the same way.

No more now from your loving father.

R. B. H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Cleveland.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, June 23, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR:— My absence from home has prevented an earlier acknowledgment of the invitation to attend the Brooklyn meeting to honor the seventieth birthday of your illustrious townsman, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher.

I beg you to accept my thanks for the invitation. Please present my congratulations and best wishes to Mr. Beecher, and assure him of my very cordial sympathy with the object of the meeting.

Regretting that I cannot be present, I remain,
Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. CHARLES E. WEST,
CHAIRMAN.

June 27. Wednesday. — Attended meeting of Garfield Monument Board at Cleveland to fix the site of the monument. The Cleveland members on account of the convenient access from the city to a low knoll near the gateway entrance had a preference for that. But on examination of the ridges further back, it was decided on my motion to place it in [the] oats field on a ridge near the southern end of the grounds. From this point there is a noble view of the city and suburbs, and of Lake Erie for many miles. The monument will be like a city set upon a hill — in sight from land and lake. The matter was fully discussed, all the members present participating. My motion on calling the yeas and nays was sustained as follows, viz.: *Ayes*; Foster, Hayes, Payne, Perkins, Handy, Eels, Hay, Carson, Townsend, Rhodes, Hurlbut — eleven. *Nays*; Wade — one.

A pleasant talk with two young fellows, Herrick and Backus, going to Chicago to be examined for Yale college.

A long and interesting conversation with Mr. Allen, secretary of Mayor Low, of Brooklyn. He was enthusiastic in praise of Mr. Low and his admirable executive reforms and ability in the city affairs. He, Mr. Low, seems to be making an excellent officer. He is showing how to govern a city. The plan seems to be the one-man power and the one man fit for the place.

July 1. Sunday.—Friday, Lucy and I went to Oberlin. . . . We attended a reception to Dr. and Mrs. Warner of New York at President Fairchild's. Met there Governor Cox, General Nettleton, of Minnesota, Dr. Strieby, Professor Monroe.

In the evening Rev. Dr. Barbour, of Yale, delivered a weighty address on the theology of Oberlin.

Saturday morning attended the commencement of the Theological Department. Felicitous speaking. I made a few offhand remarks at the close which were well received. I emphasized Oberlin's merit as a place where education of the best sort could be got at small cost and spoke also of the pioneer work for co-education, equal chance for the colored youth, and brave work against slavery.

We start tomorrow for Woodstock, Connecticut, to spend the Fourth at Roseland Park with Mr. Bowen.

ROSELAND PARK, WOODSTOCK, CONNECTICUT, July 7, 1883.

MY DARLING DAUGHTER:—Your mother and I have had one of the to-be-remembered visits with Mr. and Mrs. Bowen, and their large and delightful family. Seven stalwart sons from thirty-five to fifteen, three daughters, all grown, make up their treasures, if we leave out half a dozen grandchildren. Polo, swimming, and driving are the diversions. We saw a little dancing last evening.

Our important drive was twelve or fifteen miles to Putnam's wolf den. It was a most enjoyable trip, and the historical den is no way beneath its fame.

Your mother's best thing was her bath with "all the boys" in the little lake at the park. It is a region of elegant homes and fine people. . . . We have perhaps never enjoyed more a trip and visit than this. For particulars, listen to our talk after we return. . . .

With much love to all, affectionately,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Fremont.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 16, 1883.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you for the comments of the Eastern press on the Woodstock [Fourth of July] speech. The question discussed deserves attention. As a member of the board of trustees of the Peabody Education Fund, and especially as one of the trustees of the Slater Fund, it has been my duty to consider it carefully. The trustees of the Slater Fund have reached one conclusion which I deem of much importance, viz.: That the schools to be encouraged should be prepared to instruct their pupils in mechanical employments — should teach not only what is found in books, but the arts by which to make a living. The failure to do this is a capital defect in our public school system.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

[*Unidentified.*]

FREMONT, OHIO, July 31, 1883.

MY DEAR AUNTY:—We are made happy to know you are happy at the beautiful resort. We would come to you if we could. We are sorry we can't. To come now would just suit me, but other engagements and duties are in the way.

You know Lucy went to Chicago, and [you] will be glad to learn that she enjoyed the meeting thoroughly.

I believe in Chautauqua and Dr. Vincent. It is a wise and good work that he is doing. Success to it! He ought to be grateful to me that I left his work well alone until I am rid of the ill odor of political associations.

Be happy! With the love of all at Spiegel Grove to you and Dr. Davis and Jack Herron to boot.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. E. G. DAVIS,

Chautauqua.

August 11.—I have attended soldiers' reunions and spoken often with fair success. Always well received. Judge Hoadly, the Democratic candidate for governor, goes out of his way to

retail the slanders of my enemies. He is spiteful and untruthful—a most reckless chatterbox. The Republicans found out long ago, what the Democrats are now learning, that Hoadly's tongue is a heavy load for a political party to carry. He tells in an interview one new lie. He says I was made commander of the Loyal Legion in Ohio by my trickery. I, in fact, had nothing whatever to do with it, and did not know until the very moment when it was done that any one would propose or had thought of my name.

Mrs. Herron is very sick. Blood poisoning is feared. She is still very beautiful but suffers extremely.

August 12.—Some one sends me the Nashville *American* containing, August 3, another talk of Hoadly's. He is a spiteful chatterbox and malicious gossip, who by the hour retails exploded slanders and stale lies about men who have been more successful in public life than himself.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 7, 1883.

DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of the circular of the central committee of the Kentucky Educational Association dated the 5th instant, and regret extremely that an engagement of long standing will prevent me from attending the convention in Louisville on the 19th.

I earnestly hope that one of the important results of the convention will be to strengthen the sentiment in favor of national aid to popular education in the several States in proportion to the necessity for such aid. Almost all of the States have established by law suitable systems of public instruction. A considerable number of them lack the pecuniary means to make their school systems efficient. Universal education is the common interest of the whole people. To promote it the whole people should cheerfully contribute what is necessary from the treasury.

With great respect,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. WILLIAM J. DAVIS,
Louisville.

September 16, 1883. Sunday.—Mrs. John N. Jewett, of Chicago, left us last night in the ten o'clock train after a charming visit of four days. She was an old schoolmate of Lucy. They talked of old times joyously and often with deep feeling. Mrs. Jewett has unusual taste in home adornment. We were in the midst of a change to give us a bathroom next to our sleeping room. Mrs. Jewett entered into the spirit of the work. She did some famous things. The fine curtains of the Temperance ladies were put up in the small parlor; the portraits of Lucy were changed; one from my "den" to the library parlor, and one from Fanny's chamber to my den; the white walls of my den were papered with a rich dark red paper; the chimney jamb in the hall was hung with swords and Indian and Japanese work on a background of the same rich red paper; and finally the arch in the dining room was arranged into a cabinet for bric-a-brac in the same style. A mighty change for four days. Mrs. Jewett's improvements will recall a charming woman and friend for many years

September 26.—A cruel injustice has been done to a pure and good man, an excellent preacher, and a true and devoted Christian. Idle gossip about imprudent but not in the least licentious conduct with women is the pretext. This leaves the church which we have attended, and to which Mrs. Hayes belongs, divided and inharmonious. This lack of unity and concord will continue until repentance and reparation do their work in behalf of our injured pastor or until time and changes in the leading influences of the church restore harmony. Rev. D. D. Mather, in the midst of the building of a new church, of which he was the projector, has been driven away. I will not remain in a congregation so divided. If proper feeling is again restored I will return. I prefer the Methodist Episcopal church, but I prefer still more peace. We have the congregations of other denominations with whom we can, I think, live in peace.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 28, 1883.

MY DEAR BISHOP FOSTER:—I wish to add my statement to what the committee will say:—

The injustice to our pastor is so plain and vital that not to repair it, if possible, and to the extent that is possible, would be criminal. It would be permanently disastrous, and seriously so, to the church and to Methodism in Fremont.

No man can now consent to take the place of Mr. Mather without, in the general judgment of people here, becoming accessory after the fact to the wrong done.

These are my opinions after full reflection. The work of calumny and misrepresentation ought not to stand. The good name of a clergyman who has been clear in his office, and the reputation of a pure Christian woman, in humble circumstances, and a member of the church in good standing, require that what has been done shall be undone.

With great respect.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

BISHOP RANDOLPH FOSTER,
Cleveland.

October 1, 1883.—At 8:05 A. M. with Lucy to Cleveland. Also Elder Henderson and Kridler and Dr. Brinkerhoff to meet Bishop Foster to procure a reversal of the decision of Conference taking Rev. D. D. Mather from Fremont. The absurd gossip to his prejudice was easily neutralized and the Bishop promptly rescinded the order. This gave us great satisfaction.

Dined with Webb and Fanny at our kinsman's (Mr. Austin). [At] 3:50 P. M., met at depot my ward Susan Platt and Alice Porter, *en route* for Farmington; also Mr. and Mrs. Hatch and four or six young ladies going to school at Vassar, New York, and elsewhere. Mr. Austin also with us. A pleasant journey to New York.

October 2.—Reached Central Depot about 11:20 A. M. Lucy with Mrs. Hatch to Fifth Avenue Hotel; I with Susan and Alice to Farmington. Miss Porter not at home but Miss Dows received us and showed us the rooms to be occupied. The girls well suited and no homesickness. Reached [the] Fifth Avenue 11 P. M.

[October] 3.—Peabody meeting. A good one. Banquet in the evening.

October 4.—Called at Bible House on Mr. Round. Favorably impressed as to National Prison Association.*

October 9.—Election day. I hope the Republican ticket will succeed. While I shall not vote for the prohibition amendment, I would like to see a good, wholesome expression of temperance sentiment. The amendment would be something worse than a dead letter. Its effect would be free trade in liquor. My own work in temperance is on other lines. I criticize no well-meant efforts in behalf of temperance. I find no fault with sincere and earnest temperance people, even if I think they are misled. Their discussions will help to educate the people. Personally, I do not resort to force—not even to the force of law—to advance moral reforms. I prefer education, argument, persuasion, and above all the influence of example—of fashion. Until these resources are exhausted I would not think of force.

The weather is fine—a summer day. The result [of the election] cannot be attributed to the favorite reason of the “unco guid,” viz., bad weather.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 11, 1883.

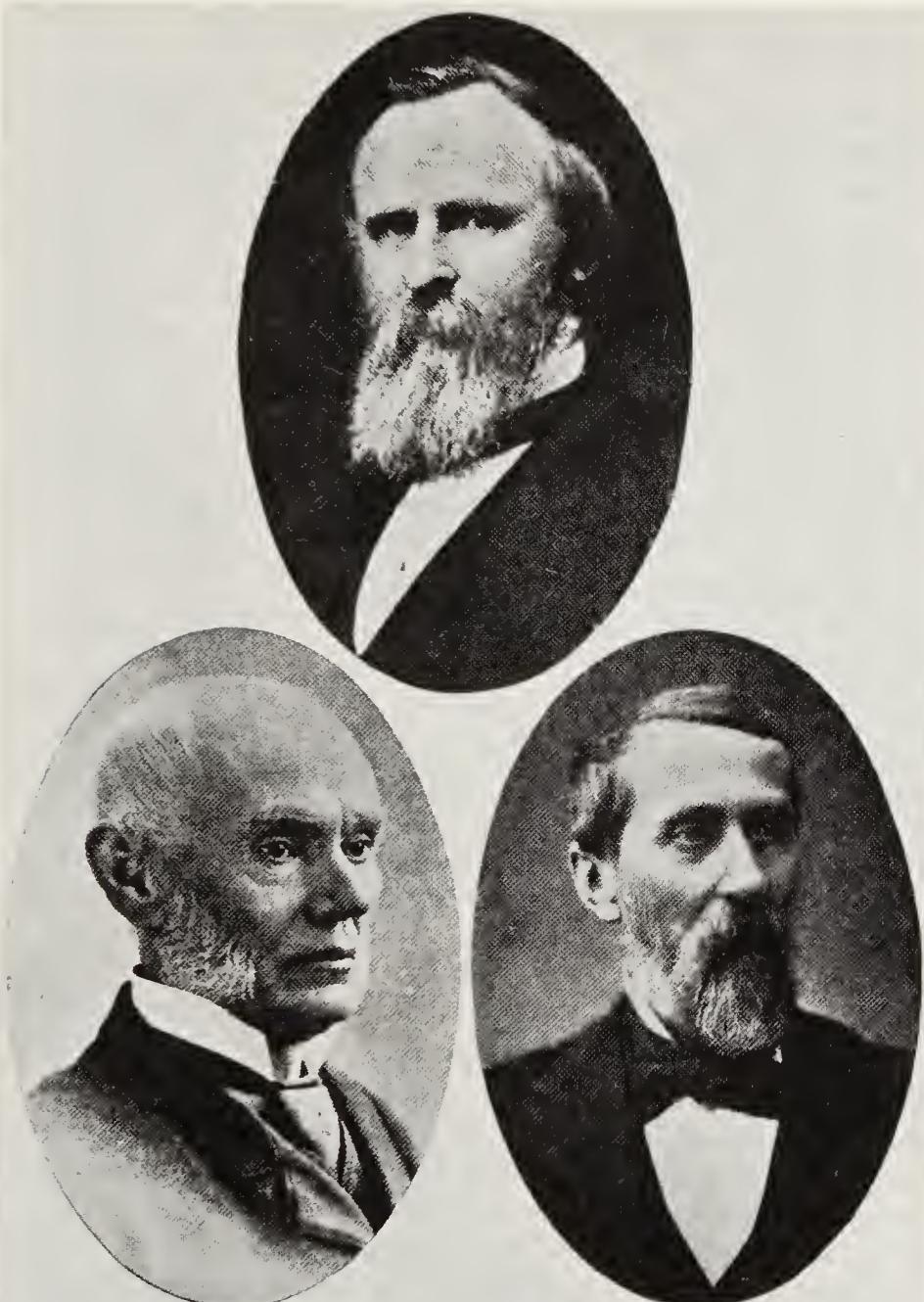
DEAR MADAM:—Your note as to a cutting from the [Cleveland] *Leader* came during my absence. I am told that a subsequent notice appeared showing sufficiently that the one you refer to was wholly unauthorized. While I am fully satisfied that temperance reform depends chiefly on education, example, argument, and religion, I have taken no public part for or against constitutional amendments. Unity and harmony among the friends of temperance, are, in my judgment, of more importance than particular measures.

Sincerely,

MRS. N. B. GATES.

R. B. HAYES.

*The association had been reorganized at Saratoga September 7, 1883, with Mr. Hayes, president, William M. F. Round, secretary, and Theodore Roosevelt, treasurer.



OHIO MEMBERS
OF THE
NATIONAL PRISON REFORM ASSOCIATION

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

A. G. BYERS

ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF

October 12. — We had an event last night. Our pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church, Rev. D. D. Mather, in the absence of his wife has been staying with us. Last night, however, he was at Mr. House's in the country. But Elder Henderson, *en route* for the East, chanced to come in to tea. Just before tea, at early dark, a fine-looking young fellow called and asked for the Methodist Episcopal minister, Mr. Mather. I told him Mr. Mather was not here, but that another Methodist Episcopal minister, Elder Henderson, was here. He asked to see him. I invited the young gentleman into the library. He asked to see Mr. Henderson with no others present. Soon Mr. Henderson came, saying: "The young man wants me to marry him to his lady love who is in the buggy waiting for him to come out. He has a license and all seems well." I replied, "Very well. Let it be so;" Our ladies, Lucy, Miss Carlisle, Adda, [and] the servants (Lizzie and —) were present. The [bride]groom, Peck, a painter by trade of Green Spring, appeared favorably. The bride, pale and frightened, was neatly dressed and appeared well; name Weler, or as I understood it Weir. Ceremony short. We all shook hands with the parties and they drove off as they came in a buggy, but now as husband and wife.

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 13, 1883.

DEAR MISS WILLARD: — Your esteemed favor to Mrs. Hayes is before me. In the hurry of a departure to New York she wishes me to write you, and beg you to receive her thanks for your kindness. It will not be in her power to attend your meeting. She has more engagements on her hands than she can properly attend to, and is seeking to get away from, rather than to add to them.

I hope you still adhere to your old faith. In spite of the blunders and blindness of friends, the good cause still gains. The constant forces — education, example, religion — may seem slow in their operation, but they will not fail. In the decision

of these great questions, courts, ballot-boxes, and legislatures are not final.

With all good wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MISS F. E. WILLARD,
New York.

October 27. Saturday. — Every good cause gained a victory when the Union troops were triumphant. Our final victory was the triumph of religion, of virtue, of knowledge. More wealth, more comfort, better food, better shelter, and more of all these things belonged to mankind. More education and better, more religion and better. During those four years, whatever our motives, whatever our lives, we were fighting on God's side. We were doing His work. What would this country have been if we had failed? Lord Coleridge told us what all here now know.

I have the works of Emerson in attractive form — seven volumes. I have read them all before. I now take them up again.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 29, 1883.

MY DEAR GUY: — I have, for the moment, mislaid your letter giving the address in Europe of Miss Bettie Ballinger. To secure an early transmission, I send the letters enclosed to you. One to Mr. Lowell, our minister to England, and the other to Mr. Morton, at Paris. They can, however, be used with any American to whom she may wish an introduction.

A conversation on the judgeship leads me to anticipate a *party* consideration of the affair.

The chance of your party to elect the next President now seems better than at any time since the war. It is perhaps settled that our Government is to be a party government. But this does not imply a government by one party. An occasional change seems natural and desirable. When one party has had six Presidential terms, a change, merely for the sake of change, has something in its favor. But your leaders have a talent for blunder-

ing. [Being] out of power a quarter of a century has lost to them the faculty of statesmanship under responsibility. They will probably throw away their chance.

As ever, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HON. GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, November 14, 1883.

MY DEAR MISS WILLARD:—I was surprised and sorry to see in your annual address that you are not reimbursed for your personal outlay for engraving the Huntington portrait. The matter was never brought to my attention before. The photograph of the painting by Rockwood is so much more satisfactory than the engraving, that it is to be regretted that the engraving was accepted. But this is no reason why the expense of getting it up should be borne by you. If you will send me the amount, I will see what I can do. Your autograph to a note in this matter is to be prized, and with the understanding that I may have the very obligation to add to my collection of autographs, I shall feel disposed to strain a point. *This on condition that my name is not to be mentioned in this connection.*

With the friendly regards of Mrs. Hayes and myself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MISS F. E. WILLARD.

November 18. Sunday.—Lucy says that when her father died, leaving in straitened circumstances her mother and three young children, her father left fifteen or twenty slaves. The grandfather, who died about the same time (cholera took off six of the family), and Dr. Webb were sending their slaves to Liberia as fast as they could, and had fully decided to set them all free. Some of the friends of the family advised Mother Webb to sell the slaves. Her reply was: "*Before I will sell a slave, I will take in washing to support my family.*"

FREMONT, OHIO, November 20, 1883.

MY DEAR WEBB:— You know I do not explain or deny statements as to incidents of my Administration. But when a misstatement is corrected by an editor on his own responsibility, the case is different. I would be glad if Mr. Cowles [editor of the Cleveland *Leader*] would insert something like this which is enclosed. The letters I send you, if shown by you to Mr. Cowles, will enable him to do it. If he will do it without referring to me, I would like it. The fact is, Senator Edmunds and his family were our friends, and intimate at the White House.

Sincerely,

W. C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

R. B. HAYES.

November 30.— Our Thanksgiving was a happy one. All of the family were at home. With Lucy, Birch, Webb and Scott attended a union service at the Presbyterian church. Mr. Swanton, of the German Reformed [church], preached an appropriate sermon, other clergymen taking part in the services.

General Comly and wife, with their daughter, Susie, and their sons, Guy and Smith, and Mr. and Mrs. Mather dined with us. A happy time with the general and his interesting family. Old war scenes the leading topic.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 2, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. REID:— If you want Mr. Blaine's plan to float, why not connect it with education? Let the whiskey tax go to the States in aid of universal education. The capital objection to distribution is that the States will, as heretofore, waste the money. Confine it therefore to education. You will in this way enlist a powerful and growing sentiment in favor of the plan.

When a friend does a conspicuously good thing I always want to tell him that it is known and appreciated and congratulate him upon it. Now you are doing great things all the time. Every morning it [the New York *Tribune*] comes to I know not how many people. You send out the best newspaper in the world;

more than that, the best newspaper that ever was in the world. I heartily congratulate you.

Sincerely,

WHITELAW REID,
New York.

R. B. HAYES.

December 8. Saturday. — I went to Cincinnati Tuesday to attend [a] Loyal Legion meeting. A good visit at Herron's. The meeting of the Loyal Legion was interesting. Thursday evening with Mrs. Herron to the ex-army and navy officers' lecture by General Cox. He gave us an admirable narrative of the Ohio situation the first three months of the war.

Lucy left for Chicago Tuesday. By the papers I see that Mrs. Jewett gave her a notable reception Thursday evening. I returned in the rain last night. Scott got on the train at Clyde.

Tonight I am alone in the house. I attended Croghan Lodge, Number 77, I. O. O. F., with Brother I. M. Keeler. Paid my dues to Brother Underhill for one year. Saw the record of my initiation between thirty and forty years ago. . . . I will spend the evening with my correspondence which is four days in arrears.

December 11. Tuesday. — The Bible Society of the county held its meeting for the year yesterday. The old officers were re-elected. Another canvass of the county to collect money and supply all destitute families will be had in 1884-5. Once in five years seems to be regarded as sufficient. General Buckland, Dr. Stilwell, and myself were added to the executive committee; or rather with the secretary, Mr. Keeler, and the treasurer, Mr. —, were made the committee.

SPIEGEL GROVE, December 11, 1883.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER: — Your excellent report and the graceful little note came to make me happy yesterday.

Yes, lonely is a feeble word for it. One night I was the sole occupant for several hours of the Spiegel! But no ghosts appeared; neither good nor bad spirits showed themselves.

Your mother and Adda must be having enjoyment in Chicago. They will not return before Saturday and may make their absence a round fortnight.

Do you see the wonderful sunsets of this charming weather? Make it an appointment to meet the sun as he departs in all his glory every night as long as he displays such brilliancy. To see him rise is also *well*, but his setting must not be lost.

I am glad to hear you are practicing bookkeeping. To keep accurate accounts promotes economy and you know what economy is the road to—if not to heaven, at least to peace of mind.

Two weeks to your coming. I wish it was half a day or less. "Delighted to see you"? Why, "of course"—"tourse," as you used to say.

The scholarship of the report was altogether satisfactory. "Deportment 83"—that is fair. But I want to see it go up. Can't you make it *one hundred!* Try it.

Affectionately, your loving father,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Cleveland.

SPIEGEL, December 11, 1883.

MY DARLING:— You are enjoying the Chicago visit; therefore make the most of it. The movement of the household is satisfactory. Hattie is perfect.

Scott pleased Birch at the theatre. [John McCullough as *Brutus*.] He was cool and observant. Knowing the play, he was able to remark on omissions, changes, and what was coming next, to the surprise of those near him, and to the delight of his admiring older brother.

I have an excellent letter and an excellent report from Fanny. Her most enthusiastic utterance was, "Only two weeks to Christmas!" . . .

With all regards to Adda and the friends at 412.

Affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES,
Chicago.

SPIEGEL, December 13, 1883. Thursday A. M.

MY DARLING:—The lovely Indian summer still continues. All well. . . . I wrote in reply to the editor of the temperance organ at Chicago, Miss *Willard*, that you were there, but that she must not urge more duties on you, and explained *our* position and “work.” If she calls you need *promise* nothing but smother her with politeness. . . .

With all good words and thoughts for all—*Adda included*.

Affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES,
Chicago.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 19, 1883.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—Your friendly blows were put in the right place. The new Democratic organ at Cincinnati got crooked notions about me, *I fear from Hoadly*. It has been full of malicious slings. Your hearty talk pleases me not a little.

Thanks for your paper [the Toledo *Commercial*]. Its good-natured, hopeful tone is capital. Good for Toledo, good for you, good, every way! It will be a builder-up. I must not bore you with my gratitude. You know how it is.

With all good wishes for you and yours.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—There is an error of amount in the church business—not *ten* but *five* thousand dollars is my obligation. To be exact, I agree to pay one-quarter the cost of the church. It will be eighteen to twenty thousand dollars. Not important.—H.

GENERAL J. M. COMLY,
Toledo.

December 21.—In my next [speech] I will quote from the letters of Emerson to Carlyle. The man having the best head and the best heart of any scholar of our day said in 1864, “that viewing all the nationalities of the world, the battle for humanity is

at this hour in America." "I shall always," said he, "respect war hereafter. The cost of life, the dreary havoc of comfort and time are overpaid by the vistas it opens of Eternity."

FREMONT, OHIO, December 22, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. RHEEM:— I was glad to get your friendly letter. It recalled old times and old friends. It brought back freshly the scenes of childhood. The farm up the river; the tannery across the street; Delaware Run; the mill-pond where Lorenzo was drowned; the sulphur spring; "Little's World"; the "Irish Section," and the big hill. I could see again, as I read, Mother and Uncle, Fanny and Mrs. Wasson, Thomas and Means Wasson, the Vinings, the Agards, the Worlines, the Van Bremers. Then there were some victims of drink, as old John Wilson, Sol. Smith, Pettigrew, and others. Of course I do not forget the prominent citizens, Judge Williams, Mr. Little, Powers, Mauser, Dr. Hills, Rev. Henry Vandeman, Dunlap, Dr. Lamb, and the rest. Of boys of my own age, I remember Lewis Brush, Edwin Cowles, Charlie Mauser, Manley Covell, Sidney Moore, Cyrus Platt, and many besides.

I am glad you are well. It is my good fortune to have fine health. Our children will all spend the holidays with us. The two younger, Fanny and Scott, have come home from school. The three grown boys have been well started in life and promise to be good men.

As to my Administration, I am content to leave its merits to the judgment of candid men. It found the country in distress and perplexed with difficult and dangerous questions. It left the country prosperous and happy, and with the money question, the Southern question, the Indian question, the civil service question, the Chinese question, and others either settled or in the process of settlement finally and happily.

It found its party weak, divided, and defeated in Congress. It left its party united, strong, and triumphant in Congress and before the people.

But this is aside from the holidays. I speak of it because you allude to politics and my Administration.

All good wishes, I am glad to send to you, my old friend.

Sincerely,

SAMUEL RHEEM,
Delaware, Ohio.

R. B. HAYES.

December 23. Sunday. — A fine evening with "all the boys" and Miss Sherman and Miss Miller. Finished the Emerson-Carlyle correspondence. Found the exact facts, in various volumes, of the landing of the Pilgrims. An exploring party of ten or so in a shallop left the *Mayflower* and on the 11th [of] December, O. S., 1620, landed at Plymouth. Pleased with the "situation," they returned to the *Mayflower*, and on the 16th O. S. many from the ship also landed — men and women. The *Mayflower* was not finally left until after they had built "their first house," December 25.

December 25. — Lucy sent books to twelve boys, her Sunday-school class, such as "School Days at Rugby," "Swiss Family Robinson," and the like; and to one a knife. The servants were called in and Fanny, Adda, and the boys and old folks, all of whom had presents.

December 30. — This is the anniversary of our wedding. Thirty-one years of happy married life! Darling Lucy. She is now in excellent health.

January 1, 1884. — Lucy engaged at the new church, afternoon and evening until 8 P. M., making the Sunday[-school] children happy with a Christmas tree donated by the Presbyterians. It was gay with candles, and stockings filled with candy, and festooned with strings of popcorn and cranberries. All a simple affair, but as happiness-giving as the more expensive affairs of the great cities.

January 9. — Payne is nominated — the nomination signifying an election — by the Democratic caucus for Senator in place of Pendleton. Mr. Payne is seventy-three years old; able, conserva-

tive, well-meaning. Taken altogether, a Senator for Ohio to be content with. Politically it was a mistake. Pendleton was beaten solely because he was for civil service reform. One delegation from Dayton lobbying against him wore on their badges the motto, "To the Victors Belong the Spoils."

1. To defeat Pendleton for this reason disgusts the Independents—a body that embraces intelligence, wealth, and increasing numbers. None of them will feel friendly to the Democratic party until this slap in the face is forgotten.

2. The workingmen's party is on the threshold, under Butler and others demagogues, of organizing independently as a new third party. It cannot support a party which elects one so identified with great corporations as Mr. Payne is. To them he is the great monopolist of the State. The votes of the "workingmen" largely belong to the Democratic party. Their loss will destroy the power of the Democracy.

Private and confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 10, 1884.

MY DEAR MAJOR:—I send you enclosed a hasty and brief sketch [of the battle of Cedar Creek] by General Comly. He is editor of a daily paper at Toledo, a gentleman of character and talents.

I prefer not to add to his sketch. In the fight to save Sheridan's headquarters, my horse was killed under me and I was painfully wounded, but not compelled to leave the field. My promotion to brigadier-general was made "to date from October 19, 1864, for gallant and meritorious services in the battles of Winchester, Fisher's Hill, and *Cedar Creek*." You would, I am sure, not disparage, without the gravest reasons, an officer of such solid merits as General George Crook. He was in the immediate command of the Army of West Virginia during the whole of the battle of Cedar Creek.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—During the present winter I have been forced to use a crutch a short time from the effects of the injury received at

Cedar Creek — a combination of rheumatism and the old wound.
— H.

P. P. S. — The *First* Division of Crook's Command at Cedar Creek was commanded by Colonel Thoburn, of Wheeling, West Virginia. He was killed in the action near Middletown. He was a conscientious, noble gentleman, of unflinching courage, and in all respects able, and worthy to command the division under him. If you knew all the facts you would, I am confident, attach no blame to him. I have attributed the disaster of the morning at Cedar Creek to

1. The withdrawal of the cavalry outpost from the right bank of the Shenandoah, on the left of our army, thus enabling Early to reach and pass the river on our left and rear unobserved.

2. To leaving our left front with a line of works far too long for the small force charged with its defence. In broad daylight with ample notice, Colonel Thoburn's division, if not reinforced, would probably have been overwhelmed by the superior numbers of the masses that attacked it.

I do not speak of the *cause* for these errors. General Comly has no doubt hit the nail on the head in explaining the blame, which has, in some quarters, attached to Crook's command. The command was called sometimes "the Eighth *Corps*" and sometimes "The *Army* of West Virginia." In fact *on that morning* it had hardly the strength of a division and was divided, part being in front, and part a mile to the rear "in reserve." — H.

P. S. — On reading again General Comly's letter, I notice some slight errors in his account of my movements at the close of the day, but they are not material to the main purpose of his letter.
— H.

MAJOR JOHN M. GOULD,
Portland, Maine.

January 11, 1884. Friday. — Mrs. Herron left us this morning. A delightful visit with her. She is one of the lovely women — beautiful still, cultured, admirable mind and temper; reminds me constantly of my dear sister Fanny. I took her to the

station in the one-horse sleigh and sent Rutherford with her (her health being still uncertain) to Cleveland.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 14, 1884.

DEAR SIR:— I have your letter showing that Eliza Jane [former servant, colored] is in poor health, and needs aid. I send you five dollars to be expended in making her comfortable. If you get it safely, and tell me how you spend it for her, I will send again immediately the like amount.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

JAMES BUCKNER.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 18, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:— Camp (J. A.) has notice that his services as special agent will not be required after February 1. I believe, as he states, that he is a valuable officer. He wishes to remain until he can resign — would like the time extended a few months. I do not know as [that] you can say or do anything, but venture to name it.

You, of course, know that you are constantly spoken of for President. The general is also a favorite. I am glad you are both entirely passive. But it may be satisfactory to you to be assured that the best citizens in Ohio uniformly speak with great favor of your candidacy. I do not ask you to say a word in reply to this.— We are all in usual health.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

Private and confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 23, 1884.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— I rarely notice in any way, and never publicly, attacks or reflections on my official action when I was President. But I venture to write you a word on what you are reported to have said in your speech for the Fitz-John Porter Relief Bill, viz.:—

"To the same cause must be attributed the course of one of our late Chief Magistrates, in habitually reversing the findings of these courts. Officers sentenced to dismissal for the most disgraceful offences were in many instances restored to the army, greatly to the demoralization of the service."

All court-martial cases coming before the Executive were carefully examined by the Secretary of War, and the decision reached was, I think, in all cases approved by him. Judge McCrary was a sound, painstaking, and upright lawyer. The cases criticized were for the most part decided when he was Secretary of War. Doubtless, mistakes were made, but the mistakes were not "habitual" but exceptional, and were, I hope, in all cases on the side of mercy and never on the side of severity. They were made in a time of peace. Usually in favor of young officers, misled by following the example, in many cases, of their superiors. You say that these decisions caused demoralization in the army. Please investigate and see if the officers retained in the service are not still in the service, for the most part, and without official complaint on account of present character or conduct.

My relations with you lead me to think that you would not reflect on me from personal hostility or on merely partisan grounds. My impression has been that I might confidently look to you for fairness and candor. I do not see how the case of General Porter can be strengthened by an attack on me.

I mark this confidential that you may yourself be led to investigate more carefully the matter referred to, and modify your own views, not with any wish for any public attention to it.

With great respect. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL HENRY W. SLOCUM,
Washington, D. C.

SPIEGEL GROVE, January 29, 1884.

MY DARLING:— Your letter to your mother came today. It does indeed seem a great while since you left us all disconsolate. We long for you — for your music — for your laugh — for yourself.

Of course your good friends are always welcome — Effie Pope or any other.

When you hear a good lecture I would like to have you give me a brief abstract of it. To do this fastens it in your memory, and enables you to make it part of your own mental equipment.

With oceans of love, yours affectionately,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 30, 1884.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— You have been invited to attend the banquet of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion in Cincinnati next week. I sincerely hope you will attend.

Our relations during the earlier years of my residence in Washington were exceedingly agreeable to me, and I shall be glad to renew them — glad to meet you and greet as I should have done during 1877 and 1878.

In conclusion let me assure you that you will be warmly welcomed in Cincinnati by very many of your former army associates and by

Yours sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL SCHOFIELD.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 31, 1884.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— I notice that you are to be *elected* a companion of the Loyal Legion next Wednesday evening. Our yearly banquet is that evening. It occurred to me that you might hesitate to attend — to go to a meeting — until after you are notified of your election. I write to urge you to have no such feeling. You will *of course* be elected. It is *hoped and expected* by all concerned that you will come. The election and “invest-[it]ure” will be just before the banquet. The request that those in your situation shall attend has been published, but fearing you may not have seen it, I write you.

“Same as before.” Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.— You know, I hope, that the [enclosed] scrap is not sent to procure a "flourish." I merely want *you* to *know* the fact. If referred to at all ever, let it not go beyond a line in an obscure corner stating simply: "General R. B. Hayes has given to the free public library in Fremont \$1,000." This or nothing

GENERAL J. M. COMLY,
Toledo.

February 2. — In reply to a letter, asking Mrs. Hayes to contradict a lecturer who said "the crusade" was a failure and who opposed prohibition, I wrote as follows:—

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 2, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:— Your esteemed favor, addressed to Mrs. Hayes, is before me.

You will, I trust, on reflection, excuse Mrs. Hayes from taking part in any controversy between professed friends of temperance. Believing earnestly in discussion, education, and example, as forces whose efficiency nobody will question, she does not wish to criticize those who adopt other lines of work in behalf of the good cause.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

REV. ALONZO SANDERSON,
Warren, Massachusetts.

In short, "to rule the situation," you must get the people with you — the *very* people — those who rule at the place where the thing is to be done. Not an outside people. Home rulers are in this matter the only rulers.

February 6. Wednesday. — At Burnet House [Cincinnati] a happy day with military friends, old and new. Barnett, Buckland, Comly, Leggett, Enoch, Force, and so forth, and so forth. Banquet, one hundred and sixteen plates; speeches, short and good; singing, glorious. The most gentlemanly affair I recall. Barnett, Leggett, and I turned down our glasses.

February 7. Thursday. — With Birch left the hotel and went to Herron's. We crossed the bridge near Little Miami Depot to Newport. Water 61 feet 4 inches — the highest I ever saw it.

P. M. Birch and I went up to Highland House on the inclined plane, Oak Street route. Saw the flood from that point. Not so impressive as I expected.

I called on the family of my old friend of schoolboy days, George W. Jones. He died a week ago today at 7 P. M. of pneumonia after a short illness. Had always been strong and healthy — a model of manly beauty. Not often together of late years, we were yet friends of closest intimacy since 1840. Nannie and Lizzie both sad and mourning — full of sweetness. I should have gone to the funeral if they had notified me.

February 8. Friday. — Left Cincinnati with Birch on Bee Line. Had to take cars on Eighth Street, in the middle of Mill Creek Valley, now a lake — water 61:8.

February 11. Monday. — [Clark] Waggoner called and spent an hour. Nothing new except a few facts, additional to those I was aware of, showing in a still stronger light the shameful character of his dismissal from the public service.

February 19. — Bright and springlike. Lovely day to begin the G. A. R. fair in which Lucy is taking a large interest. The rain and wind in the afternoon made a dismal business of it. But in spite of all, the opening was very successful. The singing and other exercises were good, the supper superb, and the display of the wares, booths, and general ornamentation of the G. A. R. Hall creditable. The two halls, the Birchard and the new hall in the Hayes block, were used in common for the Fair. Lucy was radiant and remained to the end, 11 P. M.

Wednesday, February 20. — I have a letter from Herron acknowledging receipt of one hundred dollars sent to the relief of the sufferers by the flood on the 13th.

The broom drill of the young ladies, under their efficient drill-master, Will Haynes, was superb. The turnout of the people was large; both halls well filled. Entrance ten cents. All de-

scriptions of people present. Rud appeared in "Mary Jane," a pantomime; greeted with uproarious applause and laughter.

February 23. Saturday. — The G. A. R. took the day; dined in the hall. After dinner at 3 P. M. went to Opera House; the broom drill to a good audience. I thanked the Broom Brigade and their "gallant commandant" in the name of the post. The evening was a "jam," indeed. . . .

The singing was good, the tableaux beautiful, the auction of goods successful, but the money was made and the excitement centred in the contest for the cane. A five-dollar affair which was worked up to over six hundred dollars. The five days' fair was a remarkable five days' festival.

[*Cleveland*], February 27. — Met with the trustees of the Adelbert College of Western Reserve University. Routine business except the application of the medical college to be rid of the Adelbert name in connection with that department. The endowment of Mr. Stone was in no way for the [use] of the medical school. Committee appointed to deal with the subject, viz., Hayes, President Cutler, Handy, Boardman, and Perkins.

March 5. Wednesday. — Attended the funeral of Julia Miller, daughter of the cashier of the national [bank]. She died of scarlet fever (age, eighteen), at school in Newton, Massachusetts; a lovely and beautiful girl; died suddenly, after all danger was thought to be past.

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 14, 1884.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — I have your letter of the (early this month). I am somewhat out of the current of information on political events. It looks to me as if the Republicans must carry *both* Ohio and New York, or lose. Sherman, Edmunds, Lincoln, either, perhaps, can unite Stalwarts, Half-breeds, and Independent Republicans. *All these elements are needed* and with substantial unanimity. The point against the Democrats is, they will disturb the business of the country by tinkering with the currency, the tariff, and the settlements of the war.

With either Payne or McDonald, their *candidate* will be *personally* fit for the place. But New York City Democracy always has, and still does determine the policies of the Democratic party. How unfit and dangerous this leadership is, the history of the last twenty-five years sufficiently shows.

This in a general way is my notion of the situation.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

[*Unaddressed.*]

March 15. — Today Lucy and Adda go to Pickaway and Ross Counties to attend the funeral of John Boggs, uncle by marriage of Lucy and Adda. He was about seventy-six years of age. A man of business ability, wealthy; with wit and humor beyond, far beyond, the average. Good company; a staunch Democrat; voted once for me! I shall miss him greatly on my visits to Lucy's kinsfolk.

March 16. Sunday. — A lonely house without Lucy and Adda. Evening, Birch read aloud seventeen cantos of Dante.

[*Cleveland*], *March 20. Thursday.* — Came here yesterday. Was met at station by Mr. Boardman who took me to his pleasant home on Euclid Avenue. This morning with President Cutler, Mr. Perkins, Dr. Bushnell, Mr. Boardman, trying to arrange a new organization for Western Reserve University which would remove the objections of the medical department to the present title. I saw Mr. John Hay [son-in-law of Amasa J. Stone]. He talked sensibly and in a good spirit. He recognized the difficulty of the name; was ready as one of the heirs of Mr. Stone to do what was reasonable; would favor an organization of the medical department with the name "The Medical College of Western Reserve University."

P. M. met the above again with the addition of Mr. Handy and Dr. Webber. Agreed that I should prepare alternative charters — one simply Western Reserve University, and the other, The Medical College of Western Reserve University, and submit to Colonel Hay when he was in better health — say, next week. In my interview with Colonel Hay I said: "I must still think he

wrote a part of 'The Bread Winners"'; that it was very good, that he had a hand in it, etc., etc. He began to speak (probably in denial), I stopped him and changed the subject. I still think I was right. [So the event proved.]

March 26. Wednesday. — Attended teachers' institute. Professor Marsh was lecturing on pronunciation and the mode of teaching it. Did so very entertainingly. I spoke to the intelligent young people a few words on industrial education.

March 31. Monday. — The riot in Cincinnati — burning of the court-house! A bad bad! How to fight mobs in cities? A good police. A good military organization. Arm the police with revolvers and clubs. The military should have, in addition to military long-range rifles, short-range fowling-pieces. No danger to distant citizens. A grist of buck or small shot to clear the streets.

April 4, 1884. — Went to Cincinnati April 1; attended a pleasant meeting of the Loyal Legion, [April] 2. The recitations by Murdock were very entertaining. Dined with General Force. Present, Mr. and Mrs. R. W. Burnett and David Horton. [April] 3, Thursday, in Cleveland to organize *The New Western Reserve University*. All looks well. Home, today.

April 9. Wednesday. — Judge Drake has delivered an opinion of the Court of Claims that my action in the case of Benjamin P. Runkle was illegal and void. My opinion was clear that Runkle on the merits was entitled to a reversal of the sentence of the court martial against him. On the legal points, the Secretary of War, Judge McCrary, sustained the action taken. If there was error on technical or legal points, it was on the side of humanity, equity, and substantial justice.

April 10. Thursday. — Fanny came home this evening at seven from her school at Cleveland to spend ten days with us. Happy days for us. Her scholarship is excellent by the reports. She is sweet, tender, and sensible.

April 14. Monday. — With Lucy and Fanny to Toledo. The Green Spring Academy and its union [with] Adelbert College

my chief business. Met Judge J. W. Cummings and Rev. Dr. McGaw on the subject.

The Loyal Legion [men of Toledo] called and tendered me a dinner [on] the 30th. General Fuller, General Comly, Captain Austin, Major Bliven, committee.

April 15. Tuesday.—On 8 o'clock train to Cleveland. Met the gentlemen of the Western Reserve University at Mr. Joseph Perkins' office and organized the new university. Present, W. J. Boardman, Dr. Webber, President Cutler, T. P. Handy, Judge Williamson, Joseph Perkins. I was made chairman; Judge Williamson, secretary. Regulations adopted. It was announced by Dr. Webber that a gentleman was ready to advance the funds for a fine building and the endowment of a medical department.

April 19.—The elections of delegates to the Chicago Republican convention show Blaine to be the favorite candidate. Possibly not enough so to nominate him. He is clearly in advance largely of any other leader, but may not get more delegates than all others combined. He fails in two points as a candidate. He lacks the confidence of thoughtful, high-minded, and patriotic people. They doubt his personal integrity; they think he is a demagogue. Besides, his record as a partisan places him in opposition to large elements of the party. The Stalwart element, the Grant men of 1880, do not like him, and the independent men oppose him. He is therefore not the most *available* man and not the *best* man named for the office. Either Edmunds, Lincoln, or Sherman would be a better President and a better candidate. He does not belong to the class of leaders of whom Hamilton, Jefferson, Clay, Calhoun, Seward, Lincoln, and Webster are types. He is of the Butler and Douglas type—more like Douglas in character and position than any other of the great leaders of the past. Clay would rather be right than be President. Blaine would gladly be wrong to be President. I still hope Edmunds may be the nominee, or Lincoln, or Sherman.

April 24, 1884. Thursday.—Visited McPherson lodge I. O. O. F. and saw the "team work." The sculptors are right about the awkwardness of a statue in modern dress—pantaloons and frock coat. Men in the picturesque costumes of knights and

oriental personages, who are common-looking in their usual dress, become graceful and dignified figures.

April 27. Sunday. — Attended meeting yesterday of board of trustees of the Western Reserve University at Cleveland. We elected officers. President, Cutler; secretary, Bushnell; treasurer, Bushnell; Executive committee — Cutler, Andrews, Williamson, Wood, and —.

Mr. Wood (John L.) gives a quarter of a million of dollars to found the medical department. This is the first fruit of the organization of the Western Reserve University.

President Cutler, Rev. Dr. Bushnell, and myself talked over the affairs of the Green Spring Academy. It was agreed that something like this [plan giving the college control of the academy] should be reported, and it is the opinion of the committee that it will be sanctioned by the board of trustees of the Adelbert College: . . .

1. Green Spring Academy to be adopted by the college as one of its preparatory schools.

2. The college to control and carry it on by means of the right to name a majority of its board of trustees.

3. The graduation in the classical course of the academy to admit without examination to the college.

4. The college to assist the academy as follows, viz., by a loan without interest of the sum of seventy-five hundred dollars, to be repaid by the roll of scholarships which shall be good either at the college or the academy at the option of the holders; a permanent scholarship to be five hundred dollars; a scholarship for our college or academical course, one hundred dollars.

5. The form of subscription for scholarships to be substantially the following: — “We, the subscribers, promise to pay the sum set opposite our respective names to the trustees of the Green Spring Academy for the benefit of said academy.

“Each subscription of five hundred dollars shall entitle the donor to a permanent scholarship in Green Spring Academy or if preferred in Adelbert College of Western Reserve University, and each subscription of one hundred dollars shall entitle the donor to a scholarship for four years either in the academy or the College at the option of the subscriber.

"These subscriptions to be payable within sixty days after the aggregate amount of the same reaches the sum of six thousand dollars."

6. The amounts collected on said subscription to be paid to the college by the academy for the sum loaned as provided in number 4.

April 29. Tuesday. — Decoration Day I am to follow the regular orator, Dr. Kemper, at Springfield. My topic will again be "National Aid to Education." After discussing this, I will turn to the points: But our system of education is not perfect. It fails to fit young men and women for the practical duties of life. It lacks training in the skill and habits of manual labor. True: and I would reform the present system in this particular. What the Slater Board is doing.

April 30. Wednesday. — We go to Toledo to attend a lunch given to Mrs. Hayes and myself by the Companions of the Loyal Legion in Toledo.

May 1, 1884. — We had a happy meeting with the Companions and their wives last evening. Present: General and Mrs. Fuller, General and Mrs. Comly, General and Mrs. Young, Captain and Mrs. Richard Waite, Major and Mrs. Norman Waite, Captain and Mrs. Osborn, Chaplain and Mrs. Bacon, Colonel and Mrs. Bell, Mrs. Judge Austin, Mrs. Henry Waite, Major and Mrs. Bliven, Captain Mattox, Captain Bigelow, Birchard Hayes and Adda, myself and wife. No toasts, no speeches, no nonsense — a quiet social time. After 11 P. M. we attended the reception at William Baker's — also a brilliant affair.

May 7. Wednesday. — At Cincinnati; evening Loyal Legion. Re-elected commander on recommendation of both committees.

Thursday, May 8. — To Berea with General Leggett and Major Rix; thence home. Dispatches of death of Mr. Slater at Norwich, Connecticut. Left home at 10:30 P. M. to Toledo. Took train for New York, after a three-hour nap at Toledo.

May 10. Saturday. — At 8 A. M., train to New Haven, New London, and Norwich. Met Daniel Chadwick on train near his

town, Lyme; Mr. Jesup at New London. At Norwich were met by Mr. C. C. Johnson with a carriage; thence to the home of our deceased friend, the wise giver, Mr. Slater. The funeral well attended. Good men praise him. His employes mourn. The preacher, Mr. Howe, delivered a capital sermon.

May 11. Sunday. — The guest of Moses Pierce [at Norwich]. His family, a widowed daughter and her daughter Kitty, age sixteen, and an unmarried daughter. Mr. Pierce, an intelligent, pious man; successful manufacturer, friend of Elihu Burritt; an old-line abolitionist.

May 12. Monday. — Rode with Mr. Pierce around Norwich, looking at the fine old trees and the attractive town. Met Mr. D. A. Wells — earnestly for free trade of course, and full of interesting and zealous talk.

Cleveland, May 14, 1884. Wednesday. — Called on C. C. Baldwin. Joined Western Reserve Historical Society. Afternoon at rooms of Mr. Ryder looking at the model and designs for Garfield monument. I have two ideas: A conspicuous, lofty tower, and, for the nearer view, a striking statute, heroic size, of General Garfield. Both seem to me requisite.

May 17. Saturday. — If the boss system is to go down, as now seems probable, I can say I struck the first and most difficult blows. It is based on Congressional patronage and Senatorial prerogative, or courtesy. This was fully entrenched at Washington when I was inaugurated in 1877. The first step in a reform of the civil service was to break it down. As long as the lawmaking power held the power of appointment, that is, "the patronage," there could be no legislation in behalf of reform. Any reform was at the expense of the power of the Senator and the Representative.

The first and principal step was the appointment of members of the Cabinet. This belonged, according to the prevailing system, to the leaders of the party in the Senate. A Cabinet of independent men was organized. The Cabinet, it was claimed by the champions of the boss system, should be formed not unfriendly to the system. The announcement of the names of Mr.

Evarts and Mr. Schurz, both independent men, both opposed by the bosses, opened the war. Appointments were soon made in all directions, not dictated by the leaders. From that moment the Stalwart leaders and the newspapers who followed them, and their rank and file, have assailed my conduct, character, and motives with the utmost bitterness. But let the heathen rage! The good work has made great advances. The principal steps have been:

1. The appointment of the Cabinet in 1877 and the general course of the Hayes appointments without heeding the dictation of Senators and Representatives.
2. The defeat of Conkling in the custom house conflict, which made a business institution of the New York custom house.
3. The defeat of Conkling and Platt, their dismissal from public life in 1881.
4. The defeat of the bosses at Chicago in 1880.

I directed Mr. Jackman to plant trees around the street fronts of our new Methodist church — four elms on east front and three maples on south front. The work seems to be well done.

May 18. I must this week prepare my remarks for Decoration Day at Springfield. I am to follow Dr. Kemper, of Cincinnati, who will make a scholarly and attractive address. Mine will be more offhand and practical. Education needed to secure the fruits of the Union victory — a practical, industrial system of education especially in the South.

May 19, Monday. — Lucy and Adda start this morning for Philadelphia to attend the Woman's Home Missionary Society meeting at Philadelphia, where the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church is now in session. A lonely home for a few days.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 24, 1884.

MY DEAR S—:— It is good for heart and brain to see your familiar handwriting again. The article you send is every way excellent. *That* is work you are fond of. It is perhaps not your specialty. Practical statesmanship — the higher walks of politics — is probably your *forte*, but when there is nothing to

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do in that field, history is your place — biographical history particularly. I wish you were not so overworked.

The life of Clay is in other hands. Is Lincoln adequately done? It seems to me there is a vacant place. . . .

With all good wishes ALWAYS. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

May 26. — Mr. Ward of the *Independent* wants to write an editorial on the rather sneering tone of Beecher's speech at the Arthur meeting. He (Beecher) spoke of my Administration as providing the poultice the country needed, and then going to sleep; that "Hayes sleeps yet."* Not at all important. But the settlement of the Southern question was not a sleepy affair. The resumption of specie payments and the veto of the bill to cripple the banks is not forgotten by business men. The six vetoes of the laws to protect the rights at elections in the South of colored people, the Chinese veto, and the Mexican troubles settled, Indian outrages redressed and justice done and a policy adopted of which education, the ownership of homes, and ultimate citizenship are leading features. The corner-stone of a reform of the civil service was laid by the overthrow of the Senatorial and Congressional patronage [and] the rule of the bosses, and the putting the New York custom house on a business basis, make a record of beneficial and wise activity for the Hayes Administration which will not suffer by comparison with that of any Administration in time of peace during the present century. Mr. Beecher is a Stalwart. His favorite, Mr. Arthur, is a Stalwart except when driven into reform positions by a public sentiment which he dare not resist. Mr. Beecher knows that he [Arthur] stood in the way of every reform; that he shared with Conkling the unenviable notoriety of wielding "the machine" in New York politics, until he was overwhelmed by the Waterloo of 1882.

* Edward Bok ("Americanization," p. 87) says Mr. Beecher deeply regretted his words, and the same night wrote Mr. Hayes a long letter of apology. "It was a superbly fine letter. And the reply was no less fine." — No such letter of apology among Hayes papers.

May 28. Wednesday. — Lucy returned in excellent health and spirits after a fine trip and visit to Philadelphia and Cleveland.

McKinley was unseated yesterday. But the vote in his favor given by six Democrats — so many of them leaders (Dorsheimer, Hurd, Blackburn, Mills, Robinson) — and [by] the crank, White (Republican), against him is a vote of admiration and a certificate of character.

June 8. Sunday. — Returned last evening after an absence since Tuesday to Cincinnati Loyal Legion and to Cleveland. The event of the week is the nomination of Blaine at Chicago. Mr. Blaine is not an admirable person. He is a scheming demagogue, selfish and reckless. But he is a man of ability and will, if elected, be a better President than he has been [a] politician. He will, I think, try to have the support of the best people and to make a creditable record. I will therefore support him in preference to the Democratic candidate. He was fairly nominated. The Republican masses were for him. There is no suspicion of machine influence as the means of his nomination.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 11, 1884.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — I do not recall giving the order to occupy the church [at Raleigh, Virginia]. Perhaps a statement *merely that it was occupied* as a military necessity would do. I am not, however, in the least solicitous about it.

You have steered through the narrows of the last few weeks so skilfully that you deserve the good luck there is in your present position. I think Ohio will come up to the support of the ticket handsomely. Those who persist in dissenting are so wise and so good that it makes a streak of folly and wickedness seem refreshing. There! How is that for a "Sunday-school politician"?

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES,

GENERAL J. M. COMLY,
Toledo.

SPIEGEL, June 12, 1884.

MY DEAR S.—:—Thanks for your excellent letter of the 9th. No doubt you see the situation as it is. It is not encouraging. Even Tilden might possibly have gone through. I see no chance in New York. That means the success of the Democrats.

You cannot afford to lose your treasures. No one can expect you to do it. Why not send word that you are preparing a book in which you will use all of your collection, which is not already found in books, about Clay and his times; but that if there is any point on which light is wanted, you will cheerfully give what you have on the point named. You are not to write books, or hunt up materials for others. It is going far enough if you aid them on points they are investigating. Schurz is a fair man and will see this as we do. Try it.

Try to drop in on me. I am to be home all summer.—Our regards to Mrs. Smith and yours.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES,

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 13, 1884.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I heartily congratulate you on your triumphant nomination. Its unanimity—the whole manner of it—is very gratifying. While I preferred other nominations at Chicago, and regard the result as a blunder and misfortune, I cannot think of the election of a Democrat as anything but a serious calamity. That result can now only be avoided by a skill in going amiss by the Democrats which even they will, I fear, not exhibit. We ought to save Ohio. Can we?

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL C. H. GROSVENOR.

June 14. Saturday.—As to temperance parties. All resorts to political parties and methods are appeals to the majority. Success, if it comes, must be by reason of popularity. That is the

best that can be said of the movement. Now, when a reform is so popular as that the true reformer has left it,—he has taken up something else, has gone forward,—the reform will take care of itself.

June 15. Sunday — President Merrick of Delaware our guest. President Merrick at Wilbraham Academy with Abel Stevens formed perhaps the first Total Abstinence Society — in 1830 or 1831.

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 24, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:— Your favor of the 21st is before me. The party referred to has been a friend from my youth — of more than forty years' standing. He is a capable business man of great force and will [be] very likely to succeed in anything he undertakes. Some years ago he received a severe injury in his head. He has seemed not so steady and reliable since. *I would not advise a young man of the character of your friend to form the connection proposed.* I dislike to say this, and must rely on your prudence and fidelity to so deal that I will not lose an old friend.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

E. MARINER, ESQUIRE.

June 27. — At Cleveland decided in favor of George Keller's design for the Garfield Monument. A tower and a portrait statue of Garfield.

The study of tools as well as of books should have a place in the public schools. Tools, machinery, and the implements of the farm should be made familiar to every boy, and suitable industrial education should be furnished for every girl.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 29, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:— I have your note of the 26th instant. There is no portrait of me in the White House. If one is placed there it should be either a full length or two-thirds length. *I like the*

size of Mr. Van Buren's portrait. When I went to the White House eight portraits of the Presidents were lacking. I managed to get them all during my term. I prefer the committee should select the artist. I like Mr. Huntington of New York, the artist who painted the portrait of Mrs. Hayes. Whatever you decide will be agreeable to me.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES,

P. S.—A bust portrait may be the best size. If so in your judgment, let it be so.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington.

July 9. Wednesday.—Father Bowles, of the Irish Catholic Church, has a temperance gathering of Irish Catholics today at the fair ground.

All agree, saloon men even will admit, that excessive drinking—intemperance, drunkenness—is evil, and evil only; is a vice and the gateway to poverty, disgrace, and crime. But what of moderate drinking—of the social, festive, convivial, fashionable use of the intoxicating glass? It is the road, the only road to drunkenness. It is useless, wasteful, dangerous. Let it be condemned by public opinion, by fashion, by the law. Let it be made unfashionable, disgraceful, unlawful.

I would not, if I could, direct torrents of ridicule or indignation to pour upon the heads of any class of citizens engaged in lawful pursuits. But any individuals of any class that sell liquor to minors, to inebriates, deserve the heaviest penalties which society inflicts. The real blame, the sin, the crime of this whole business—the drink habit as it exists in this country—are all due to the public. Public opinion could dry it up, could extirpate it, as thoroughly as larceny or burglary are prevented. Sin exists—will exist; vice is a part of our probation; temptation is before us. Drunkenness will exist, perhaps, but not as now openly—fashionable and laudable. An esteemed friend, a very intelligent man, said to me not long ago, "This habit will always exist. It can't be broken up." Not so. Except as the thief exists.

July 12. Saturday. — The Democratic nominations at Chicago are Cleveland and Hendricks. Cleveland will be satisfactory to the Independent Republicans. He will draw also from the Germans. However, they are to be classed as Independent Republicans. The result depends on the Irish and Tammany bolters from the nominations. If they generally support the ticket, it is likely to be elected. Cleveland will, I suspect, be weakest at the beginning of the canvass, and gain as it proceeds. This, without having seen any indication of the reception the result has in the public mind.

SPIEGEL GROVE, July 17, 1884.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — The time you name will suit us exactly, viz., August 13 on to the end of the month, or as long as you can.

We are now in our best looks, but if the dry weather lasts much longer, we shall be too dusty for comfort.

We have at home Rutherford and Scott and Fanny. Our niece, Miss Cook, is now one of the family. She caught a typhoid fever the last of May, and now, in the seventh week (!), is still in her room, but will be out in a few days. The time of contagion, or infection, has long since passed, and no one else has shown symptoms of the disease. She got it in Philadelphia.

We now have three visitors — ladies — all of whom leave in a few days. No time could be better for your visit than the period you suggest.

With all regard to Mrs. Force and Horton from the whole household. I suspect Horton will find it particularly pleasant here, and we shall expect him to "paint the place red." That is the genuine slang, I believe.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,
Cincinnati.

July 21. Monday. — Birch read Blaine's speech in June 1876 on the Mulligan letters. Blaine showed great apprehension of disgrace and ruin when he begged the letters of Mulligan. He

spoke of suicide, the ruin of his family, etc., etc. Nothing in the letters seems to warrant this. There was evidently more in his transactions with Fisher, or his other railroad transactions, than has been made public. Otherwise his extreme agitation is unaccountable.

August 3. Sunday. — With Lucy I went to Dayton to attend the great soldiers' affair and the unveiling of the Soldiers and Sailors' Monument. Left home Tuesday via Fostoria and Delaware at 10 A. M. Met my old friend John P. Martin, of Lancaster, on the cars from Toledo; also A. T. Backus, Professor McCabe and daughter, etc. Stopped an hour in Delaware with Carrie Little, the friend of Lucy in her girlhood and the widow of my old friend and college chum, Dr. John A. Little. Reached Dayton at 6 P. M. We were met at the station by Major W. D. Bickham, Honorable Lewis Gunckel, and —. Remained two days and three nights at Major Bickham's. A fine family. Mrs. Bickham a noble woman. They have four boys—all industrious, intelligent, and manly. Two graduates of Princeton, the others destined to be.

We spent one evening with the widow and daughter Kate of my old friend Richard C. Anderson. Dined with Mr. Reynolds, the brother of Eugene, the gallant sergeant-major of the Twenty-third, who was killed at South Mountain.

We were charmed with two new acquaintances, young ladies, Eliza Irwin and Kitty Houk. Eliza is a granddaughter of Admiral Schenck; Kitty is a daughter of George W. Houk.

At Major Bickham's fine home, met Senator Sherman, General Hawley, Gober G. Lowe, Houk, my kinsfolk, Mrs. Garst and Mrs. Morrison — the first a great-granddaughter of Ezekiel Hayes and Mrs. Morrison, a widow of her brother.

August 10. Sunday. — The three obstacles or dangers in our path: 1. Intemperance. 2. Illiteracy. 3. Monster accumulations of wealth in a few hands.

SPIEGEL GROVE, August 11, 1884.

MY DEAR MRS. BICKHAM: — Mrs. Hayes remained in Columbus about a week. I came home the next day after I left Dayton.

We found our niece much improved and the whole household none the worse, perhaps the happier by reason of our absence. This was all that was needed to make our visit with you, for us, simply perfect. If it turns out also that you were not broken down by the burden imposed on you, we are ready to hunt up the white stone to mark the date as one of our selectest and best. Dayton, [the] Soldiers' Monument, and your family and the friends you gathered around you will always have a snug place in our minds and hearts.

Mrs. Hayes joins me in all regards and good wishes to you, the major, your sister, and those noble young fellows you have so much reason to be proud of.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. WILLIAM D. BICKHAM,
Dayton.

August 24. Saturday. — With Lucy Wednesday morning to Lakeside, via Sandusky and steamer *Ferris*, to attend the Twenty-third reunion. With General Comly, Captain Lyon, Captain Atkinson, Lieutenant Killam, Kimberley, and others, it was an exceedingly happy reunion of about forty to fifty of the old Twenty-third, with their wives and children. Sailing, social meetings, songs, and recollections made the time pass rapidly and pleasantly.

Captain Lyon told his experience as a prisoner. The Rebels tried to get the prisoners to sign a petition to President Lincoln, to exchange man for man and release the surplus on parole. As we held many more prisoners than the Rebels had of ours, it was found that the effect would be to fill up the Rebel armies with healthy men let loose by us. The officers in Libby got up a counter petition asking Lincoln to do what the interests of the cause required. The first was rejected with decision. The last was signed with unanimity. Captain Lyon was appointed on a commission to present the first named petition in Andersonville. *The result was the same there.* So the election for President in 1864 in Andersonville was almost a unanimous vote for Lincoln.

Poor fellows had to be lifted up from the ground while they signed the petition which would strengthen their country's cause but which sealed their own doom.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 27, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:— You are doubtless right as to the *time* when the changes at T. [Toledo (?)] should be made. The course of events should not *now* be disturbed.

Mrs. Hayes and I hope to visit Mansfield and enjoy the new home before you return to Washington in December. We go to our army reunion at Cumberland next week.

Mrs. Hayes joins in kindest regards to Mrs. Sherman and yourself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

SPIEGEL, September 1, 1884.

MY DARLING:— Your mother and I expect to start this afternoon for Cumberland to attend the reunion of the Army of West Virginia. Your mother expects to return Friday. I shall go to Saratoga and will return about the 10th or 12th.

We remembered the birthday of your mother (28th [of] August) only with affection. Yours tomorrow will have the same treatment. But then we do love you all the same—you darling old girl of seventeen!— With love from all.

Affectionately,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Columbus.

SARATOGA, Tuesday morning, September 9, 1884.

MY DARLING:— We are getting on nicely [with the prison association meeting] in all respects. You would find life here interesting for a few days, and with the number of acquaintances you would meet, you would feel quite at home. The days are hot but the nights are comfortable. Without you it is, however,

a poor business. I shall push for home as soon as I can properly leave. I now expect to leave here tomorrow (Wednesday) evening and to reach home Thursday evening.

With all love, affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

September 12. Friday. — Home again. The reunion at Cumberland was very successful. Lucy and I enjoyed every moment of our stay. Generals Crook, Kelley, Powell, Duval, Devol, Enochs, and other old comrades came together with the old-time friendship, warm and strong. A hearty welcome and greeting. The ladies, Mrs. Lowndes, Mrs. Romain, etc., etc., added to the charm.

Wednesday evening, 10 P. M., left Saratoga with Rev. Dr. Byers, General Brinkerhoff, Judge Follett and wife and boy, Judge Pugh, [and] Mr. Patterson, of Cleveland Reformatory,—all members of the National Prison Association — via Schenectady and Buffalo. At Cleveland stopped a few hours and dined with Colonel John Hay.

At Saratoga had a pleasant “so-called” cottage (and all this in the *so-called* “nineteenth century”) at the United States Hotel; a ride all round with Mr. Marvin; a most charming social time with Mr. and Mrs. Round, Dr. Byers, Miss Hall, and Rev. Dr. Lyman Abbott, at the same table, four full days at all means [meals]. A capital circle, not to be forgotten.

The work of the association was good. A paper on extradition. The pardoning power, punishments, the causes of crime, and other topics were ably handled. The talk of the warden of Sing Sing (Mr. Brush), the warden of Illinois State Prison, at Chester, and Mr. Brockway, of Elmira, New York, were specially notable.

September 14. Sunday.—Dr. Mather preached his last sermon as our pastor. He was badly treated by the scandal circulated by a few. His “good gray head” is loved by many; by none more than by this household. Lucy, Birch, and I with Adda were the whole circle today. Fanny at Columbus, Scott at a

chum's near Green Spring, Rud with Webb at a camp of the Cleveland Cavalry troop near Chautauqua.

Our little squad remembered to talk over the battle at South Mountain, fought on such a day as this twenty-two years ago today.

SPIEGEL, FREMONT, September 14, 1884.

MY DEAR GUY:—I have just returned from a two-weeks trip East—to New York, Saratoga, etc., etc.,—and find here your very welcome letter. I am especially glad to hear that we shall have your son so near, and that we may expect to see Mrs. Ballinger, Bettie, at our home. I will write them today.

My family are all in good health. Fanny will go to school another year in Cleveland, and perhaps then go East to school for a year or two. Scott is at an academy near by us. All the others in business, as they were.

Mrs. Hayes retains her usual good health. I hope to see you here. Do not leave it out of your plans.

As ever,

R.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

September 16. Tuesday.—Our pastor leaves us tomorrow. A good man, badly treated. An able pulpit orator, a gentleman in the best sense, an humble and sincere Christian. I have stood by him; helped him beyond my means. God bless him!

September 17. Wednesday.—Recalled my experience in the little brick house of Jacob Rudy at Middletown, Maryland, when twenty-two years ago I lay wounded, listening all day and until after dark to the sound of the battle. "With us or with our foes?" running through my head as a chorus to the roar of the cannon. Often for minutes together the sound of the cannon was as unbroken as if it were musketry.

September 19. Friday.—*Earthquake!* About 3:30 P. M. Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. Keeler, *et al.* sitting in this room, the library, noticed a rumble and shaking. Mrs. Hayes said it must be a

heavily loaded wagon on our main drive. Going into the kitchen, Anna, spoke of "the shaking things." Not until we heard from the village did we understand the cause. I am not sure that I noticed it. Looking in the cellar for a hammer, something singular struck me about that time. I now suspect it was the "quake."

September 22. Monday.—Another great fire in Cleveland. This evening saw the new moon over the left shoulder. Betty Ballinger, daughter of William P. Ballinger, of Galveston, came today with her young nephew, Guy Bryan, from Ann Arbor to make us a short visit. She is a charming woman. Guy is a natural—a born gentleman. He has the good manners of his father and the amiable and lovable disposition of his mother.

September 23. Tuesday.—We gave freedom to the slave but it was for the good of the whole country; nay, it was for the good of all mankind. We wiped out the line between the North and the South for the good alike and equally of North and South. We blotted out the color line in all statute books for the benefit equally of the white race and the colored race.

September 24. Wednesday.—Betty Ballinger and Guy Junior left us after a very happy time for us. All old college times and persons talked over and particularly all recollections of my Texas visit in 1848-9. Lucy constantly says what a fine boy Guy is; how lovable he is. Lucy and I went with them to Toledo; rained pitchforks.

September 27. Saturday.—Had a meeting of the building committee in the church and settled with Rev. D. D. Mather. He has paid out all moneys collected by him as treasurer of the building fund. We now owe [more than seven thousand dollars].

Due the church on the subscription about twenty-nine hundred dollars of which three or four hundred may prove uncollectible.

General Robinson speaks here today for the Republican cause. Mr. Blaine stops here fifteen minutes Monday. His tour is too hasty to do much except to increase the interest in the election and thus secure a full vote. This however is not needed in a Presidential election. A full vote is a matter of course.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 27, 1884.

MY DEAR WEBB:— Your suggestion is sound. I had arranged with General Buckland to meet Blaine at Norwalk today. Will do so Monday — or at Sandusky.

Your mother will not go East with me this time. It is not best. I expect to go Tuesday morning.

It is a mistake for any one to urge me to be prominent in the canvass in Ohio. The danger is the liquor question. Mr. Blaine has a heavy load to carry in that question. *Maine* originated prohibition. Now by a three-fourths vote it is put into the constitution. Mr. Blaine's influence could have changed this — therefore, *did it* — is the argument. One identified as I am with the temperance reform would hurt rather than help in the present crisis. . . .

Sincerely,

H.

WEBB C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

September 30. Tuesday.— Yesterday I went with General Buckland to meet Mr. Blaine at Norwalk. He and his son, Walker, with Mr. Tenny, a Mr. Locke, of Madison County, and a few others, are making a rapid canvassing tour through Ohio. Great gatherings of people meet them at all stations. As a general thing, Mr. Blaine does not attempt to make important arguments. The crowds gathered often are addressed in full stump speeches by other speakers after Mr. Blaine passes on. This "progress" will certainly aid to secure a full vote. On the whole, I do not consider it of much importance; probably it saves expense and labor to the party.

Mr. Blaine was cordial to me as usual. At Norwalk he introduced me in a friendly way to the audience, and at my own [town] here, was very complimentary. He is in good voice; does not take much pains with his speeches. Seems desirous simply "not to put his foot in it" by what he does say. A good turnout at all points — particularly at Norwalk, Sandusky, and Fremont.

I start today for New York on Peabody and Slater business. Will also begin the portrait for the White House by Huntington.

October 2, 1884. Thursday. Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York.
— I reached here yesterday on time, with agreeable travelling companions, viz., Mr. Herrick, of Cleveland, Mr. Tyler, ditto.

Peabody Board met at 12 noon. Twelve members present. General Grant was in better health and spirits than we expected. He was genial, talkative, and interesting. Mr. Evarts invited me to dine with him this evening.

I met Mr. Huntington with Dr. Curry yesterday and arranged for a first sitting this morning and have had the sitting. I am to be taken three-fourths length and with an overcoat on. Mr. Huntington went with me to Rockwood's, near Seventeenth and Broadway, and photographs were taken accordingly.

Mr. Fish as a boy met often Albert Gallatin; heard him say that when he became Secretary of [the] Treasury he determined to undo about all that Alexander Hamilton had done — was greatly prejudiced against Hamilton. Soon found he had better go slow, and, at the end of thirteen years, left Hamilton's work almost entirely undisturbed; convinced of the great ability and wisdom of Hamilton. Gallatin talked of Washington with great respect; yielded him credit for his great things — not an admirer; said Jefferson was fifty years in advance of his time and associates. When he had any important writing to do always wanted Madison's aid.

Mr. Huntington was with Morse, a portrait painter, learning his profession, when Morse was in the first steps of the invention of his recording telegraph. Morse had his pupils as his witnesses; had them learn the steps made — the details of his machines and work.

Both Morse and Henry were conscientious in their rival claims; both right; both embittered. Morse, practical and successful, got the popular fame.

NEW YORK, October 2, 1884, 8 A. M.

MY DARLING: — I reached New York on time — about 10:20 A. M. yesterday after a very agreeable trip. Mr. Herrick, where

Fanny attended a soirée, was my special travelling companion, but there were a number of nice people among the passengers with whom I made or had some acquaintance.

All here regret especially your absence. Only five ladies at the pleasant banquet last night: Mrs. Fish, Mrs. Governor [General] Porter, who reminds me of Mrs. June, Mrs. Lyman, Mrs. Curry, and my comrade for the feast, Miss Mary Evarts. Thirteen gentlemen in all—and the most sensible and enjoyable banquet I have attended yet.

General Grant walks with a cane—is probably permanently crippled,—appears very well, and in the best of temper. He told good things and delighted us all. I sat next to Mrs. Fish and got more enjoyment from her conversation and especially that of Mr. Fish, than ever before.

I called at Mead's new home. It is marvellous what a convenient, spacious, and homelike place is built on seventeen feet width of ground.

I called on Huntington and am to have my first sitting for a sketch this morning.

With all affection, your

R.

MRS. HAYES.

October 3. Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York.—Yesterday the Peabody Board closed its session. It was voted to cut Mississippi off from the Peabody aid to education because that State refuses to pay to the Peabody Fund what is due on bonds held by the board. Mr. Evarts and I voted against this. We held that the cause of education ought not to suffer for the lack of principle of the Legislature. “Educate the children,” I said, “and the State will pay its debts.” I called attention to the amount paid for student aid, viz., two hundred per year. My resolution to look into this was voted. The amount should be greatly reduced.

The Slater Board met at 52 William Street, the office of Mr. Jesup, at 3 P. M. I gave a short address on Mr. Slater. Dr. Haygood’s report of the first year’s work is most encouraging and satisfactory. All the members of the board expressed de-

cided and warm approval. Mr. Phillips Brooks has signified his acceptance of the place on the board originally conferred by Mr. Slater and will attend the meeting of the executive committee at my room today.

October 4.—My birthday—sixty-two years old. In good health, with spirits youthful and a good deal of physical endurance.

Last evening, after a good meeting of the Slater Board in the forenoon, I called with Charles L. Mead at Whitelaw Reid's room in [the] *Tribune* building; not in; then on Halstead at room of New York *Extra* [a Blaine campaign paper]. He was looking finely. Talked rapidly in his own old way of Blaine and his wonderful faculty of remembering and recalling the details of Irish scenery and families; how he talked to four Irishmen as if their genealogical trees had been his special study; of his own blunder in forgetting to give the Irishman Shields the credit of defeating Stonewall Jackson at Winchester in 1862; of the good milk eating-house where he got his fresh milk and apple-pie. He showed it to Mead and me and we did likewise.

Our morning meeting of the Slater Board was attended by Gilman, Dodge, Slater, Phillips Brooks, the Chief Justice, and myself. An interesting meeting. The feeling strong that we ought to have all the time of Dr. Haygood. There will be some uneasiness unless we get it. Two plans were suggested. To give Dr. Haygood an increased salary, five thousand dollars, and travelling expenses, or hire for him an assistant at one thousand to one thousand five hundred dollars. It was finally resolved to authorize the president to negotiate with him for his whole time. Time of meeting changed to May—third Wednesday, (Fifth Avenue [Hotel] left optional with the president, also hour of day). Mr. Dodge and others feel that Dr. Haygood should be able to spend more time with the board and especially more time examining industrial schools at the North and attending the schools aided by us in term time. I must bring this forcibly to Dr. Haygood's attention.

October 8.—Yesterday with Lucy to Toledo; dinner and tea with Mr. Young. Present, Mrs. Waite (Chief Justice), Mrs.

Swayne, Mrs. Young, Noah Swayne, Frank, ditto, [and] Birchard.

Rode over to the new rolling-mill — a mill to change pig iron and old scrap iron into wrought iron bars, sheets, rods, etc., etc., of all sizes. Iron for boilers to be a specialty. . . . Seven hundred and forty hands to be employed; three hundred cottages to be put up. Other works will cluster around it.

In the evening attended a meeting in the interest of a manual training school in Toledo.

October 9. — Afternoon, went to the county fair. Found General Kennedy and brought him home with us. Adda and R. P. went with Kennedy to the meeting. General Kennedy feels confident of a large majority for the Republican ticket next Tuesday. I attended the call for the trustees of the Methodist Episcopal church at the new pastor's — a Mr. Prentiss. We talked over the affairs of the new edifice, heating, lighting, frescoing, seating, etc., etc., and found that most of it must be postponed until we can raise more money by subscription.

October 12. Sunday. — Birch, Rud, and Webb at home. Our new minister, Mr. Prentiss, preached an earnest sermon. He shows a social and friendly magnetism, which with his talents in the pulpit will I hope enable him to stir the dry bones. A revival in Fremont is the thing needed.

General Durbin Ward called in the afternoon with Mr. Meek. He is making campaign speeches for the Democrats. He agrees with me that the uncertain and unknown quantities in this canvass are much larger than usual. More people are unattached than ever before since the present division of parties. He looks for a Democratic victory in Ohio, but not with entire confidence.

October 14. Tuesday. — Election day. Another perfect October day. I think the Republicans will win. On a full vote the Republican majority I put at thirty thousand. From this deduct ten to fifteen thousand Prohibition votes and ten thousand saloon votes. Add five thousand Irish and labor votes and we have left at least ten thousand majority. I hope for this result.

October 15. Wednesday. — The election yesterday passed off with a fine day and full vote. The returns seem to indicate a rousing Republican victory.

Our County Bible Society holds its yearly meeting soon. As one of the vice-presidents of the general society of the county, as a non-church member, a non-professor of religion, I may say why men of the world, friends of their country and of their race, should support the religion of the Bible — the Christian religion. To worship — “the great Creator to adore” — the wish to establish relations with the Omnipotent Power which made the universe, and which controls it, is a deeply seated principle of human nature. It is found among all races of men. It is well-nigh universal. All peoples have some religion. In our day men who cast off the Christian religion show the innate tendency by spending time and effort in Spiritualism. If the God of the Bible is dethroned the goddess of reason is set up. Religion always has been, always will be. Now, the best religion the world has ever had is the religion of Christ. A man or a community adopting it is virtuous, prosperous, and happy.

Byron has said, “If our God was man — or man, God — Christ was both”; and continuing he said, “I never arraigned his creed, but the use — or abuse — made of it.”

What a great mistake the man makes who goes about to oppose this religion! What a crime, if we may judge of men’s acts by their results! Nay, what a great mistake is made by him who does not support the religion of the Bible!

October 17. Friday. — I have begun to read with Mrs. Herron and others of the household “Miss Luddington’s Sister” — a queer story so far. Last evening Mrs. Herron called attention to Dr. Franklin’s attempt to reach perfection in virtue, and the rules he prepared for that purpose. After some searching, we found the account of it both in Mr. Bigelow’s and in Sparks’ copy of the “Autobiography.” It is curious reading. We pored over the “Auto.” with interest.

October 18. Saturday. — I am urged by General Keifer, of Springfield, to go as a spokesman and chairman with a Spring-

field delegation to meet Blaine at Indianapolis. Of course I can't go.

October 21. — Rode in the afternoon with Lucy and Mrs. Herron down the river on the east side to the end of the road on the river bank. A charming ride. In the evening read *Punch's* tribute to Lincoln by Tom Taylor after his assassination, also Emerson's fine talk on the same subject. A day to be marked with a white stone.

October 22. — Read with Harriet Herbert Spencer on "Why we Laugh."

October 23. Thursday. — The coldest morning so far this fall. No rain or snow during the day. A cloudy, cold November day. Wrote letters and attended to business. Read opening lines of "Marmion"—"November Sky," and tribute to Pitt and Fox to Mrs. Herron, and Herbert Spencer on "Music and its Function." Took in all plants and apples in anticipation of [a] freezing night.

Private and confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 23, 1884.

DEAR SIR: — The alleged interview was first published in 1881, and was explicitly denied at the time. No such interview occurred and no such statements were made. This denial has been published in leading Republican journals recently in Cincinnati, New York, and Washington.

Sincerely,

R. B. H.

MR. J. E. D. WARD.

October 26. Sunday. — I read in the Minneapolis *Tribune* this morning [in] a sermon by Talmage: —

"We have an evil that costs the nation more than a billion dollars a year — to support three hundred and fifty thousand criminals, thirty thousand idiots, eight hundred thousand paupers, and bury seventy-five thousand drunkards."

Is it true? Where does Mr. Talmage get his facts? Are there trustworthy statistics showing the above? No doubt the truth on all points is bad enough, but it is hardly credible that seventy-five thousand drunkards die yearly in this country.

October 27. Monday. — Lucy and I go to Cleveland this morning. She will preside at the meeting of the Woman's Home Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. I will attend a meeting commemorating the completion of Bishop Bedell's twenty-five years as bishop and will say a few words by way of tribute to this excellent man, who has been these many years my much valued friend.

10 A. M. I have just received a dispatch from Sophia Wasson (White) that her mother is dead and will be buried tomorrow, the 28th, at 2 P. M. She came to Ohio with my father and mother in 1817. I do not know her age but suppose it to be about eighty. My earliest recollections are connected with her. She remained a member of our family until after she was married to Thomas Wasson, when she moved into his house across the street about 1830. I recollect her marrying well. Mr. Wasson said as I was going with him across the muddy street, "Rud, look out for the mud." She was always good to sister Fanny and myself, so kind; a woman of strong mind; an exact memory for names, events, and dates that was simply a marvel.

October 29. — Dr. Haygood says [of] one hundred and thirty-four counties [in Georgia] eighty-five adopt and enforce local option, and [in] about twelve others, parts of counties — districts — exclude liquor selling.

I attended yesterday the funeral of Mrs. Wasson. Arcena [Smith] Wasson was born December 7, 1797. She died from a fracture of the neck of the thigh-bone (the result of a fall some six weeks ago) on Sunday [the] 26th. I rode to the cemetery with Mrs. —— (*née Welch*), with Miss Mendenhall as my lady companion. Much pleasant talk of old times and of Mrs. Wasson. She was the embodiment of industry, honesty, truthfulness, and efficiency.

After the funeral, with Thomas F. Joy, went to the college

chapel; attended prayers. A noble sight — six hundred to eight hundred young people — students; spoke a word to them.

At Cleveland (27th) was present at the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the consecration of Bishop Bedell. A beautiful church and fine audience; made a short, well-received speech. Lucy remained to take part in the meeting of Woman's Home Missionary Society.

From Delaware to Toledo in the evening of Tuesday; staid at Island House 27th [28th], and at 8 A. M. home again. Found as guests, Miss Sherman, Dr. A. G. Haygood, and Morton, the executive clerk [during my Administration] who read the papers and put in a scrapbook extracts for my reading that would show the current talk, both friendly and hostile.

Dr. Haygood came in response to my letter informing him of the desire of the Slater [trustees] to secure his whole time for their work. He seems to like the idea; is embarrassed by the pecuniary condition of the college he is at the head of. He will try to help them out, and if successful will come to us.

CHAPTER XLII

THE ELECTION OF CLEVELAND — INTEREST IN LOYAL LEGION — POLITICS AND TEMPERANCE — CLEVELAND AND CIVIL SERVICE REFORM — SLATER AND PEABODY BOARD ACTIVITIES — GENERAL GRANT'S ILLNESS — THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT — REVIVAL SERVICES — TRUSTEE OHIO WESLEYAN — 1884-1885

NOVEMBER 4. *Tuesday.* — A steady warm rain; a gloomy, cloudy day. The Presidential election day. It has been commonly said that bad weather helps the Democrats. There is not much in it. A wet day drives the drinkers to the bottle. They are likely to be more reckless and riotous. In this way the Republicans may suffer a little. But the notion that the Republicans will be more likely to be kept from voting by bad weather is without foundation.

I go to Cincinnati today to attend tomorrow the monthly meeting of the Loyal Legion. I have not attended since June — five months. My longest absence since the commandery was organized. Its merits are: — 1. It is a social club. Its frequent meetings lead to great intimacy of friendship among its members. 2. It is a historical society. This idea will be more and more developed as the society gets older and stronger. 3. It is an army or soldiers' reunion, with all the attractions belonging [to] that form of social gathering. 4. It is permanent beyond ordinary clubs. The society of the Cincinnati after a century of existence still has interesting meetings.

There are two things I would change: — 1. The primogeniture feature is not American, is unjust to the younger sons and, perhaps I should say, daughters. 2. All honorably discharged soldiers should be eligible to membership.

This [is] the birthday of our oldest son, Birchard. He is thirty-one years old today. He was interesting and beautiful as

a child and has grown up to be a man of excellent character and habits, with many very attractive qualities.

CINCINNATI, November 5, 1884.

MY DARLING:— It now seems probable that Blaine is defeated. With all the disappointment, one can see some compensations. It turns out, not as we hoped, but as we feared at the time of the nomination. The record of our candidate and factional griefs in New York lost that State. Look at Oneida County—the county of Conkling, where Gail Hamilton's letter (exposed in the *Evening Post* a short time ago) did such mischief. Indeed, her letters in the *Tribune* hurt more than the number of votes we lack in New York. I dread the turning back of the hands of the clock in the Southern business and in the reform of the civil service. I am glad Ohio has done so well. But, after all, the march of events will go on. Our destiny does not depend on a single election, nor on any number of elections. *You* will see other sources of consolation.

Do not borrow trouble from what I said to you in our ride in the rain. We will be more and more loving, hopeful, and trusting as life wears away. Ever so much happiness be yours — be ours — and ours together.

As ever, "s' much,"

RUTHERFORD.

Later!— It now looks as if Blaine would pull through.

MRS. HAYES.

November 9. Sunday.— I returned last evening. The evening of the 4th, the national election day, I reached friend Herron's about 7 P. M. and was warmly welcomed by sister Harriet and all. We soon (John W. and I) left the house to get the news. Ohio had evidently largely increased its October majority, and our interest and inquiries were as to the doubtful States, particularly New York. This great State if for us would, in our judgment, settle things conclusively, and if against us would be

nearly equally decisive. We went through Fountain Square. Vast multitudes there were watching the bulletin board of Mabley's clothing store. We soon heard bad news from Connecticut and then a Democratic claim of sixty thousand in New York. Wild, but not encouraging. After spending a few moments in the crowds on Fifth, Vine, Sixth, and Seventh, we went to the office of the *Commercial-Gazette*. We were invited to Halstead's room, and were soon in his sanctum. We three, with the addition of Hinkle, son-in-law of William H. Davis, spent two or three hours very pleasantly, receiving returns and in listening to Halstead's snappy talk. The result left all in doubt with the chances apparently against us. We reached our beds about 11 or 12 P. M. The next day a change came. Blaine's prospects were for a time better, but New York was too close for confidence as to the result, and this still continues with varying fortunes. Last night still in doubt with chances leaning — how? The Blaine reports, 522 [plurality] for Blaine, and the Democratic reports, 100 to 500 for Cleveland.

[On the] 6th, attended the elegant Murphy wedding and met and enjoyed meeting many old friends. I knew well the grandfathers of bride and [bride]groom.

[On the] 7th, at Columbus, attended Lilly's coming-out party. All lovely. Emily Hastings was the beauty of the evening. The party was given by General and Mrs. Hastings and Rutherford H. Platt in the old home. All went off in the best possible way.

November 10. Monday. — The County Bible Society met at the office of Dr. Wilson at 10 A. M. Organization continued.

The unsettled contest in New York still furnishes the prevailing topic of conversation. I discover no excitement.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 10, 1884.

MADAM: — Your letter to Mrs. Hayes is before me. I was absent from home when it came or it would have been replied to before.

I wrote Buckner that I would pay fifty dollars towards the

support of Eliza Jane the coming year. I have had no reply from him. As to the debts of Eliza Jane, I can only say that when I know the total amount, I will be able to say how much I will give towards paying them. You probably know how much I have already given on that account.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. WINNIE BUCKNER,
Windsor, Ontario.

November 11. — I have been taking an ugly cold. I cough and sneeze as if the hay-fever had attacked me. I rode with Lucy and Mrs. Bristol down to Mr. Ickes', east side of the river, on some church charity Lucy is interested [in]. They were all cheerful and liberal.

We passed the ox-roasting of the Democrats in State Street near our old corner stores at Front and State [Streets]. The crowd was quiet. There has been little genuine enthusiasm for Cleveland in this region. Indeed, I may say, none at all. The dark blot on his private life does not imply entire unfitness for his public life. Many a man is blamable in the same way who is upright and patriotic. But the facts taken all together have been a wet blanket to his supporters. The nomination of Blaine was unwise. Either of the Shermans, Hawley, or Gresham, or Harrison would probably have been elected.

FREMONT, November 13, 1884.

DEAR GUY:— . . . I have no prejudices against Cleveland. The scandals of the campaign were shocking. In naming a candidate there should be greater care. But you and I know, all men of experience and observation know, that the kernel of truth under it all does not disqualify him for public duties. It is within the knowledge of us all that integrity, firmness, wisdom, and the executive faculty, with the truest patriotism, are found in men who are not without that sin. Certainly, I am in a frame of mind to judge him charitably and to give his Adminis-

tration a fair trial. He is pledged to the right side of the most important administrative policy now before the country, viz., the civil service reform. He will have a decided majority on this question in the important branch of Congress with him and can easily go forward in the right direction.

The Republican party is not condemned. It has its old strength. Both parties were divided by their nominations. The Republican divisions by a mere scratch in the pivotal State lost the prize. It [the Republican party] gains in both houses of Congress; it carries the Senate and would tie the House if the apportionment in this and other States was [were] fair. The constitutional amendments if obeyed would have given us four to six States in the South and carried the Presidency. But it is of no use to argue. The stream of time flows on; the march of events will not be greatly changed. The people are the government. Their character does not change with the results of elections. Years and generations are required to change the people. I hope you are for aid to education in the States by the Nation. It seems to be our best chance to bring up the neglected elements of our population.

This is a longer talk than usual on politics. Like you, I am a looker-on except as to education. On that, *I am persistent*, in and out of season, before all sorts of audiences.

Your trouble is mine—acres, taxes, meagre income. But lands will sell sometime. I do not borrow trouble because just now real estate is dull of sale.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

November 17. — Sent a barrel of apples to Aunty Davis and another to Harriet Herron. Largely of apples grown on trees set out in 1876. Belleflowers and Greenings.

Private.

Please return this hasty scrawl. — H.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 25, 1885.

DEAR SIR:— Having definitely retired from political life, I have no opinions for publication on the questions suggested in your esteemed favor of the 22d instant. While, to my mind, the meagre vote given at the recent election (in Ohio less than one in seventy) in favor of political action in regard to temperance is a significant and perhaps controlling fact, I am not disposed to debate the question with those who do not agree with me. With me, *unity of sentiment and action* among all sincere friends of temperance is of more importance than the particular measure or course of action to be adopted. As I see it, the mistake of these last few years has been the neglect by temperance workers of the essential preliminary labor which the situation demands.

In this country popular opinion and the public will are the only government. To form and settle these is the real task of the reformer. Politics and laws are merely results—merely the expression of what the people wish. Or, rather, this is what should be. The will of the people depends on education, religion, example, discussion, and the like. Whoever neglects these forces, and attempts to call in the constable to do the duty which belongs to the reformer, puts the cart before the horse. As long as public opinion tolerates the practice of the moderate drinker who buys of, and thereby makes profit for, the liquor dealer, the traffic will continue—law or no law. The *buyer* is the responsible cause of the evil. Get rid of him, in that large degree, which is entirely practicable by proper effort, and laws will speedily follow which will bring relief from the rest of the results we deplore, so far at least as laws can suppress crime.

The practical result of this view is, *for the present* let the politician and lawmaker well alone. Their masters—the people—by a few years of solid work on the lines I have indicated can be reached. With the people sound on the main question, you need have no apprehension as to what political parties and legislatures will do. . . . Sincerely,

[*Unidentified.*]

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 1, 1884.

MY DEAR SIR:—On the request of our Monumental Association I have just written to General Hawley requesting him to deliver the address at the unveiling of our Soldiers' Monument August 2, the anniversary of Croghan's victory over the British in 1813. The monument is to be on the site of the old fort. I have referred General Hawley to you for a knowledge of the local facts. We are exceedingly anxious that General Hawley should come. Please aid us in persuading him to do so.

Of course Mrs. Hayes and I wish you and Mrs. Sherman to be with us on the occasion. We shall have a great multitude here as we always do when we try.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

December 7. Sunday.—Lucy and I returned from Delaware last night. A charming visit Lucy had with her old schoolmate, the widow of my college chum, Carrie Little (Mrs. Dr. John A. Little). Rode with Judge Jones around town—up the river to a sight of the old farm of boyhood with its host of associations with Mother, Fanny, Uncle, and the early friends!

Reaching home after this delightful time, we were saddened to read in a paper sent by Governor Ramsay, of St. Paul, of the death of his wife. Such good people! Our Washington life associated us with many elderly people. Their deaths are coming to us constantly. None better than this good governor.

December 8. Monday.—I start this evening for New York, chiefly to enable Mr. D. Huntington to finish my portrait for the White House, but with important business with [the] Adams Express Company, William M. F. Round, William E. Dodge, Jr., Charles L. Mead, Carl Schurz, Ralph Trautman, [and] William M. Evarts.

NEW YORK, December 9, 1884.

MY DARLING:—I arrived this evening precisely on time, 7 P. M., at the Grand Central Depot after an unusually agreeable

trip of twenty-four hours from Fremont. My chief acquaintance on the way was the vice-president of the Lake Erie and Western, a citizen of Bloomington. He is intelligent, interesting, and cordial, and made the day seem short. The inevitable interviewer, in the shape of a well-looking attaché of the Syracuse *Journal*, gave up his brief attack after a pleasant fashion.

Mr. Arkell, one of the proprietors of the Albany *Evening Journal*, gave me a full account of the political situation here. Evarts hasn't money enough for a New York Legislature, and L. P. Morton has; hence Morton is first in the race for Senator. Conkling not seriously thought of. Cleveland a dull, honest, well-meaning, and very stubborn man who is likely to be a pretty good President. So much for Mr. Arkell. He introduced me to his partner, a Mr. Smith, who is his father's partner in making wheat bags for the West at Canajoharie and who was in college with Rud, whom he compliments as "very gentlemanly."

I am in my old quarters (41 and 42) and look out on a clear and lovely winter evening.

So good night, my dear one. Be happy. You will be good I know without advice. Love to our niece, Rud, and the girls.

Sincerely and affectionately,

R. B.

MRS. HAYES.

December 10. Fifth Avenue Hotel. — Called on Mr. Huntington at his residence and studio, 49 East Twentieth Street. He painted an hour and a half on the portrait for the White House. It seems good in all respects. The expression is almost fierce; perhaps I should say, too earnest. But I must admit its truthfulness to the original. I do not quite like the overcoat. It does not fit well, hangs loosely and does not come up neatly to the neck. In the main and on the whole, the portrait is good.

Called on Schurz at the elegant residence of Dr. Jacobi, 110 West Thirty-fourth Street. A long good conversation on politics. He read me an elaborate letter he has written, on request, to the President elect. It asserts civil service reform to be the test measure of the new Administration. That to carry it out Cleve-

land must have in his leading Cabinet places men who will be sincerely honest in its behalf. I told him there was the practical difficulty — there are not such men of good standing in the party. To this Schurz assented. Then *pledge them* to its loyal support? *Here is the rub.*

Huntington says Governor Morgan, explaining his defeat of Evarts for governor or senator, said: — "Mr. Evarts can't hold his tongue. That is one of my accomplishments."

Met at table Mr. and Mrs. Fairbrother, of Providence. Much pleasant talk of our delightful visit there. "No one has occupied the house you did before or since. Can't have such a time now." Also Governor Van Zant, of Newport, and General Gordon. [At] 9 P. M. called at Mead's, 60 East Seventy-ninth Street. Found there Mr. and Mrs. Mead. Good, kind, and friendly; genuine people always. And Fred just returned from two years in Mexico.

NEW YORK, December 12, 1884.

MY DARLING: — I dined at Mr. Evarts' last evening. All very cordial. They really want you to visit them. Betty and her two boys make a lovely group.

Mrs. Parsons and Mr. Parsons send love to you, and Mrs. Reid and Rachel Sherman were warmly enthused talking about you. You managed to put a good many people into a happy frame of mind.

Huntington's portrait of me grows rapidly. It is very fine — far better than any ever painted before. Mr. Huntington is greatly pleased with it. Will show it [at] a great exhibition here in January.

Affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

December 15. Monday. — Replied to a host of letters. Declined invitations of New England Societies of Brooklyn and New York, of New Orleans World's Fair, Mount Union College, etc., etc., etc., and reserved decision on Decoration Day at Ripley.

December 18. Thursday. — During the great storm on Lake Erie a few days ago the water of the lake was driven into Buffalo, doing a good deal of damage. Here the river was a mere brook almost down to the island. The riffles were a long distance below the bridge.

December 19. Friday. — Last night I was with the building committee of our church until long after 10 o'clock, examining bids for seating our church. Seven gentlemen with large trunks were there with samples from three States. Let [the contract] to a Richmond, Indiana, party represented by Mr. Grant for six hundred and ninety dollars — 604 feet of circular pews.

December 23. Tuesday. — I go today to Toledo to meet Mrs. Hally Ballinger, her daughter Laura, and the son of my classmate, Bryan, young Guy M. I have not seen Mrs. Ballinger since the winter of 1848-9 when she was the belle of the Brazos in Texas.

December 25. Thursday. — Merry Christmas! Present for the day Birch, Webb, Rud, Fanny, Scott, my old friend William K. Rogers, who came in at the Christmas eve supper, Mrs. William P. Ballinger, of Texas, her son Thomas, a sophomore at Ann Arbor, Laura her daughter, [and] Guy Bryan, son of my old college friend. With all these the old folks got on nicely during the festive day.

December 30, 1884. Tuesday. — Our wedding! Thirty-two years ago. A happy life. Fine children, a dear wife.

I am daily writing to Members of Congress in behalf of the bill in aid of education by the general Government. There is a good deal of hope among its friends. But —

December 31. — Soldiers' Monument and letters on the education bill were the office work of the day. — Finished Mrs. Stowe's "Wife and I" with Lucy. A novel of good influence.

January 4, 1885. Sunday. — Heard the Presiding Elder, Rev. Mr. Whitlock, [on] the permanency of the Christian religion. Sent copies of Curry's letter to the Richmond *Dispatch* and the editorial of the *Dispatch* to Democratic Members of Congress from Ohio. It is reprinted in our Democratic *Messenger*.

Reading Professor Fiske's books, two of Mrs. Stowe's novels, viz., "My Wife and I," and "We and Our Neighbors," and Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe" finished. Reading it with the young folks, Fanny and Scott. I go this week to Cincinnati to attend the monthly meeting of the Loyal Legion; next week to New York to attend a meeting of the Slater Board.

January 8. — The spire of the new great Catholic church of Father Bauer is two hundred and fifty feet and two inches high — almost as high as Trinity, New York, and one of the highest in the country.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 5, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR: — I notice with very great pleasure your comments on the letter of Mr. Cleveland on the reform of the civil service. I have for some time past indulged the hope that the President elect would be found a sincere friend of the cause. Confiding in his good faith as I do, it is a satisfaction to find that you also, with your excellent opportunities to know the truth, believe in him. He has it in his power to establish the reform. All its friends should do what they can to sustain him. They should not be too exacting. He must put in his Cabinet men who hitherto have not been reformers. There will be shortcomings. Men under him will adhere to the old practices. But he has many advantages. This is his only question of difficulty. How great an advantage this is, no one knows better than I do. With the cheap-money craze and the bloody-shirt policy on my hands at the same time with the first attempt to rescue the civil service from party leaders, the situation in 1877 differed widely from that which is now to be dealt with.

Passing from this, when I met you in October, you spoke kindly of my services in this behalf. There is a disposition on the part of some friends of the cause to disparage my work. I have no disposition to complain of this, or to attempt to correct misapprehensions in any public way. But regarding you as the great leader in this reform, as the one man to whom the

country is indebted for what has been done, more than to all others, I am particularly gratified by your approval of what was done by me. I have been in the habit of thinking of my work as including three steps in advance:—

1. "Senatorial prerogative" and "Congressional patronage," under the spoils system, had become the common law of our political system. This practice of more than forty years' growth was firmly and successfully resisted.

2. The control by the Executive of the whole body of office-holders as a political force to do his bidding in party management, was absolutely and entirely abolished during my term of office. Office-holders either abstained entirely from such work, or took their own course without any effort to dictate on the part of the Executive. In the National Convention of 1880, a smaller number of office-holders took part than in any previous convention since the time of John Quincy Adams. It was in striking contrast with the convention of 1884, in which the office-holders appeared in full force supporting the interests of the Administration under which they held place.

3. Perhaps the most important service to the cause rendered by the last Administration was [what was done in] the great[est business] office in the country. The New York Custom House had been [the] most powerful political partisan agency under the spoils system. Here the reform was most needed and most difficult. If the reform could be established here, its practicability everywhere was demonstrated. Under General Merritt, by the judgment of friend and foe alike, the principles of the reform of the civil service were carried out so successfully that it may be truly said that the corner-stone of the reform was then and there laid.

In response to all of this, I do not wish a word from you for present publication. But it would be gratifying to have in writing the substance of what you said to me when we last met in New York.*

* Draft of letter unsigned and unaddressed. Undoubtedly to George William Curtis, editor of *Harper's Weekly*.

January 10. — Visited Laura Mitchell and Emily Hastings and the rest at their homes [Tuesday]; happy time. Wednesday morning to Delaware; enjoyed looking at President Merrick's mineral treasures in the college; met Professors Paine, etc., etc. Evening at Cincinnati. A capital meeting of the Loyal Legion. Force read a noble paper having many touching passages. "The Vicksburg Campaign." Thursday called on John and Harriet Herron. An exceedingly enjoyable call — too short. . . . Friday home at 1 P. M.

SPIEGEL, January 14, 1885.

MY DARLING:— Your letter carried off — not yet returned — but I think the vital point was horsemanship. Yes, do by all my [?] means. Learn all the graces and essentials — the ornamental and useful parts of the accomplishment. It is worth more than Greek. You write a charming little letter. Try to enlarge a little. Be discursive, give wings to your imagination. Indulge in a few long sentences. Tell us in a poetical way, or a humorous way, or an impressive way, some of the facts — some of the secrets of your environment.

We are all as we were. Fine winter weather. I go to New York tomorrow. Will return in a few days.

All love you.

Your affectionate

PATERNAL.

MISS FANNY HAYES.

NEW YORK, Friday evening, January 16, 1885.

MY DARLING:— After a very pleasant trip, I am here on time. Reverend Dr. Curry and his wife (the editor of the Methodist Episcopal *Advocate*) were returning from a three-weeks' absence at Delaware and Chicago. We had a long talk on the topics naturally arising, and especially many things were said you would particularly like to hear, which therefore I forbear to give.

At Albany the members [of the Legislature] came on the train, having adjourned until Monday. Monday night is the senatorial

caucus. The friends of Mr. Evarts were in high spirits. They regard the battle as won. I talked with a number of them, and also of the Evarts committees. All see it clearly for Mr. Evarts. I talked with two anti-Evarts members (both of whom sent regards to you, by-the-by,) viz., Senator Daggett, of Brooklyn, and General Barnum, of this city. They were down, but said, "*wait for the vote.*" General McCook *never looked better*—no appearance of intemperance. He was exceedingly happy and cordial—will take me to church to hear Paxton Sunday.

As usual I met acquaintance of Rud and Webb—Este, a dentist in Ithaca. His father is a senator and for Mr. Evarts.

In short this seems to be our victory. If it is a victory, as now seems likely, he takes the seat Conkling left in a huff, and to do it beats Arthur and the Stalwarts.

With all love from yours ever,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

January 18. Sunday.—Leaving home Thursday evening at 7 P. M., I reached here (Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York) about 6.30 P. M. Friday, to attend a special meeting of the Slater Board. All present except the Chief Justice. We had a full talk over the whole business. The meeting while not fruitful in present practical results was, I am sure, useful. Our records show the action taken. Governor Colquitt wished the next meeting held at his city, Atlanta, Georgia, and invited Mrs. Hayes and myself to visit his home.

At Albany the recess of the Legislature till Monday filled our train. I was greatly pleased to learn from all that Evarts was likely to win the Senatorship—that it was almost a certainty. General McCook, General Barnum, Daggett (Albert), and other members were very cordial. My most agreeable talk was with Dr. and Mrs. Curry—Dr. Curry of the New York *Advocate*. Lunched at University Club with Jesup, Dr. Brooks, and others of our board, Saturday at noon.

Saturday evening called at Mr. Evarts' and congratulated them

on the probable election of Mr. Evarts as Senator from New York. It is to me a special satisfaction. Mr. Evarts and his family have been valued and warm friends of me and mine ever since we became acquainted in 1877. He was at the head of my Cabinet; was the leading advocate of my cause before the Electoral Commission; was with me thoroughly in the whole Southern policy, and in the fight with Conkling and with Arthur and Cornell. His election to the seat resigned in a pet by the self-conceited "monomaniac on the subject of his own importance" is a condemnation of Conkling. It is a defeat of Arthur and his set and of Cornell and puts New York against Tilden in the Senate. All gratifying as political lessons and [as a] vindication of my Administration. In the work my old and near friend McCook leads.

I took supper with William E. Dodge, Jr., Saturday night. A pleasant visit with Haygood to a good, wholesome, and charming family.

Sunday I saw General James and Warner Miller. Went with McCook to hear Paxton (a Washington preacher). He gave us a tonic like a bracing breeze from a mountain top—a needed tonic everywhere and by us all.

I go this afternoon with William E. Dodge, Jr., and Haygood to see various good works.

January 19, 1885. — I called with President Gilman on General Grant. Soon after we were seated in his parlor I heard the general's voice upstairs saying: "Fred, General Hayes is in the parlor. Go down and see him." Soon Colonel Fred came down, and in a moment I heard the general's voice again: "Badeau, General Hayes is in the parlor. Come down and see him"; and in a moment after General Grant came in, very lame, but otherwise looking well. He said he felt much better than he had been; that he had walked some distance that day notwithstanding the cold wind; that in December he had a number of teeth pulled and the shock was too great, and his nervous system had been injured; that for two weeks also his tongue was sore and gave him much pain. He had scarcely been able to speak. He spoke of reading General Force's book, "From Donelson to Shiloh"

[“From Fort Henry to Corinth”], as an authority of value. He spoke easily and cheerfully, *but he did not smile!*

FREMONT, OHIO, January 21, 1885.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I returned from New York last evening and find here your note. I will be glad if Major Blivens can give us a paper and will write him to that effect. As we go to Cincinnati the time when should be not earlier than the 14th. That date or any time *later* will suit us.

Your “Cedar Creek” made me happy. It was and is the best thing on a famous fight.

I called with President Gilman, of the Johns Hopkins University, on General Grant. He *has* been very sick. He had a number of teeth drawn — the shock was too severe; he also took a cold, and with a difficulty at the root of his tongue was scarcely able to speak for some days. He is now almost as well as before. He *looks* well; was attentive and cordial; and talked with interest of war matters. I mentioned the piece I enclose. This led him to speak in a way that led me to think he was just from his war sketches. He spoke of reading *now* Force’s book, etc., etc. Colonel Fred Grant and Badeau were present. The conversation was lively and pleasant, *but he did not strike me as cheerful*. Simply composed and considerate. Of course, this is solely for you. I am confident the danger is past with him. This scrap appeared in the *Tribune* Monday. He was interested in my account of it.

The election of Evarts is a great gratification. It covers a *world* of points of personal interest to me, and is a public good.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL J. M. COMLY.

January 22. Thursday.—Attended with Lucy the Farmers’ Institute. Led by Secretary of State Board of Agriculture, Hon. W. I. Chamberlain, and Gould. Good practical lectures on farmers’ topics were delivered. This is essentially an educa-

tional process. I spoke a few minutes in the evening on my educational hobbies; viz.:— 1. Teach more of American history and biography, 2. Teach more of English language and literature and modern languages, 3. Industrial education.

CINCINNATI, Monday, February 2, 1885.

MY DARLING:— Your mother and I are having one of our best visits. Nothing could be better-timed. We have attended agreeable gatherings at Mr. Broadwell's, Mr. Bullock's, General Force's, and in the beautiful Odeon we heard Sala twice. We go riding and visiting daily. We remain until Thursday evening, when we expect to go via the Bee Line to Cleveland, arriving Friday morning. Will stay in Cleveland long enough to see our charming daughter (!) and go home Friday night after almost two weeks' absence. Let Webb know our plans so we may at least see his honest face. . . .

We are at Herron's, but will spend the Loyal Legion days, Wednesday and Thursday, at the Burnet House.

Our love to the Austin household, and several solid chunks for yourself from your mother (who admires her daughter more than ever) and your paternal who has no prejudice against you.

Lovingly,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Cleveland.

February 7, 1885.— We reached home last evening about 5 P. M. via Cleveland, Wellington, and Norwalk from Cincinnati, where we remained about two weeks; the longest and best visit to Cincinnati we have had since we left to reside here in the spring of 1873. . . .

Our Harvester Company makes an assignment next week. They make a good machine, but the early management was unfortunate. Besides, the small fish are eaten up by the big ones. Uncle had five thousand dollars stock. I signed certain notes. My loss will hardly exceed ten thousand dollars, and will not be

less than five thousand dollars. Besides this, the savings bank question comes to a decision next week. If it is adverse we shall have trouble and possibly some losses with our new savings bank. "It never rains but it pours."

February 8. Sunday. — My most agreeable visit to Cincinnati was chiefly to attend the annual dinner (the second) of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion. It passed off gloriously. Lucy had a beautiful and numerously attended reception at the Burnet House. The banquet was superb. Fine speaking by Bishop Fallon, Gibson, Murdock, and others.

I naturally think of the history and origin of our prototype, "The Society of the Cincinnati." I find "some account" of it by Alex Johnston in volume 6, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Meeting to form society on banks of the Hudson (near or at Newburgh), May 10, 1783.

A rough draft of proposals for the society was drawn up by General Knox, April 15, 1783, at West Point; offered to the meeting at Newburgh, May 10, referred to a committee — Knox, Hand, Huntington, and Captain Shaw, — reported on the 13th to an adjourned meeting and adopted as the constitution of the order.

At the first general meeting of the order of the Cincinnati, action was taken, abolishing (so far as that general meeting was concerned) the hereditary principle and the power of electing honorary members. At the general meeting in May 1784 the institution changing the rule of the order as to the hereditary feature and as to honorary members, was adopted — twelve States for it and one divided, viz., New York.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 8, 1885.

DEAR AUNTY D: — I send you the narrative of Massy Harbeson. Keep it till I come down sometime. Coe's Station is mentioned in it a number of times. I do not see any other book that contains important mention of it. *Your town was Tarentum*, if I remember aright.

I thought there were no Indian troubles on the Allegheny after the close of the Revolutionary War in 1783. In this I was mistaken. They lasted some ten years later.

We found all well and glad to see us here. — With best wishes to yourself and Doctor.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. EILZA G. DAVIS,

Cincinnati.

February 9. Monday. — All day at work on correspondence. Read Holmes' article in *Atlantic* — entertaining as always. "Deterioration and Race Education," by Samuel Royce, contains much food for reflection. Too much stress on "race," and yet — Do races tend downwards after reaching a high civilization?

Personal.

FREMONT, February 10, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR: — It will be somewhat inconvenient to attend the dedication on the 21st instant. I had not intended, by reason of other engagements, to be present. But seeing the prominent place in the programme given to ex-Presidents, in view of my active interest in the [Washington] Monument, and thinking of what is due to the Father of his Country, I am not sure but I *ought* to come. Please write me confidentially on the subject. Will General Grant be present?

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,

Washington, D. C.

SPIEGEL GROVE, February 10, 1885.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — I want to mention a fact which I forgot yesterday. (*Confidentially.*) The dedication of the Washington Monument takes place February 21. I did not know all the facts until this moment. The ex-Presidents have a place (prominent

of course) in all parts of the programme. My engagement with you is *prior* to that. I can well plead it for my absence. But on reflection, possibly I *ought* to go to Washington. If so, can the Toledo Loyal Legion postpone until [the] 28th their coming here?

I think this is the whole case. I am sorry I had not seen the programme at Washington when I phoned you yesterday.

"Same as before." Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL J. M. COMLY.

February 12. Thursday. — I just sent to George T. Rockwell, Kalamazoo, Michigan, who wanted an autograph sentiment, the following:

"The capital defect of our public schools is too much teaching, too little educating, and too little manual labor. The Spartan rule was: 'Teach boys what they will practice when they become men.'"

February 16. Monday. — I have just written to the District Attorney of Dakota, Hon. Hugh Campbell, one of the Republicans who stood by the Republican count in Louisiana in 1876, (extract) :—

"I have never had any doubt as to the legality or the fairness of the final result in 1876. Garfield, Sherman, and other gentlemen of high character, who visited Louisiana to observe the count, personally assured me in the strongest terms that my equitable as well as legal right to the vote of that State was beyond all question. More than this, one of the ablest and most influential Democrats in the country, who was perfectly familiar with the inner history of the whole affair on the Democratic side, told me that no intelligent or candid man of his party could claim the election for the Democratic party if he conceded the validity of the Fifteenth Amendment. Said he, 'If the negro vote is entitled to be considered, you should have had more States than were counted for you.' No doubt this is true."

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 16, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am obliged for your letter. It gives me the situation as I wanted to know it. Urgent private business requires my presence here for the next ten days or two weeks. I could only go to Washington in case *the proprieties REQUIRE it*. I send you a short official declination. If anything occurs to make it necessary for me to come, a dispatch will bring me to Washington. It should reach me not later than Thursday noon.

With special thanks for your kind attention,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 16, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—I regret that it is not practicable for me to accept the invitation to attend the ceremonies at the dedication of the Washington Monument on the 21st instant.

When the work of the monument was resumed under the Act of 1876, as a member of the commission in charge of it, I was much interested in the plan for strengthening the foundation recommended by the engineer, General Casey, and have ever since watched with deep solicitude the progress of the structure towards completion. It is a pleasure to have an opportunity to congratulate General Casey and his associates, that after so many anxious years of devotion to their task, they are now gladdened by the successful termination of their skilful and hazardous labors.

The fame of Washington needs no monument. No work of human hands can adequately illustrate his character and services. His countrymen, however, wishing to manifest their admiration and gratitude, a hundred years ago decided to build a monument in honor of his deeds and virtues. Having undertaken the work they could not neglect it or allow it to fail. The friends of liberty and good government in all other lands will unite with patri-

otic Americans in rejoicing that a monument so fitting and majestic has now been erected in memory of Washington.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
CHAIRMAN.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 16, 1885.

MY DEAR GUY:—The pecans have never come to hand. My son Rud has undertaken to look them up. I am sorry you took so much trouble with them. I intended to plant a number of them, and see what could be done with them here.

We enjoyed the visit of the Texas colony, and am glad if they found it homelike.

I am very busy just now. The long continued hard times have brought embarrassment to two enterprises in which I am interested, and for some time to come I must give their affairs personal attention.

I do not apprehend serious embarrassment of my affairs, but shall be somewhat straitened for a time.—All well.

As ever, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

February 22. Sunday.—Our church is substantially completed. Cost about twenty thousand dollars. Amount actually collected over nine thousand dollars. Due on subscriptions deemed good about three thousand dollars. To be raised about eight thousand dollars. The dedication ceremonies will be next Sunday. At that time it is hoped that a considerable part of this will be raised. Considering the hard times, the recent failure of the Harvester Company, and the fact that the congregation embraces very few wealthy people, I shall be content if we raise enough to reduce our debt to five thousand dollars. I pay one-fourth of all that is raised. The structure is a good one and quite equal in all respects to my expectations.

February 23. Monday.—I am vexed to find that our bank still holds greatly too large an amount of paper that is substantially one concern. . . . This debt has been carried along with the notes of its partners several years. I was much disturbed about it when [I] first learned of it after my return from Washington. . . . I hope by careful attention the bank can get out of it without serious loss. But I must keep my eye on it and see that all is done that can now be done. There is danger.

February 24. Tuesday.—At noon today we got a dispatch from our lawyer at Columbus, Honorable Richard A. Harrison, that the Supreme Court sustains the constitutionality of the Savings Bank Law. This is a relief.

February 25. Wednesday.—To Cleveland to attend a meeting of the trustees of the Western Reserve University. The chief business related to the Medical Department and the graduation of over fifty young men. At Austin's found all in usual health.

In the afternoon I rode with him, Miss Mattie [Avery], and Sister Fanny out to the powder mill to see a gas well recently dug by Mr. Austin at an expense of some eleven hundred dollars. He went down seven hundred feet and over. The first seventy feet with an eight-inch pipe, the cost was two dollars per foot. Cheaper afterwards as the pipe diminished. In the shale he soon began to find gas. At three hundred to four hundred feet he found perhaps the full supply he now has. Mr. Austin estimates the heat of the supply he now has as worth or equal to two tons of coal per day. This is a guess. The flame is several feet high out of a two-inch pipe. How to put it out was a question. By running the pipe up for several feet and removing a section rapidly for several feet below the orifice the flame is cut off.

In the evening with Webb and the ladies to the riding school and armory of the Troop. Fanny is delighted with riding. She is full of life and spirit and as engaging and lovable as one can wish. Dear girl!

February 27. Friday.—The new church being done the funeral sermon of Father Israel Smith was preached in it (its first use) and the remains carried in and out. The church was filled. The

large congregation must have reached five or six hundred. The church is in all respects satisfactory. Colors perhaps too garish especially in the stained-glass windows. The aisles — the main — are inconveniently narrow for taking in and out the coffin.

February 28. Saturday. — I will hand to the clergyman who undertakes to raise the amount due the following: "In order to provide for the whole debt of the church, General and Mrs. Hayes will subscribe one-fourth of the amount due, provided enough is raised from others to pay off the indebtedness. In case a less sum is raised, they will subscribe one-fourth of the total sum raised." Estimated amount of this subscription two thousand one hundred dollars.

March 2. Monday. — Our church meetings yesterday and last evening were very successful. Rev. Dr. J. W. Hamilton of the People's Church, Boston, preached twice, and presented the subscription question to the congregation. He stated the debt at eight thousand three hundred dollars and that he proposed to raise eight thousand five hundred dollars. In the morning he raised over seven thousand six hundred, and in the evening enough more to make the total over *nine thousand four hundred dollars!!* He was good-natured, graceful, patient, and sufficiently spirited and humorous to keep the audience interested and amused, and at the same time was free from buffoonery and objectionable levity. Dr. Mather took a prominent part in it [the day's services] and is receiving invitations and attentions of the friendliest sort.

FREMONT, March 3, 1885.

MY DEAR GUY:— The pecans, after three months, reached here today in excellent condition. Lucy pronounced them the finest she ever saw. Certainly they are fine. I shall plant some of them.

We have had an unusually severe winter, and some business failures that involve me somewhat. I am liable on the paper of a harvester manufacturing company to the extent of thirty thousand dollars. My total liability will be about thirty-five thou-

sand. Of this I must pay about twelve to fifteen thousand. This with my other debts will make the load too heavy for comfort. But with economy and careful management I hope to pull through without large sacrifices of property. Uncle subscribed for the stock as a public-spirited citizen for the benefit of the community. To carry out his views I become involved in it. It is now important to me, personally, to have an early return of good times.

I like the indications from the President elect. His letter on the silver question is wise and bold. Indeed, I see nothing from Cleveland that is not full of promise for good.

I expect to go to Atlanta during the month on the Slater education business. It will be done, if the Senate adjourns in time. I will [shall] be the guest of Governor Colquitt.

Lucy and all are in usual health.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

March 4. Wednesday.—Inauguration day. I am pleased with Cleveland, much better than a majority of his party seem to be. His letter on the eighty-five-cent silver dollar is sensible and well put. It is against the grounds taken by a majority of his party. It is a sound and bold act. He appears to be faithful to his committals on the subject of a reform of the civil service. I am hopeful that he will prove a good Chief Magistrate.

SPIEGEL, March 5, 1885.

MY DARLING:—The death of Grim* has made us all mourn. He was a great ornament to our home, and a comfort to all of us. He was killed instantly by a train on the Lake Shore Railroad at Pease's crossing. He stood on the track evidently expecting the train to turn out for him. All teams turned out for him; the whole county knew him and respected him. He was a privileged character in every place. His head was taken clear

*“Our favorite dog—our greyhound, ‘Grim.’ ” — Diary.

off — also his fore-leg. His remains will be buried when the frost is out of the ground on cemetery point, by the side of "Old Whitey" and "Old Ned." Some natural tears have been shed over him, and you will be sad as your mother was and is.

Affectionately,

R.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Cleveland.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 6, 1885.

MY DEAR COLONEL: — It would, I am sure, be a satisfaction to your father if he could know how deep and universal the rejoicing is among the people of all parties and descriptions that Congress has at last yielded to the demand of the country, and restored him to the army. I was at a meeting of the Grand Army the evening that the news reached here. The manifestations of warm feeling were marked. All the comrades are with him and for him in all that touches his comfort and happiness.

Mrs. Hayes joins me in special and hearty expressions of sympathy with both your father and mother.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

COLONEL FRED D. GRANT,
New York.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 11, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR: — I am really surprised that you succeeded in getting justice in the Louisiana matter. I was confident the money paid would be reimbursed *sometime*, but I did not expect it so soon.

We are all in usual health. — With best wishes,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

March 12. Thursday. — My cousin, Sarah Moody Kilbourn, died of paralysis this morning at 10 o'clock at Delaware. She

would have been seventy-three in a few days. We go to the funeral tomorrow. She lay speechless two weeks after the fatal stroke. She probably was not conscious of her suffering, but she moaned as if in pain a good deal of the time when she was awake.

March 17. Tuesday. — Returned from Delaware last evening. Sarah Moody Kilbourn was buried Saturday. We visited at Carrie Little's; dined with Jones.

March 20. Friday. — Today received a draft from the Treasury Department for the amount expended by the commission sent to Louisiana in 1877 to investigate the situation before withdrawing the troops. When the bill was before the Senate first the majority would have passed it, but Conkling insisted on debate — which would have lost important measures if persisted in. Now Conkling is gone! Better still, Evarts is in his seat!

First bluebirds in grove today.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 21, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR: — I have nothing yet from General Hawley about coming to our dedication of the Soldiers' Monument next August. Please give me your suggestion. We want to get him. Will it do for me to write him again? By the way, what do I owe you? I am now in condition to pay up with thanks.

The weather is wintry. Three days in succession below zero since the middle of March.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN.

March 23. Monday. — Heard of the President's appointments to England, France, etc., etc. I like Phelps, Pendleton, etc., etc.

The President is doing extremely well, and deserves the support so far of the people of all parties. I no doubt like him better than the majority of those who elected him. He is sound on the currency, the tariff, and the reform of the civil service.

March 26. Thursday.—The First National Bank of New York sends a claim to Sherman for eight hundred dollars interest on amount of Louisiana expenses 1877. The appropriation is for the amount paid by me without interest. Sherman says I am not bound to pay it. I reply.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 26, 1885.

MY DEAR SENATOR:—I am surprised at the letter of the bank. Of course I had no personal knowledge as to the arrangement. But I am clear as to the original understanding I had that they would wait for the Government appropriation and *look to it alone*. I was sure they were wrong to ask for it four years ago. And now to ask interest seems preposterous.

But you know all the facts, and if you think I ought to lose it, I will cheerfully acquiesce. *Do precisely as you think ought to be done.*

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 27, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—Enclosed I send you the amount named in your letter. I am perfectly willing to add to it the interest. It is gratifying to know that the bank takes the same view of the case that we do.

I will write General Hawley again as soon as the Senate adjourns.—I return you Baker's dispatch.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 31, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—The closing up of the Louisiana matter is very gratifying. The money is the smallest part of it. It is an all-sufficient reply to the foolish "fraud" cry of the *Sun* and a few other implacables in both parties.

There is a degree of uncertainty about the next election. The chances for Republican success seem to be good. Assuming

that you have no special aversion to running the risk of defeat at the election, your true course is plain enough. *Everybody whose opinion you ought to care about wants you to continue to be our Senator.* They are really in earnest and solicitous about it. You will, I think, have no competitor in the party. In any event, your support by the Republicans is beyond question. In my view you ought to remain in the Senate. I hope you will see the situation as I do.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

April 1. Wednesday.—I think of forty-three years ago. The birthday of Laura! All the family of that day gone except myself, and the then just arrived infant. Mother, Fanny, Uncle Bichard, Platt, Harriet Solace, Mrs. Warren, and Mrs. Kilbourn!

April 2.—Went with Lucy to church.—From there I went to the high-school building and heard Professor Finley, of Akron, read a fair paper on Thoreau. Thoreau was a man of gifts and culture. Simple, sincere, and brave. But he failed in his duties. He was not a good citizen, not a patriot; “never married, never went to church, never voted, and never paid a tax,” said Professor Finley. To this I added, “and it is a satisfaction that he did go to jail”! as he ought. This will do as a joke.

This morning prepared remarks to be read this afternoon before a home mission society.

In the evening attended the revival meeting of the Methodist Episcopal church. These meetings have been held almost every night for six or eight weeks. The accessions to the church are over one hundred new converts, and perhaps forty or fifty others who have been at some time members but who have discontinued membership or attendance. The meetings will soon be discontinued. This, to enable our pastor, Mr. Prentiss, to recover his strength and to enable him to give attention to the general interests of the church. The new members must be allowed to settle down to plain duties as Christians. The excitement of

their new situation must wear off and everyday life be resumed. This seems to be the view of Mr. Prentiss.

The manner of the revival meetings is usually about this: Precisely at the appointed hour, the bell having ceased to ring, and the congregation being all seated and quiet, Mr. Prentiss takes his stand in front of the desk, near the altar rail, and announces from a small revival hymn-book the hymn. Miss Ickes at the small organ starts the tune. Mr. Prentiss who is a good singer begins, with his left hand beating time and walking along the platform, occupying in his walk ten or twelve feet in length along near the altar-rail. He sings with an earnest, strong, and good voice. The whole congregation rise and join in spirit. There is generally a chorus that is repeated with increasing unction. "Bringing in the Sheaves" is a favorite hymn. Having finished the first hymn, a second, a third, and [a] fourth immediately follow. The whole house soon enters into the spirit of it.

At the end of the fourth hymn Mr. Prentiss says, "Let us all now kneel and invoke the Divine assistance." He kneels at the altar-rail and in a short prayer, with much feeling, appeals for the coming of the Spirit to each heart. He next reads from the Scriptures — possibly with comments. Another hymn follows; then a short sermon, urging the necessity of prompt surrender or acceptance of the means of salvation. After the sermon he asks all to come forward, "the old and young in years, the old and young in Christ"; "and while we sing [he adds] let all who desire Christ or the prayers of the church or who feel an interest in their soul's salvation come forward and kneel at the altar."

He then, as the members move towards the altar-rail, the whole congregation standing and singing, goes along the aisles and urges those whom [who] he knows are thinking of joining the church or those whom [who] he sees are deeply interested, to come forward. One and another comes forward and kneels. The example is contagious, and some evenings ten or fifteen new "converts" are seen "seeking their Saviour."

Members are called on for short prayers. Singing and praying continue twenty or thirty minutes. There is not much shouting, not many spontaneous "amens," but there is an occasional "Thank

God" or sigh or groan. Mr. Prentiss himself is apt to interject frequently "Amen," "Thank God," "Yes," without regard to the sense of the prayer, thus giving vent to his feelings as the praying goes on. All the new converts are, while kneeling, encouraged by the older members who kneel by their sides, and affectionately urge them to go on and adopt "the new life." Ladies often pray in low sweet tones. There is nothing unseemly or boisterous. There is warm and deep emotion, without demonstration. A subdued excitement pervades the assembly. The converts are about equally male and female, young and old. For the most part they are of the middle and poorer classes.

When all have been talked with and recognized who come forward as converts, Mr. Prentiss says, "You will all now return to your places." A hymn, [a] prayer, the doxology, and a benediction close the meeting.

April 3. Friday.—Fanny came last night. Her mother and I were in the library waiting for her. She is full of spirit—is healthy and animated. Fine-looking and intellectual. With sweet and very engaging manners.

April 4. Saturday.—Clear and quiet—one or two inches of snow gives the grove a wintry appearance. About 1 P. M. I went over to Toledo. . . . Met Mr. William Corlett at the door, commander of Forsythe Post, G. A. R. This is the second largest post in the State. They invited me some weeks ago to spend an evening with them. I accepted with the understanding that I was not to be expected to make an elaborate address, merely an over hand [offhand], desultory talk. The time was fixed for next Wednesday evening, April 8.

During the last few days the death of General Grant has been regarded as likely to occur soon. Soldiers especially are thinking of him and his sufferings constantly. If he dies I shall want to attend his funeral. I therefore saw Commander Corlett to let him know that I must be excused from the engagement for Wednesday evening, in case General Grant dies before that time. All this was arranged accordingly. . . .

Evening read Professor Fiske's "Cosmic Philosophy."

FREMONT, OHIO, April 4, 1885.

MY DEAR SENATOR:— I see it stated that General Grant wishes, in case of death, to be buried at Washington.

It seems to me proper to attend the funeral wherever it is, and if at Washington, I will come there. You will probably break up in Washington before the funeral. Let me know as to the hotel I should go to. I used to prefer the Ebbitt or the Riggs, but I am not at all informed about them.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington.

April 5. Sunday.— We had a full church today—Easter day—a good sermon, taking the orthodox view of the resurrection.

My darling daughter Fanny and our good niece (cousin, in fact), Adda S. Cook, when the call was made by Mr. Prentiss for new members, went forward after several others had done so, and stood at the altar while the congregation were singing the closing hymn. I had no intimation of her purpose to do this. Possibly, I would have preferred that she should wait until she was more mature. She is now seventeen (was seventeen September 2) and is of good judgment, lovely disposition, and solid character. I hope she will be true to her convictions of duty and [I] have every reason to hope she will be so. With this result, the step will not be a mistake. Dear girl! How I love her. She resembles my mother rather more than my sister Fanny or her own mother. But she has many of the best traits of my wife and sister. She is a rare sunbeam in the house.

April 6. Monday.— Scott returns to his school at Green Springs for one term longer tonight. Three months from now I must decide for him again — what to study next — where to go? My inclination is to stop Greek, take German instead, and an industrial training school,— drawing, penmanship, and mechanical instruction.

April 9. Thursday.—Last evening attended a crowded meeting of Forsythe Post, G. A. R. and spoke an hour, quite acceptably,

with much enjoyment to myself. Old soldiers are always an inspiring audience. General Comly looks pale and delicate. With Walbridge rode over the town of Toledo. It is growing; many fine dwellings of recent style are going up.

April 10. Friday.—Forenoon engaged on my correspondence, which still continues large. General Grant is easier; may live some days. I would like to attend the Detroit organization of the Loyal Legion for Michigan, but may not be able to do so. It will be the 13th, Monday.

April 11. Saturday.—Attended the I. O. O. F. meeting last evening, Croghan Lodge, Number 77. The new "work" adds to the interest of the meetings and attracts a large attendance. In spite of rain and mud some sixty or seventy were present. Men naturally love dramatic representations, are fond of taking part in them. The interest of these societies is largely dependent on this tendency.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 11, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your letter, inviting me to attend the memorial services on the twentieth anniversary of the death of Abraham Lincoln, at Springfield, Illinois, is before me.

Abraham Lincoln was the martyr of a stainless cause. It was the cause of America—"the cradle of the future." It was more. It was indeed the cause of all mankind. The triumph of this cause, so good and so great, was due, under Providence, more largely to Lincoln than to any other man. He was the embodiment of its spirit, its principles, and its purposes. He was the truest representative and the highest type of the plain people whose courage, patience, and faith, in the army and at home, won the victory.

With each passing year, the unmeasured greatness and the priceless value of the work of which he was the leader becomes more clear. The twentieth anniversary of the appalling event which closed that momentous struggle, the great American Conflict, finds the world able to see Lincoln and his deeds with a larger and wiser appreciation than ever before. Every anni-

versary, to the end of time, of the event you now commemorate, will surely bring to Lincoln, to his character and to the results of his life, the increased esteem, admiration, and gratitude of all civilized men.

Regretting that I cannot take part with you in the celebration, I remain,

Sincerely,

[*Unidentified.*]

R. B. HAYES.

April 12, 1885. — Twenty-seven young persons were baptized this forenoon in the First Methodist Episcopal church of Fremont. Mr. Prentiss was so liberal as to the "sacrament" that one doubts its importance. Three modes spoken of, immersion, sprinkling, and pouring.

Read Cross' first volume of George Eliot. He allows her to tell her own story by a judicious selection and arrangement of extracts from her correspondence.

April 13. — General Grant had a bad day and night again after a considerable improvement Saturday.

April 14. Tuesday. — I start this morning, 9:30, for Chicago to attend as a member of the fifth congress of the Loyal Legion.

Chicago, April 15. Wednesday. — Colonel Bell, of Toledo, got in the train at Toledo. A pleasant trip; in the afternoon a snow-storm; was met about 8 P. M. at Lake Shore depot by Colonel Corbin, and taken to the Leland House. After dressing attended the opera "Aida" — Patti. In the box of the president of the Musical Society, Mr. Peck, with Mme. Nevada, Dr. Palmer, and others. Met also Dr. Nixon, my old secretary Busby, and many other acquaintances. The great enjoyment was the audience, said to be the largest ever in the world at an opera, — six thousand five hundred seated and —

April 16. Thursday. — The Congress of the Loyal Legion met in the parlor of the Pacific Hotel. I was chosen president, Major Nicholson, secretary. It was opened with prayer by the editor of the *Northwestern Christian Advocate*. The minutes were quite voluminous, and on motion were read only by ex-

tracts. A committee on constitutional amendments, in the language of the resolution to the same effect at the fourth congress, the last before this, was raised, one from each commandery. I called on the commanderies to name their committee-men. A world of amendments were proposed and sent to the committee without being read in the hearing of the congress. The general sentiment is extremely conservative. No radical or important amendment is likely to pass the committee or the congress. I favor a number of amendments.

1. To strike out the primogeniture feature and adopt the American principle — descent to all the sons. This makes them "*eligible*" alike.

2. Make non-commissioned officers and privates eligible (either generally or to a number not exceeding in any commandery the number of the commissioned officers).

3. Make eligible to second-class membership the sons of officers who were eligible, but who died before becoming members.

4. I wish to secure authority to make members-at-large — Bickham and Devereux.

I do not expect the first two to be received with favor. The last two I hope will be adopted.

Our banquet last night was an exceedingly fine affair. The singing was enthusiastic and stirring. Almost all "tramped" around the room among the tables emphasizing the song, "Tramp, tramp, tramp, the boys are marching." This after the regular programme was gone through with. The speeches were short and well put. The best were by Lambert, of Philadelphia, Duffield, of Detroit, and Kemper, of Cincinnati. I responded briefly in a well-received speech of three or four minutes. It was a mistake that I did not speak longer. I alluded to the contribution of Illinois to the good cause, and a strong sentence or two named Lincoln and Grant. I had it in mind to touch briefly on their character and careers. It was a mistake not to do it. But I am so averse to long speeches, that I struck for the merit of brevity, as I usually do. They gave me a rousing cheer, long continued, as I rose; were responsive all through, and at the close gave three rattling cheers.

The distinctive features were: 1. Only a few short speeches.

2. The old army calls by bugle and drum.
3. The band played familiar army tunes in a way to start spontaneous singing of the best soldier songs.
4. The marching, "Tramp, tramp."

Today we finished by one o'clock P. M., the business of the congress and adjourned *sine die*. At the closing, after the resolutions of thanks, as presiding officer, I made a short off-hand speech, which easily warmed up into a talk, which the congress directed to be printed and sent to all the commanderies. I must see to the revision. It was taken down by a shorthand reporter. Three things besides the amendment and improvement of the constitution were done which interested me;

1. The sons of men, entitled to be members who died without becoming such, are eligible.
 2. The election at large of Bickham and Devereux.
 3. The Commandery-in-Chief to be organized this year on the call of General Hancock at Philadelphia.
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LELAND HOTEL, CHICAGO, April 16, Thursday, 1885.

MY DARLING:—I arrived on time in a heavy snow-storm, after an agreeable trip, and was met at the station by Colonel Corbin, and in less than half an hour was on my way to the opera. The attraction was Patti, and the great hall, and especially "the largest audience that ever attended an opera in the world." I borrow the Chicago boast. Surely, it was the largest and most brilliant spectacle of the sort I ever saw. I was put in the box with Mme. Nevada, the popular favorite of the day here. She was natural, agreeable, and chatty. I also talked in another box with Mrs. MacVeagh and ever so many other friends of yours. Senator Manderson showered on you the Washington compliments he was "constantly" hearing from everybody in Washington.

Our Loyal Legion has had its first business meetings, and the banquet given to the congress by the Chicago companions. Nothing could have been better than the latter. My personal reception as the president of the congress was and is exceedingly partial.

I have visited the Gettysburg panorama twice. It is the great spectacle of the city. I agree with the boast, "the finest battle picture in the world."

I have called nowhere yet. Mrs. Jewett will be the first person to be seen, and after that others if I have time. Tonight the reception to the Loyal Legion at Mr. George W. Smith's claims attention.

Our business is likely to be concluded tomorrow — possibly today. I expect to start for home Saturday — reaching there at the evening 7 o'clock arrival on the Lake Shore.

I am very glad I came. All the circumstances are agreeable.

You have no idea how much you are counted on in all these affairs. I have seen several gentlemen who entertained you or were at entertainments for you when you last visited Chicago.

With love to Adda, remembrances to the girls, Lizzy and Hattie, and "s'much" for yourself,

Affectionately,

RUTHERFORD.

MRS. HAYES.

April 24. Friday. — At night attended anniversary of I. O. O. F. and Daughters of Rebecca. Talked acceptably on Burns and education. Told how Schuyler Colfax passed as Speaker in five minutes a bill reviving the postal service in the South. A bill that would have consumed hours in the reading was passed by Mr. Colfax without untying the roll. An endorsement by the House of its confidence in the integrity, ability, and industry of the Speaker. It was known that he had thoroughly examined the bill and knew that it was not only right in principle and detail but also that no member would wish to object to it if he understood it.

April 29. Wednesday. — Rev. Mr. Bingley came up to the house without overcoat or baggage; introduced himself as one of Father Taylor's missionaries recently from Panama. A singular, simple being from Massachusetts, born near Boston. Staid all day and in the evening went to the prayer-meeting; made a short talk.

May 3. Sunday. — Heard Mr. Gascoigne, of Oak Harbor, preach in the morning. A sermon like a song should have one leading idea and only one. The crowding a sermon with different topics of equal importance, not specially related to each other, confuses and weakens the impression. Attacks on special amusements or social customs are out of place in the pulpit. Whatever is objectionable will be included in the sinfulness in what is unchristian in life and conduct.

May 5. Tuesday. — Read Scott's "Napoleon" — the campaign to Moscow. Examined the report of Dr. Haygood carefully. He has been misled in some of his statistics by the omission of note or *mem.* showing that in the Pacific division of States Chinese, etc., are included in the "colored." I must write to him.

May 11. Monday. — With Colonel Haynes received the report of the directors of the Fremont Harvester Company. Agreed to report to the committee of the stockholders, that each man must arrange for the settlement of his liability.

May 14. Thursday. — In the evening met with the committee of the stockholders of the Harvester Company and as special committee (Haynes and myself) reported the situation to the general committee. After a full and intelligent discussion, it was resolved on my motion to request a meeting with the directors of the company with a view to the adoption of a plan for the settlement of the liability of the stockholders. The only suggestion was Mr. Amsden's, viz., that the liability be paid in six, twelve, and eighteen months.

May 17. Sunday. — I go to New York tomorrow to attend the meeting of the Slater Board. We have invited Governor Thompson, of South Carolina, Mr. Orr, of Georgia, Dr. Curry, and General Armstrong to meet with us. How best to do the work in hand, is the question.

After my return my first duty is to speak at Ripley at the unveiling of a soldiers' monument on Memorial Day. I must dwell on the fruits of the war — what we have gained, what *the world* has gained, by the war.

No monuments are built for the *mere* warrior. Napoleon is not admired or loved — the greatest soldier in history; but the private in the great war which gained the United States of America, whose fruit is the American Republic, will be gratefully remembered and admired forever.

I will venture also to repeat again some part of the argument in favor of aid by the Nation to education in the South; to complete and secure the victory gained by the Union arms. The measure is in no sense partisan; it is in no sense sectional. Both of the National Conventions declared in substance in favor of it last year.

In Mr. Cleveland's Cabinet three were members of the Senate when the vote was taken. (See *Congressional Record* of April 8, 1884). Garland and Lamar were for the bill; one, Bayard, was against it on legal or constitutional grounds. A majority of the Northern Senators were for the bill; a majority of the Southern Senators were for it. A majority of the Democrats were for it; a majority of the Republicans were for it.

May 18. Monday. — More monuments have already been built in honor of the heroes of our War for the Union than have been erected in memory of any other war recorded in history; and before a century passes more monuments having their origin in our war will have been erected than for all the other wars of all the world in all time.

Took the 11:25 A. M. train East. Soon met ex-Governor Cullom, now Senator from Illinois, destined for New York to attend a meeting on interstate commerce. Met afterwards Captain DeBus, Loyal Legion, of Cincinnati; also Colonel Pond, of Rochester. An interesting trip. Much entertained with war stories by Colonel Pond and DeBus, and a general posting up in political life at Washington, and the struggle for Senator in Illinois. Cullom fears bribery of Republican members from Chicago will lose Logan the seat.

May 19. Tuesday. — Reached Fifth Avenue Hotel at 10:30 A. M. Met and lunched with Senator Pratt and Senator Harris of the Senate committee. Mr. Dawson (N. E.), stenographer,

called; formerly with McCrary, Secretary of War, now with the committee [and] asked for by General Grant. Very civil.

May 20. Wednesday. — The Slater Board met at nine A. M. Chief Justice Waite, President Gilman, William E. Dodge, Mr. Stuart, Morris K. Jesup, Dr. Haygood, and myself. With us as guests and advisors, Gustavus L. Orr, school commissioner of Georgia, and Dr. J. L. M. Curry, of the Peabody Board.

Dr. Haygood opened with prayer. I read letters from the absent — Slater, Brooks, and Boyce. No word from Senator Colquitt. The minutes of the January meeting read. Dr. Haygood read extracts from his printed report. All excellent. Also his report on education in Georgia. After this, letters from General Armstrong and President Ware, of Atlanta, were read. Mr. Jesup read the financial report. Our investments are all above par but one first mortgage of Nickel Plate — one hundred thousand dollars — which is 76. Our securities are now worth one million eighty thousand dollars — eighty thousand dollars more than the original amount.

About 1 P. M., the Chief Justice and I called on General Grant. He was alone and we were admitted at once. He was dressed as usual, except he wore slippers and an invalid's black silk cap. His hands were thinner than formerly but his face was full and fresh. His voice was a little thick and utterance difficult. He was cheerful, bright, and smiled often pleasantly. He said he was able to do more work than if he was well. If well, he would read and investigate for himself, giving much time to it. Now his sons did the reading, and he dictated to a stenographer. He said he had just changed stenographers. Now he has Mr. Dawson, formerly with Secretary McCrary. He can now do four times as much as he usually did when well. All the ladies out riding. He sent his regards to Mrs. Hayes; inquired about her. Same as to Mrs. Waite. When we left he said he was glad we had called before the doctors came, that he was expecting them soon, and "they will tear me all to pieces," he said. He walked a little lame, not so lame, he said, as he had been, "but I will always be lame," he said. He was in his room in the second story, Number 3, Sixty-sixth Street

east of Central Park. He accompanied us to the stairs. He shook hands. Nothing was said, but I left him with a feeling that this was our last meeting! I am sure he is happy notwithstanding he sees the end so near. He has lived to see how strong a hold he has on the hearts of his countrymen.

SPIEGEL GROVE, May 23, 1885.

DEAR AUNTY DAVIS:— Your letter to Lucy about the project for reviving Wesleyan College by an endowment of fifty thousand dollars came during the absence of both Rutherford and myself. It did not reach Lucy until Tuesday—after the time when you wanted the dispatch. Hence, in the absence of the clerk, no reply has been made.

Lucy feels a warm interest in the dear old college and is in full sympathy with those who wish to aid it. I will be in Cincinnati next week, and on talking it over, will decide as to her subscription. Very likely she will do what you have done. She certainly would, but for the heavy failure of our chief manufacturing company — “the Harvester Works” — which is a temporary embarrassment in my affairs, throwing upon [me] the unlooked for payment of ten to fifteen thousand dollars immediately.

With all good wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. ELIZA G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

May 25. Monday.— Yesterday Rev. Dr. Bushnell preached an excellent discourse to the G. A. R. post at the Presbyterian church. Our post is divided. A saloon-keeper, Captain “Tony” Young, was last winter elected commander. The drinking element came fully into power in the post. The “better element” seceded. An ugly contest is going on. The seceders want another post. They are opposed by those they left. I still stay with General Buckland and a few other law-and-order people in the old post. The seceders are mostly Republicans; many of

them are temperance people. It is a sad business in our little circle. I do not see how we are to heal the trouble.

May 26. Tuesday — I am abused as the owner of property used for a saloon in Omaha, — of which I know nothing. My reply to the editor who writes to me is as follows: —

Private.

FREMONT, May 26, 1885.

DEAR SIR:— Your note of yesterday in relation to the report that I am renting property in Omaha for saloon purposes is before me.

I own real estate in Omaha in partnership with General R. P. Buckland, of this town. General Buckland has had the whole charge of the lots as [to] leasing, selling, paying taxes, etc., etc. He is a consistent temperance man and would not knowingly rent property for selling liquor. He has done the business through an agent, Mr. Byron Reed, of Omaha. I have supposed he was a good citizen and an upright man, and have never for a moment suspected that the property would be used as here reported until this affair was brought to my notice. I have directed, or rather requested, General Buckland to look into it and to put an end to the cause of complaint as soon as possible. You will no doubt believe me when I say that I would not knowingly rent property for a saloon. General Buckland did not suspect it until I called his attention to it.

As to the use of my name or authority: I do not deny or explain untruths about me. The reason is obvious. If I did, the failure to deny in any case would be an admission in that case of its truth, and I would be kept busy making denials. I give you the facts and refer you to General Buckland, of this town. You will therefore deal with the matter without quoting me as authority and thereby oblige,

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

W. H. H. BARTRAUS,
EDITOR *XVI Amendment*,
Buffalo.

Private.

FREMONT, May 27, 1885.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I received yesterday a paper with a paragraph as to the liquor selling on my property in Omaha. I wish you to know the facts—not for publication but for your own eye. I was greatly surprised when the matter was mentioned. I would not knowingly allow my property to be so used, and [I] knew that my partner, General Buckland, had this feeling. He has had the sole charge of leasing, selling, paying taxes, and attending to our lots. Under ordinary circumstances there would be no difficulty. But he is now in very feeble health, is perhaps seventy-three or seventy-four years old, and is in great distress about his wife's mental condition. I want to make him as little trouble as practicable in this business. I want you to give me the facts and also the remedy.

General Buckland is an excellent man and on his discretion and judgment I would ordinarily rely.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL CHARLES F. MANDERSON,
Omaha.

May 28. Thursday.—Touching the Omaha affair, the Chicago *News* gives the interview with Manderson with substantial correctness. It is obvious that the case was one of entire ignorance on my part as to what my partner and agent had done. If the laws of Nebraska are what they should be the lease can be declared void.

323 ELM STREET, CINCINNATI, May 31, 1885.

MY DARLING:—Just from church where we heard a good talk on the heart in the usual sense—not in the forced sense of our Lima friend.

I was on both sides of the question of your presence yesterday at [the unveiling of the Soldiers' Monument at] Ripley. Old soldiers of all of our regiments were so cordial [and] many things [were] so beautiful and gratifying, that I was sorry you

and Fanny could not enjoy it with me. But just at the crisis the showers came furiously and broke up the meeting. We afterwards spoke in the Methodist church in town. I was in excellent trim—got along well—shook hands with a great multitude of old comrades and others. On returning this (Sunday) morning, I came to Aunty Davis', and shall be here until Tuesday or Wednesday, when I will go to the Burnet House and thence to Cleveland, and home about Friday.

General Cox can't deliver our address at the unveiling. *Let Rud see Haynes and Buckland and ask if I shall [ask] General Leggett and write me at the Burnet House.*

Harriet [Herron] is well, but bored dreadfully with her visitors of the Presbyterian Church Assembly.

Sunday afternoon I rode with Dr. Davis to Mount Auburn, Walnut Hills, and Eden Park, visiting patients. We passed the corner where Fanny was born eighteen years ago (!) next September. Blocks are built in front of it, and it is now in a city neighborhood, but the old house, nearly hidden by new buildings, still stands.

The doctor looks well, but age begins to tell, and he begins to feel that the time has come for him to retire from his professional practice. I hope he will decide to do so. He is in a good financial condition and the presidency of his insurance company is open to him. . . .

Affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

Cincinnati, June 2. At Dr. John Davis'.—I reached Ripley [by boat] about 9 or 10 A. M., Memorial Day, Saturday, May 30. General C. H. Grosvenor, wife, and child were on the boat. General Grosvenor and I were the speakers at the unveiling of the Soldiers' Monument in the cemetery. We were escorted by G. A. R. veterans and a military company and band from the landing to the house of Mr. Galbreath, a banker of Ripley. The marshal was Captain Boyd, formerly of my command, Thirty-fourth Ohio. I met many gentlemen of the vicinity: Rev. Dr.

Stevenson, President of the Methodist Episcopal institution at Augusta, Kentucky, two ex-members (Democrats) of the Legislature from Brown County, who knew me when I was governor, and a large number of soldiers of the old Kanawha Division — Twelfth, Thirty-fourth, Ninety-first, etc., — all so cordial and brotherly.

One of the ex-representatives told this "to illustrate the shrewdness of women in public life." He said, "I told my wife when I got home that I had been to a reception by Mrs. Governor —. She is an intelligent and accomplished lady but not at all handsome. She selected to receive with her three or four very plain-looking women. She was really fine-looking by comparison with those who received with her. When Mrs. Hayes had her receptions, she always had the ladies of the best appearance she could find to receive with her; but she is so handsome that she always outshone the others."

Just as speaking was to begin at the unveiling of the monument a thunder-storm burst upon us violently. We retreated to the town. Soon after in a church (Methodist Episcopal) we shot off our speeches. I was a little cramped for time but on the whole got on satisfactorily. In the evening we returned on the *St. Lawrence* to Cincinnati after a good time in spite of the rain. We breakfasted on the boat and I came to Dr. Davis'. Here are Mrs. Nordhoff, Miss Marie Thompson, of Washington, and this good family. Never were better people, or more hospitable hosts than Dr. and Mrs. Davis. . . .

I have visited John W. and Mrs. Herron, my oldest friends, and dearest. Will go to the Burnet House sometime today. The installation as commander of the Loyal Legion will take place tomorrow evening. [I shall say in substance:—]

"This is my third election to the place. All know how much I value the services we rendered together during those long, anxious, critical but golden years from 1861 to 1865. Tested by its results it is the greatest war of all history. America was indeed the cradle of the future. In great peril, our Republic and our America might have been destroyed and would have been destroyed but for the work we did. After that work, it no longer was a cradle — it was no longer a possibility; it became

a probability; with wisdom and moderation it became a certainty, and that certainty was and is that America is the impregnable fortress of whatever is best in the world, in government, in society, and in civilization.

"Our society, the most permanent of all soldier organizations, stands on this matchless service as its origin, its foundation, and its reason for being. It also perpetuates all that is dearest and most tender and most precious in our past lives and transmits what it is possible to transmit to our children of that which is best in our lives and deeds. I value above all price your kindness in permitting me to be so honorably associated with you."

June 6. Saturday.—I returned from Cincinnati Thursday with Jack Herron. Rev. E. C. Gavitt preached in our church this afternoon. He is a pioneer of Methodism in this region. He preached here in 1828! I bought his book "Crumbs from my Saddlebags."

June 11. Thursday.—My young friend Edward W. Bok is worried about the Omaha slander. It still is true that the best acts of a man's life bring him the most abuse. The exclusion of wine from the White House is at the bottom of three-fourths of all the lies that are now told about me. I must let General Buckland write young Bok in substance:—

1. That I had nothing to do with the management or leasing of the Omaha lots.
2. That we did not know that the ground was used for saloon purposes, and that we *would not* have rented it for such purposes.
3. That when we heard the charge that our lots were so used, we got out of it as soon as the law permitted and now own no lots which are used for saloon purposes.
4. That the lots were vacant when we bought them, that we have owned no buildings in Omaha, that we leased ground only.

June 13. Saturday.—Rode with Rev. Dr. E. Bushnell in my buggy to Green Spring to attend a meeting of the trustees of Green Spring Academy. . . . Academy is in a bad way. *The man* is not yet found. The Spring House has found *the man*, Dr. Marshall, and is doing well.

June 20. Saturday. — Returned last evening with Fanny and Mrs. Dr. John A. Little from Delaware. We went down Monday morning. I got to the meeting of the trustees of the Ohio Wesleyan University just in time to be introduced with the other new members. A body of thirty — sensible, and with correct views and purposes. I was with Fanny the guest of Mrs. Little, the widow of my college chum, John A. Little. A happy week for both of us. Fanny's first week "in society."

At commencement I got off a rapid talk on the educational question of the hour, viz., industrial education. My proposition was that between the age of fourteen and the age of leaving school or colleges five to ten hours a week should be given to manual labor under the instruction of a skilful teacher.

SPIEGEL, FREMONT, June 22, 1885.

MY DEAR FRIEND: — It is always a glad day when I get your words. You may be sure that silence is construed as you would wish. My constant fear about you is too much hard work. I would not add a feather's weight to the load you so recklessly pile upon yourself.

Your Hammond paper is so good that if I did not know how successfully you deal with affairs of business and politics, I would say your *forte* is as a historian and biographer.

We are all as we were. The failure of our Harvester Company here and no sale for real estate involves me temporarily in financial perplexities, but it will all come right, no doubt, with better times. I still hammer away at my hobbies — education at the South, industrial education, the Peabody and Slater work, and the like.

No doubt Providence will simmer down and clarify the chaos of capital and labor which now looks so alarming. But we naturally want to help Providence. Without any fanaticism, I hope, it seems to me that to educate all to work with skill with eyes and hands is the way out. If not that, it, at least, will lend much needed help to the right side of many a critical question. So, I pronounce on this and kindred topics. At Delaware (the commencement) I gave a boost to the cause. Our old

friend, General Cowen, complimented me by saying that I had tread [trod] on more toes and harder than anybody who ever spoke at Delaware. "But," said he, "you are right. I agree with you from top to bottom."

You are rich enough to quit the severer toil. *Now do.* I shall be at home all summer. Give us a Sunday and a week before and after.

Mrs. Hayes and I unite in best wishes to Mrs. S. and you.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—I think of Cleveland as you do, and am glad you are so favorably impressed with him.—H.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

June 25. Thursday.—Birch came last evening and staid all night. He says a bright young German Democrat, lately clerk of the courts in Ottawa County, told him that after visiting the exposition in New Orleans he travelled through Alabama and Mississippi and *is now satisfied that neither Tilden in 1876 nor Cleveland in 1884 were elected.* The suppression of the colored vote no doubt deprives the Republicans of five certain States, viz., South Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and of two which would probably be with them, viz., North Carolina and Virginia.

June 27. Saturday.—My old friend Judge Matthews dispatches me that he will spend Sunday with me. As judge of the Supreme Court he is holding court at Cleveland. It will be a most welcome visit.

When about to talk on the war I like to read Lincoln's pungent sentences. Only ten sentences in the Gettysburg speech Shorter than an ordinary family letter. But all gold—imperishable gold! Eternal, enduring as truth.

In his message he says, "We cannot escape history." "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last, best hope of earth." . . .

June 28. Sunday.—Judge Matthews looks very well. He talks cheerfully. His wife's death last January has left its sorrowing impress on him. But he is genial and interesting as of old and always.

Touching the *World's* slander by Crawford, these are the facts:—The charge is that in 1880, when Garfield went East, Jay Gould required as a condition of his contributing one hundred thousand dollars or one hundred and fifty thousand dollars to the campaign fund the written pledge of Garfield that he would appoint Matthews Supreme Judge in place of Swayne. This does not necessarily implicate Matthews in the corrupt bargain. But it is not true. It is absurd. It was perfectly well known that Swayne would resign during the term of Hayes and that he would appoint Matthews to the vacancy. There is a belief, however, among newspaper men at Washington that the story is founded in fact, viz., that Gould got a pledge that Garfield would appoint some one, presumably Dillon, in place of Hunt, then a paralytic and likely to be retired by Act of Congress, and that the written pledge is or was in the hands of Whitelaw Reid. It could not have been foreseen in August 1880 that Matthews would be nominated by Hayes to fill Swayne's place and that the nomination would fail to be acted on, and the appointment be renewed by Garfield in the spring of 1881.

June 29. Monday.—Judge Matthews left this morning after a very gratifying visit (to us at least) from him of two nights. He looks well and is capable of his best work. He will distinguish himself as a member of the Supreme Court. Indeed, already he has taken high rank. Many who opposed his appointment now admit their mistake. Even Senator Edmunds is now satisfied that great injustices was done to Matthews in the attacks made on him in 1881 in the Senate and by the press.

July 5. Sunday.—I am now beginning the invitations and correspondence required for our celebration of the unveiling of the Soldiers' Monument, August 1. It will occupy me largely for a few weeks.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 7, 1885.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—We are all disappointed. We counted on having Mrs. Force and Horton with yourself at our home during some time this summer. We are in good condition. The Green Springs and the islands are more accessible from here than ever before. Neat little excursion steamers run from here often. No one can feel more than we do the rapidly narrowing of the circle of those near and dear. Our life at Washington led us to know rather aged people. They are going — going.

You make a noble trip [abroad]. I envy you the chance. We wish you a happy time and safe return. The letter from Grant is indeed a treasure.

With all regards to Mrs. Force and yourself from all here.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE.

July 8. Wednesday.—Professor Orton, of the Ohio University, dined with us today. As one of the State geologists, he is much interested in our quarries and in the gas well. The gas has increased since at a little more than thirteen hundred feet the Trenton limestone was struck, but there is not yet enough to insure a useful quantity. In talking of the prospect of gas as a substitute for coal, Professor Orton does not think enough will be found. None is found at Wooster, Bucyrus, and many other places. Findlay will perhaps use gas as the chief supply of fuel. No other point as yet is likely to do so.

July 15. Wednesday.—Heavy showers early in the morning with thunder and lightning of unusual sort. At fifteen minutes before six this morning we heard a loud sharp crack of thunder. Lucy said, "That struck one of the oaks near the house." I thought it was probably a quarter or half a mile distant. It turned out that one of the largest white oaks in the orchard, about one hundred yards west of the house, was struck and torn in a most wonderful way. The tree is three to four feet in diameter; was broken off about thirty or forty feet from the ground. The tree below was split about through the centre down to the

ground. The upper part of the tree fell into the cleft, the butt projecting twenty-five or thirty feet on one side and the rest of the top on the other. It remains caught in the cleft perhaps fifteen or twenty feet up. Fragments of the tree were thrown one hundred to one hundred and fifty feet in all directions. A piece of bark, forty feet long and almost two feet broad, was thrown southwest forty feet.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 21, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am very glad you are coming [for the unveiling of the Soldiers' Monument]. It will be an especial gratification to all of us. You will stay with us, with Mamie, several days we hope. Cannot Mrs. Sherman come also?

All looks well for the affair. Senator Payne and Foraker will *probably* be with us. Kennedy, Generals Morgan, Gibson, Cox, Robinson, etc., etc., have accepted definitely.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Mansfield, Ohio.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 23, 1885.

MY DEAR S.—:—I have your most interesting letter. The question you ask is new in *form*, but not in substance. I have often considered your fitness for the [historical] work you outline. I mean for *such a work*. Your talents, training, and work all tend that way. In short—I must be short, my hands are full,—I am very glad indeed you have the task in mind. By all means nurse it—let it grow—give the country the benefit of it. It will give you a great reputation.

I will try to write something for the unveiling. I have just written for a Loyal Legion meeting at Cincinnati tomorrow evening the enclosed (a copy).—I expect to go East to the funeral [of General Grant].

With all regard. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

CHAPTER XLIII

THE DEATH OF GENERAL GRANT — ACTION IN BEHALF OF NATIONAL MONUMENT — REUNION OF OLD REGIMENT — REGRETS CONTINUED WAVING OF "BLOODY SHIRT" — FORAKER ELECTED GOVERNOR — DEATH OF HENDRICKS — DANGERS OF VAST FORTUNES — 1885-1886

JULY 23. *Thursday.* — I have just heard "General Grant died at 8 A. M. this morning." I sent to N. E. Dawson, Mount McGregor, New York: "Please assure Mrs. Grant and the sorrowing family of the deep sympathy of Mrs. Hayes and myself. I wish to attend the funeral. Advise me of the arrangements. — R. B. Hayes."

FREMONT, OHIO, July 23, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR: — I am sorry I cannot attend the special meeting of the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion at Cincinnati tomorrow evening.

You did well to call the meeting. General Grant was the most illustrious member of our society. As long as the annals of our Republic last, he will be known and honored throughout the world. He was the most illustrious soldier of the sacred cause of Liberty and Union.

The first large army of [the] Rebellion which laid down its arms surrendered to Grant at Fort Donelson. The veteran army of Lee — the last hope of the Confederacy — gave Grant at the Appomattox the decisive and crowning victory of the war.

The two most formidable strongholds of the Rebels — one in the West which dominated the Mississippi River, the other in the East where it menaced the safety of our Capital, and held at once the life and the government of the adversary — both yielded to our matchless commander.

With Donelson, with Shiloh, with Vicksburg, with Mission Ridge, with Richmond, and with Appomattox on the list of his

achievements, no soldier will fail to see that the military fame of General Grant stands on the solid rock of great results.

As a patriot he was prompt wise and sagacious. Read the enclosed letter recently published in the Saint Louis *Globe-Democrat*. How few of even our eminent statesmen had the forecast shown by Grant on that second historic nineteenth of April!

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

CAPTAIN A. H. MATTOX,
RECODER LOYAL LEGION,
Cincinnati.

July 24. Friday.—I attended special meetings of each of the posts of the G. A. R. last night and urged the building of a national monument to General Grant in New York under the leadership of the G. A. R. The proposition was favorably received and here there is a strong disposition to act upon it. Committees were appointed to inaugurate the movement. If it fails, the money raised here may go to the completion of a soldiers' record for Sandusky County to be placed in Sandusky County.

July 26. Sunday.—The interest in General Grant's death has been very great. I spoke twice the evening of his death. Once at the Eugene Rawson Post and once at the Manville Moore Post, G. A. R. In both cases I urged in reference to a monument or memorial structure:—

1. Prompt action while the feeling on the subject is universal and warm.
2. That the memorial be placed in New York, where General Grant last resided and where more soldiers and citizens will see and enjoy it than would be the case [if it were placed] in any other locality.
3. That it be built by a union effort of all soldiers' societies and all citizens in every part of the country.

4. That the G. A. R., with its posts in all the States ready organized for the work, should lead off by appointing committees in each G. A. R. post who will undertake to raise a sum equal to at least one dollar for every member of their post. This to be done by an appeal to all soldiers and to all citizens. The sum raised to be as large as practicable in each instance, with no limitation as to the amount of individual subscriptions nor as to the aggregate amount to be raised.

I am to speak this evening at a memorial meeting in the Methodist Episcopal church. Let the memorial be worthy of the Republic, worthy of General Grant, and worthy of the righteous cause of which he was the most illustrious soldier. He was simple, sincere, heroic, generous, magnanimous, of sound judgment, self-poised, and with a tenacity of purpose rarely equalled.

July 27. Monday.—Last evening the Methodist Episcopal church was packed full of people, all the aisles full—many standing—the lecture-room thrown open and full of people, attending the Grant memorial services. On the platform were Revs. L. E. Prentiss, D. W. Cox, J. I. Swander, H. Lang, and —; General R. P. Buckland, W. W. Ross, F. S. White, and myself. The last four were the speakers. It passed off in the best possible way.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 28, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—I hope you will, on many accounts, strain a point to come to our dedication. We can start from here Sunday or even Monday and reach Saratoga in time. If the principal ceremony which we want to attend is the 4th, we can easily reach there in ample time after our celebration. I hope, being still in doubt, that we need not be present until the 8th.

Fanny confidently counts on having a *visit* from Mamie. Can't Mrs. Sherman come also?

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 29, 1885.

DEAR GENERAL:—I did not send you a copy of my note in reply to your published letter, knowing you would get it in the papers.

I trust you will see your way clear to encourage the comrades in their posts to aid promptly in raising funds for the proposed monument in New York. I do not discuss the place chosen. It is enough that it seems to be settled that General Grant will be buried in the city of his late residence and that a monument will be there built.

I had some experience in the difficulty of raising funds for the Lincoln and also for the Garfield Monument. It was due: —1. To the lack of prompt action. 2. To the great number of rival projects in different localities. 3. To the difficulty of getting up an organization in all parts of the country to make collections.

It occurred to me that it would be wise in this case to begin at once; to concentrate in favor of the monument at the place of the burial; and to employ as part of the collecting agency the G. A. R. posts.

Allow me to say that I fear a mistake will be made if the authorities of the G. A. R. fail to encourage their comrades to assist in the work, which will surely go on to completion, *viz.*, the building of a monument at the grave of General Grant. The G. A. R. should not stand aloof but cordially coöperate.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—I mark this note "*Private*" merely to show that it is not intended for publication. I have no special objection to its being made public if there is any good reason for it. —H.

GENERAL S. S. BURDETTE.

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, G. A. R.

August 2. Sunday.—Our celebration and exercises on the occasion of unveiling the Soldiers' Monument in Fort Stephenson passed off well. The town was beautifully decorated. The

speaking was good, the singing was superb, and the crowd was immense. Nothing could have passed off better. The only disappointment was that we were driven by a storm of rain to take refuge in the Presbyterian church. This had the advantage of enabling all who were fortunate enough to get into the church to hear easily and with comfort the touching and charming address of General Cox.

At our house were ex-Governor J. D. Cox, Senator John Sherman and daughter Mamie, Dr. A. C. Kemper (the poet) and wife, General C. H. Grosvenor, wife and daughter Emma, Captain J. L. Bottsford and wife, James Parmelee, and M. S. Herrick. The above roomed with us. We also had at lunch and dinner General Leggett, D. R. Locke ("Nasby"), Captain Lemmon and wife, Kennedy and wife, J. L. Pease and his glee club (four in all, or five), Clark Waggoner, [and] Captain Hopkins and wife. Our guests made us all very happy. They were a rare gathering. Many of them staid with us Sunday. General Cox tells of a name which is pronounced Darby and spelled *Enroughty!*

I go to the funeral of General Grant in New York the 8th with Senator Sherman. A special invitation from General Hancock was sent to me on the suggestion of the President.

August 4. Tuesday. — Prepared to save the remains of the noble oak that was torn to pieces by lightning by trimming off fragments, and getting it into a condition to bear vines and flowers. I save the main stub with the top of the tree in the crevice. This will show for many years what the stroke did.

August 5. Wednesday. — With Fanny to Mansfield. Was met at Mansfield by Mr. Sherman and his daughter Mamie. Lunched at Sherman's. A perfectly tasteful and convenient home he has made. Afternoon to Pittsburgh and New York. Talked over many matters of the past with the Senator.

August 6. Thursday. Fifth Avenue Hotel. — As I was going to return call of Senator Sherman, I met Colonel F. Grant, Jesse, and their wives. They asked me to go with them to lunch. I took Mrs. Sartoris. She spoke warmly of our interest

[in] her father. Mrs. Grant is not here. She remains at Mount McGregor. At the table were Mr. Arkell and Mr. and Mrs. Creswell. Rather a cheerful party under the circumstances. Mrs. Sartoris is indeed a very sweet woman. Mrs. Colonel Grant, Ida, is very lovely. While we were in the hall General Sherman, General Sheridan, and General Van Vliet called on me. It is a sad yet interesting and not gloomy reunion.

Senator Morrill called with Senator Sherman. He looks well. Thinks the Administration is doing badly in many respects. Manning has given up his financial duties to the United States Treasurer, Jordan. Jordan is Tilden's man. Tilden is buying gold. He bought a million of exchange a month ago. The treasury difficulties are pressing — on silver question and others. They are borrowing from the banks now to "shin along." He [Morrill] is now seventy-five or more and sees the dark side.

Edmunds, another tells me, is a confirmed — well, hard drinker. "Blaine will hardly be able to get another nomination." So thinks Sherman.

NEW YORK, August 6, 1885. Thursday P. M.

MY DARLING:— I left Fanny as happy and charming as she could be in the greatly improved and beautiful home of Senator Sherman.

We had a comfortable and interesting trip. I am put next to the Grants. They occupy the northeast corner where you received Mrs. Fish's (!) guests and are shut off from the rest of the house by a screen. I took Mrs. Sartoris out to lunch in the Peabody dining-room, with the rest. Mrs. Grant remains at [Mount] McGregor and may not come down. They are all *very* cordial — regretted your absence. Mrs. Sartoris is very charming and talks beautifully about her father. Mrs. Fred Grant — "Ida" — is also noticeably beautiful. Fred looks more and more like his father. Sherman (the general) says he is the counterpart of the father, but somewhat better-looking.

We are told there is a great crowd visiting the remains at the City Hall.

I may start home with Sherman a day or two earlier than I expected. But I can't tell. The weather is perfect.—Men and women servants all ask for you.

With best wishes and ever

Yours ever,

MRS. HAYES.

R.

August 7. Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York.—Read the *World* and *Tribune*. The raising [of] funds for the Grant monument goes on slowly. Prompt work is required. My suggestion that the G. A. R. posts take it up has met with much general favor, but the opposition of the commander-in-chief, General Burdette, is in the way.

Mr. Simon Stevens called; spoke of the selection of the burying-place of General Grant as in part due to his suggestion.

"Gus" Shepard called. His wife, my pretty cousin, Joanna, will be at the house of Elliott [F. Shepard], one of the famous Vanderbilt houses. Hopes to get a recognition from me. Most willingly I will try to gratify her.

General A. G. McCook and his brother, the preacher, with his son. A cordial greeting of old friends!

E. O. Odson, of *Commercial Advertiser*, wanted an interview. Told him in a word I am here out of respect and regard for General Grant. It is no occasion for an interview. He tried to ask about my meeting the Grants, but without a word further, I dismissed him. What will he make of it?

About noon Senator Sherman came in; soon after General Schofield and then General Sherman. The conversation soon drifted to General Grant. General Schofield in his terse, graphic way told this: "Immediately, or soon, after Shiloh, Halleck deprived Grant of all command. I chanced to go to his quarters one evening and found him packing up, getting ready to go to the rear—to St. Louis. He was in little quarters, not fit for a sergeant. He had no desk but a board supported by two forked sticks; a tallow candle in a split stick for a light. His trunk was packed and he was bundling up his papers and tying them together. He was alone and gloomy. I said, 'What are you do-

ing? Where are you going?" He said, "You know. There is nothing for me here. I am not allowed to do anything here. I am going to St. Louis." He was much affected. He shed tears. I said, "Don't — you must not go. If you [go] you are forgotten. We are your friends," meaning with myself Logan."

August 8. Wednesday. — Last evening rain was threatened. The prospect now is favorable weather for the Grant funeral today.

I rode down Broadway yesterday afternoon with Bottsford in a cab. We saw the long lines of people then going into the City Hall to see the corpse. Called on the recorder of the New York Commandery at 206 Broadway; rode out on the Battery; crossed the Brooklyn Bridge. The adornments on the great stores are expensive, but need color to give effect. The American flag should be liberally displayed with the black. General McMillan says the city does not show as New Orleans would on a similar occasion.

Allen Thorndike Rice, of the *North American Review*, urged me to write for his review. He has a book on Lincoln — the work of numerous friends of Lincoln, casual acquaintances even giving their impressions.

August 9. Sunday. — Sherman left this morning early. I took breakfast with him, but will remain until tomorrow and go on the New York Central.

The great day passed off well; not hot for an August day and with a good breeze blowing. In the morning I was shown to the ex-Presidents' room, southeast corner Twenty-third Street and Fifth Avenue, — a good place to see the passing procession. Soon ex-President Arthur came in and we met in a friendly way, without any reserve or embarrassment on either side. General Sharp seemed to be "his best man." During the morning Rutherford Platt, John Mitchell, Jr., and a friend came in from Columbus. They have been on Block Island and were brown and red from exposure. They had bad news from General Hastings. Lungs bleeding. Dr. Fullerton gone to Bermuda on that account. R. H. Platt will go there when Dr. Fullerton leaves.

During the long waiting for the catafalque to reach Fifth

Avenue from City Hall, Sherman and I called on President Cleveland. Found him plain, sensible, natural; in all respects well-appearing. His talk was friendly and assuring. My favorable impressions were all confirmed. He lacks experience, is not a great man, but he intends and anxiously wishes to do well. He is firm and sensible — good qualities in a President.

Lamar [Secretary of the Interior], [Attorney-General] Garland, and Bayard [Secretary of State] were all cordial and friendly. I was introduced also to the Secretary of War [William C. Endicott] and to [Postmaster-General] Vilas. I saw Manning [Secretary of the Treasury]. He looks wonderfully like Cleveland, but lacks his open and honest [manner]. This is perhaps fancy for I did not hear him speak.

At a late hour, after two or three hours of waiting, the procession passed by until our place near the catafalque was reached. We joined. President Arthur proved an excellent companion for such a drive — five hours. The procession, perhaps fifty thousand, with the lookers-on numbering more than half a million. Van Voorhis (ex-Member of Congress), of Rochester, puts it at over one million — twenty-five thousand to the acre. General Wager Swayne puts it five deep on each side of the street, or fifty thousand to the mile of distance, and calls it ten miles or five hundred thousand.

Was in all respects a success. There was good order and propriety throughout. Often a very general clapping of hands as Arthur and I passed, and our names constantly heard. When the Ohio men in line were passed they greeted me with as decided demonstrations as the occasion permitted. Only as we approached the grave was there a decided feeling of the solemnity of the occasion. The bands, as the carriages passed the soldiers in line, played dirges — the soldiers at present arms — each band taking up the sorrowful airs one after the other; the "uncounted multitude," the ships in the Hudson, and the whole scene were unspeakably impressive and affecting.

Before reaching the grave, the governor of New York, finding no one to conduct him to the grave, drove on past in a huff. Our driver followed a moment when with some difficulty President Arthur compelled him to turn around and go back. We got out

and with the aid of the ever-ready police we soon got our places at [the] grave. We stood on the left side of the cedar box in which the remains were secured. The G. A. R. and the Methodist Episcopal ritual were used, and rapidly home to our hotel. President Arthur spoke some kind words; a hearty good-bye and we parted.

Today I saw Sherman off early. Wade Hampton and he were the only passengers in a "bus." I had a cheerful talk with the Confederate cavalryman. He changed on some plausible excuse into a cab (!) before Sherman got in.

Colonel J. C. Breckinridge came and took me to his rooms in the Murray Hill Hotel—a beautiful and tasteful place. Mary is well grown but slender and pale; not so rosy as our Fanny. A pleasant long visit with them. What a cheery Charley O'Malley the colonel is!

August 13. Thursday.—We have left of our monument fund, including amount collected of citizens, over six hundred dollars. We will get up a creditable pamphlet of the proceedings and speeches. We will make a collection of newspapers touching the celebration. We ought to notice suitably the eminent men who did not speak, as Waggoner, Follett, General Beatty, and others. The pamphlet may open with a brief account of the proceedings which were had looking to the erection of a monument, the organization of the society,—or should this be at the close? Portraits of McPherson, Croghan, the battle picture, the monument, etc., etc. *Close with the benediction.* Give the names of the early settlers of this and neighboring county.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 15, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—I found your letter of the 4th instant waiting me on my return from New York. Its publication is, of course, proper. While I differ *toto caelo* from both your premises and conclusions, I see that, admitting your views of the *probabilities* of the future, you are logical. I do not write *this* for publication. *As I see it*, you are misled by a temporay local delusion. General Grant's remains will forever rest on the banks

of the Hudson, near where his family will continue to reside, near where he last resided, where those nearest of blood to him chose to bury him, and where in the presence of every department of the Government, state and national, and with a million of people taking part, he was placed to *remain*. If I am right in this respect — but I do not write to reargue the question, but out of respect for you as commander-in-chief of the noblest organization of soldiers the world ever knew.

One thing I may add, whether one or many monuments are to be built, all experience shows that the funds, if raised by popular subscription, must be obtained *at once*. The golden moment has already passed. Further delay imperils all.

With all regard, personal and official

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL S. S. BURDETTE,

COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF, G. A. R.

August 17. Monday. — Busy with an awful correspondence on pensions, reunions, education, missions, prisons, and with collection of materials for the unveiling pamphlet.

SPIEGEL, August 17, 1885.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS: — The time for the yearly meeting of the Woman's Home Missionary Society is drawing near. Lucy is moved in conscience with the natural and just notion that those who bear the cross should wear the crown. You do the lion's share of the work. You ought to be the nominal as well as the real head. She wishes, therefore, to renew her tender of resignation, and to ask for it your considerate attention. Unless you see decided reasons to the contrary, please allow this to go as the paper; or I will have her send one more formal.

We are all in usual health. The house has been well filled of late; all the boys and girls alone with us yesterday, as happy as Providence permits. The same we hope for you and yours.

Ever,

MRS. E. G. DAVIS,

Cincinnati.

R. B. HAYES.

August 22. Saturday.—Lucy and Scott with me to Lakeside. The fourteenth reunion of the Twenty-third O. V. I. Our best reunion. By no means the grandest affair. But a most enjoyable family meeting — due, first, to the large number present of the prominent officers: Colonel Stanley Matthews, General Comly, Colonel Zimmerman, Captains Ellen, Bottsford, Warren, “the best mayor Emporia, Kansas, ever had,” [and] Lyon. Second. Twelve of the old band with their instruments [present].

August 31. Monday.—Lovely morning. The last day of summer. The leaves and grass are almost as fresh as they were in May or June. The lawn never was in such good condition.

Miss Austine Snead and her mother, the well known Washington correspondents, arrived at 7 P. M. Ladies of good character who will regard the proprieties.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 31, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—The situation of the [Civil Service Reform] League is certainly difficult and embarrassing. The impression grows stronger daily that the spoils system is in fact in power at Washington, held somewhat in check, however, by the sincere repugnance of a reform President. The apprehension gains strength that the league is in danger of becoming a mere annex to a party which is essentially the spoils party.

With the natural and proper desire to sustain the President, there is a tendency to wink at the violations of principle which are of daily occurrence. Up to this time the league has not in its publications and proceedings, so far as I have observed, squarely met the issues presented. The spoils system under the sham “offensive partisanship” is in full possession, unrebuked, and almost unnoticed. The sweep is not rapid, but it will no doubt be “clean.” So far as it has gone we see the spoils system pure and simple.

P. S.—I do not propose to go off half-cocked. Please re-

turn me the letter of Mr. Potts which I enclose, *and also my letter*, which is only for your eye.*

September 1. Tuesday. — Miss Austine Snead says Vice-President Wheeler told her that Honorable R. C. Winthrop said in all his acquaintance with ladies in other countries and in our own, he had never [met] any one with such peculiarly attractive manners as Mrs. Hayes.

That Mrs. Bancroft said she had seen ladies of all high stations in Europe and in this country and had never seen any lady who was so well fitted for her place as Mrs. Hayes, as the lady of the White House.

Touching the Potter Committee and the effort to implicate me in the frauds charged in relation to the election in Louisiana, Miss Snead says she once said [to] Honorable Joe Blackburn, of Kentucky, that she should lose faith in human nature if President Hayes was found guilty. Blackburn replied promptly: "You can keep your faith in human nature. We do not expect to connect Hayes with anything wrong. We do expect to show that Republican leaders and managers were guilty, and to collect material to be used against them in the next election." This in 1878.

September 4. Friday. — With Lucy, Mrs. and Miss Snead drove yesterday forenoon over to Green Spring. Under Dr. Marshall, the "cure" is getting on well; more and more patients and guests. Mrs. and Miss Snead pronounced the spring the most beautiful they ever saw. Today Miss Snead showed me her collection of scraps, etc., relating to United States official seals. She has untiring industry and a taste for this sort of investigation that enables her to trace to their origin the seals now in use.

September 5. Saturday. — Spent last evening with Mr. Rexford, now of Syracuse, who came here with his father in 1815. He will attend the pioneer meeting today.

* Draft of letter unsigned and unaddressed. Very likely to George William Curtis.

September 6. Sunday. — The pioneer meeting at the courthouse yesterday was well attended and was very enjoyable. The social feature, the lunch or picnic, and the greetings were happy. The only prepared address was by Mrs. Downs; short, appropriate, and interesting. Her first coming to Fremont in 1841. Mr. Rexford, of Syracuse, gave his first coming in 1815. Albert Cavalier came, a child of six years of age, in 1812. Julius Patterson some six years later. Mr. Tucker spoke well. Next year we must have essays prepared. Also a complete list of the pioneers of the county. Begin with the earliest. Also sketches of all who die to be read.

September 10. Thursday. — Mrs. Snead and her daughter Miss Austine ("Fay" and "Miss Grundy" of the press) leave us today.

September 11. Friday. — Major McKinley visited me. He is on a stumping tour, and came from Sandusky last evening and spent the night with us. He said a great many pleasant things, all tending to show a rapidly increasing appreciation of my Administration and a diminishing tendency to abuse of me personally.

I criticized the bloody-shirt course of the canvass. It seems to me to be bad "politics," and of no use. This, even supposing it was sound in itself. The people are weary of it. It is a stale issue. An increasing number of people are interested in good relations with the South. This tends to keep alive animosities. Two ways are open to succeed in the South: 1. A division of the white voters. 2. Education of the ignorant. Bloody-shirt utterances prevent division, etc.

September 14. Monday. — The battle of South Mountain was fought twenty-three years ago today! I think of it with great satisfaction. The wound and Lucy's search after her husband! What a flood of recollections comes to me! We go to Columbus today, Lucy, Fanny, and self. Thence I go to Portsmouth to the reunion of the Army of West Virginia.

September 16. Wednesday. — Reached Portsmouth about 11 A. M. Was heartily greeted by General B. F. Coates, Major

John W. Overturf, and others. Saw the business procession, and was glad and surprised to see what a "Yankee town" Portsmouth has become.

P. M. A glorious meeting in the monster tent in old Camp Morrow. Colonel Turley welcomed; I responded offhand but tolerably well. At night a rousing meeting; speeches, songs, music, recitations. All good. In the absence of General Crook, I presided.

September 17. Thursday. — Ditto, ditto. I spoke on the battle of Antietam, twenty-three years ago. — The last reunion is still the best.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 25, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:— Absence from home has prevented an earlier reply to your valued favor of the 15th instant.

I first met Mr. [Alexander H.] Stephens in Washington at a reception given him by General Grant in the winter of 1865-6. During the time I was in Washington from 1877 to 1881, he was a member of the House of Representatives, and I saw him often. It has been truly said that of all the men who were prominent in the support of the Confederacy, Mr. Stephens was regarded by Union men at the North with the most favor and with the least disposition to question the patriotism of his motives and conduct after the conflict closed. This sentiment was quite general and was based on the amplest grounds. His talents, his experience in public affairs, his moderation, his resolute independence, and the indomitable spirit with which, in spite of physical suffering and weakness, he devoted himself to duty made him a very interesting and conspicuous figure in Congress during all of the later years of his life. His influence was large and always on the side of harmony and conservative action, and this, when sectional and party animosity were almost universal.

He did not overrate the importance of his course. In carrying out the law creating the Electoral Commission in 1877, in the struggles over the Potter investigation in 1878, and in the

attempt to coerce the Executive by refusing appropriations, his moderation, wisdom, and resolute conduct were controlling and most beneficial. In your book it will be pertinent on these topics to quote fully from his speeches in Congress, his letter to Mr. Potter, May 28, 1878, and his private correspondence. A careful collection of all of his utterances on these occasions will be very attractive reading and will add to his fame. I presume you will easily get hold of what you desire. If there is anything I can furnish you, I will be glad to have copies made. His private correspondence will, I trust, be at your command.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Please put my name on the list of subscribers for your book.

[*Unaddressed.*]

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 29, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your conclusive article on the Florida count in 1876-7. It is pungent, brief, and readable.

I venture to make two suggestions. Your case, as you make it, is, in its general scope, indisputable. All its statements of details may be also. But would the case not be as strong — nay, stronger — if every mere inference and every *disputed* statement were omitted?

Again, your statement that the failure to renominate the man claimed to be beaten by fraud gives away his case, cannot be gainsaid. It is a conclusive reply to the “fraud cry.” I merely suggest that the nomination and election of Garfield emphasizes this in the most cogent way. General Garfield was a conspicuous figure in the whole business complained of. As a visiting statesman to Louisiana, he reported to me, to the country, and officially to the President, that the final result in Louisiana was not merely fair and just, but according to the law and equity of the case. He was placed on the Electoral Commission and on all questions voted with the majority. He was in the fullest sense responsible for the result. His nomination and election clinched the business.

Again, General Hancock, who was nominated by the Democrats in 1880, was distinctly identified with the liberal wing of his party, who scouted the whole charge of fraud, and with Alexander H. Stephens he agreed. Before the controversy was ended in favor of the Republicans, he published a letter in which he said he "knew Governor Hayes well as a soldier in the war; that he would make a good President"; and when the result was declared he did not sulk, but was among the first, after inauguration, who promptly paid his respects to the new President.

With best wishes. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WM. E. CHANDLER,
Concord, New Hampshire.

September 30. Wednesday. — I will today gather a number of books for library of the Loyal Legion. We ought to make up a library of the books each member feels a particular interest in — the books which contain an account of the operations of the command each member belonged to.

October 4. Sunday. — My birthday — three score and three years old. All the boys and Fanny at home today. Mrs. Jewett also with us. Fanny today joins the Methodist Episcopal church.

October 7. — With Lucy and Fanny left home at 11.30 A. M. [Monday, October 4.] for Farmington and New York. Miss Carter, of Honolulu, we found on the train, as we anticipated, from Toledo. At Cleveland were joined by Miss Mary Goodloe, daughter of Colonel William Cassius Goodloe, of Lexington. Miss Lucy Platt, my ward, and Miss Hayden of Columbus. Also Colonel Herrick and Mrs. Herrick. Webb and Parmelee got on the train at the foot of Superior Street. A pleasant trip to Westfield on Boston and Albany Railroad. There parted with Colonel and Mrs. Herrick and Miss Hayden. In less than an hour took cars through Simsbury (the pleasant home of my ancestors) to Farmington. A dismal rain made this place look its worst. We packed into the stage [and] drove to the headquarters of the Miss Porter School. Thence we went to the Old

Elm-tree Inn — a quaint old place; dined and returned to look after Fanny and the other girls from whom we parted at Miss Porter and Mrs. Dow's house.

We went over to the dwelling in which the girls were to room. Fanny was in a tender and saddened mood. She shed some natural tears. She is to room with Miss Bulkley, of Hartford. No other girls had yet arrived. At 3:30 P. M. we bid good-bye to the dear girl with some shadows over us. On the train to New Haven met Samuel Hayes, a distant relative. Reached New York about 7 P. M. Had left the checks for our baggage with the driver at Farmington. With some difficulty got them at the Grand Central Depot by the deposit of one dollar.

At Fifth Avenue Hotel were soon in the pleasant old quarters 41 and 42 — at home "in mine inn" — a favorite place.

At the Old Elm Inn in Farmington Lucy met some acquaintances of Washington days. A merry greeting with the handsome white-haired old lady.

We came to New York to attend the meeting of the Peabody trustees. A notable meeting [today] Wednesday. 1. The death of General Grant and the death of Mr. Wetmore create vacancies in the board of trustees. 2. General Jackson, of Georgia, appointed by President Cleveland Minister to Mexico, has resigned. 3. The President has appointed Dr. Curry, our general agent, Minister to Spain, and he resigns.

Mr. Winthrop in his elaborate way, as a scholarly orator of the olden time, presented all of these matters to the board. His address was well received. In the board there was a party discussion on filling the vacancy of General Grant. The Chief Justice presented the name of General Sherman. Governor Porter, or some one, named President Cleveland, and Mr. Drexel named Governor Wetmore, of Rhode Island. Two ballots were had. First, President Cleveland, six, General Sherman, five, Governor Wetmore, two. No choice. Second ballot, President Cleveland, seven, General Sherman, six. *Probably* a party vote. Evarts, Waite, Fish, and self for General Sherman; the other [two] I do not know. Governor Fish seemed vexed. He said to me, "There is too much party in our body." I was quite willing to see President Cleveland chosen, but not over General



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Sherman. I had thought of the President as a probable member and regarded it with favor. But to succeed General Grant, General Sherman did seem to be the right person.

Mr. Pierpont Morgan was chosen to fill Wetmore's vacancy before the ballot for the President.

I asked Mr. Fish (the governor), what was the opinion of the well-informed in New York as to Tilden's knowledge of the cipher despatches. He replied that no one acquainted with Mr. Tilden's methods and character had any doubt of his knowledge and connection with them; that he was intimately acquainted with Tilden more than forty years ago; that he was bright, fond of philosophizing about politics, and always interesting. That their offices were near together.

I told Governor Fish that in 1876, when the Cincinnati convention was in session, my friend in Cincinnati sent me word that I could have the Vice-Presidency. I wrote in reply that having the support of my State for President I would not accept the Vice-Presidency on the ticket with any of my competitors for the Presidency; but that if for the good of the party the convention should drop all the candidates and take up Governor Fish for the Presidency, in case they wanted me for Vice-President on such a ticket, I would accept.

October 9. Friday.—Reached Farmington about 6 P. M. Fanny took tea with us at the Elm-tree Inn. After tea called at Miss Dunning's; saw all the girls there (nine I think). At the "Inn" saw Miss Hammond, of Memphis—daughter of Judge Hammond; same name, of St. Paul. Mollie Garfield, we saw also. Called at Miss Porter's—a fine old lady with her sisters.

October 10. Saturday.—Lovely weather. Farmington is looking its handsomest. The colors are more brilliant than usual. About noon took the cars for Westfield. Passed through Simsbury. Met the postmaster of Westfield, also the Democratic candidate for Auditor of State—Delaney—mayor of Holyoke; introduced himself and gave me his political history! After two hours at Westfield we went on to Pittsfield. Stopped three hours; called on Senator and Mrs. Dawes. Had a hearty

welcome and tea. After a very enjoyable visit, at 8:30 (P. M.) took the limited express [for home].

October 13, 1885. Tuesday.—Raining a little. Not a bad election day. My notion of the result is formed without much knowledge of the facts in debate. On *general* principles, the Republicans should have the advantage.

1. Democrats are not content with the Administration of Cleveland. It is too conservative—too much leaning to the civil service reformers; too little “spoils” for the “boys.”

2. The corrupt use of money in conventions and in the Legislature by “the McLean-Coal Oil Combination” is not popular; ought to be condemned by a decided majority.

Per contra:—1. The Prohibition party is gaining in numbers at the expense of the Republicans.

2. The canvass has been made on the “bloody-shirt” line. A mistake, as I see it. My guess is, we win the election by a close vote.

If prohibition gets not over fifteen thousand, our chance is good. If over twenty-five thousand, we lose. I guess prohibition gets about sixteen to eighteen thousand and that we have a plurality of five thousand.

October 14. Wednesday.—The election seems to be a decided Republican victory—more decided than I hoped for. . . .

October 17. Saturday.—I write this at Detroit. I came up yesterday to attend the National Prison Congress. Was met at the station by Mr. Barber; came with him to the Russell House. I find here an excellent attendance. Much interest by citizens' committees. Governor Baldwin took me driving in the afternoon. Detroit has a solid growth and is a beautiful and very prosperous city. In the evening, at Whitney's Opera House, had a good opening meeting. Father Riley, in canonicals (?) opened [it] with prayer. Bishop Harris, Bishop Gillespie, and Bishop Robertson were present. Senator Palmer and Judge Campbell delivered good welcoming addresses. I responded. Professor Wayland, Senator Jones, and Mr. Round also spoke briefly.

October 18. Sunday.—At Saint Paul's, Bishop Robertson, of Missouri, preached a solid sermon, full of sterling points in favor of the National Prison Association. . . .

October 22. Thursday.—From Detroit to Toledo with General Brinkerhoff, of Ohio, and Dr. Morris, of Baltimore, on early train. With General Brinkerhoff and Mr. Carrington visited the Insane Asylum; new (cottage system) buildings going up rapidly. Lunched with Carrington and [family] and General Brinkerhoff. An agreeable time.—Home in the evening.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 24, 1885.

MY DEAR MAJOR:—I find your letter here on my return from Michigan.

I have said to a number of good friends, competent and worthy, that I must *not* intervene in any case, it is so hard to discriminate between one's friends. So I am committed to *neutrality*—to treating all alike.

You know I think of M— and feel toward him as you do.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MAJOR W. D. BICKHAM,
Dayton.

October 25. Sunday.—I want to say to Foraker: Don't underrate the office you are chosen to fill. Without large powers under the law, you have great opportunities by influence to benefit the State and to strengthen your party. This too will redound to your own permanent popularity and reputation.

1. Take the leadership of your party in the Legislature. See that it acts promptly and wisely on the temperance question. Reinstate the Scott Law.

2 On the question of submitting an amendment in favor of single districts for the election of members of the Legislature: With the help of the Prohibition party such an amendment can be adopted.

3. See what the State needs. Set yourself actively at work in favor of reforms, institutions, laws.

4. Do not assume, or lecture, or protest, but in fact make *yourself felt* on the right side regardless of consequences.

SPIEGEL, Sunday, October 25, 1885.

MY DARLING:— Birch and Scott came home last night. But the home is lonely without you. You do not know your value. Be uplifted as you think of it.— I am glad to see you got off your speech successfully.

We had a severe frost yesterday morning — the first of the season. It curled up the last fresh leaves of the caladium, and dimmed the brilliant row of red. All flowers and leaves are wilted or rusted by it. And yet on the whole the place never looked finer than yesterday. We saw nothing equal to our trees in New York or New England. I hardly know which was finest. The “twin oaks,” with all their leaves still perfect, were of a deep dark crimson, and when we looked at them they were finest. The stub with its glorious woodbine was hardly second to anything. The maples, one at the south end of the verandah, and the one in front, especially, seemed to ray out golden and rosy glory. — Come home before all the beauties are gone.

Notwithstanding the Hamilton County fraud, Sherman is undoubtedly safe, thanks to Ross County and a few others.

All well. Fanny writes cheerfully.

Affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES,
Philadelphia.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 25, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:— No household that I can think of in the State feels a deeper interest in your success than this one. We all rejoice exceedingly, and unite in warmest congratulations to you, to Mrs. Sherman, and to Mamie. It is all that we hoped for. Don't feel obliged to acknowledge this.

I assume that the House will either *never seat the fraudu-*

lent members from Hamilton at all, or that they will oust them inside of twenty-four hours.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

October 26. Monday.—I went over rapidly with Colonel Haynes and General Buckland the compilation I have made from the newspapers for the pamphlet of proceedings at the unveiling of the Soldiers' Monument. They approve it. Mr. Lamberson, editor of the *Democrat*, who is to publish, was absent from town. Nothing done except to order a photograph of the monument and library. I must push this now to a conclusion.

October 27. Tuesday.—The Republicans in Congress will make a serious mistake if they do not insist on the admission of Dakota with its half million of people and Washington with its two hundred thousand. This would give four Senators to the Republicans—six, if Dakota is divided—and six to ten electoral votes. The Senate should pass bills immediately. If the House fails or refuses to pass them, then there will be an issue worth having. It will be the Rebel brigadiers refusing representation to hundreds of thousands of intelligent and loyal white men—hardy pioneers who are facing the hardships and perils of the wilderness and adding untold millions to the wealth of our country.

October 28. Wednesday.—I preach the gospel of work. I believe in skilled labor as a part of education:—1. It promotes health of body. 2. It trains and strengthens the mind. 3. It builds up character—good habits, independence, courage, perseverance, self-control.

I met at Detroit a number of men worth remembering—men who would be notable in any circle.

Charlton F. Lewis, of New York, a lawyer by profession, graduated at Yale—one of the ablest men of the class of 1853. President White, Wayne MacVeagh, and others, classmates. Re-

puted one of the finest Greek scholars of our country; a superior mathematician; certainly, an orator of power. He delivered an address on the English which was in matter, style, and delivery simply superb. He writes well, rapidly, with ease. I put him down as the most noticeable person I saw in Detroit. He has a young wife— younger than some of his children. She was one of his family, treated as a daughter. His first wife on her death-bed regretted that — had not been adopted as a daughter; she couldn't see how he would get along without her. Mr. Lewis solved the difficulty by, in a suitable time, marrying the orphan girl.

Mr. Lewis told this story—mothers-in-law being the topic. The joke about mothers-in-law is older than the Christian era. In Greece two thousand or more years ago this story is told: "A threw a stone at a fox, but Fortune is often wiser than the purposes of man. The stone missed the fox and hit A's mother-in-law." A cruel sarcasm. My mother-in-law was angelic in temper and conduct.

October 29. Thursday.—Wrote to [M. F.] Round authorizing the use of my name to his National Prison Association circular. . . .

Mr. Eugene Smith of New York, lawyer, is a sincere and earnest friend of the prison cause. His paper at Detroit on jails—"County Jails"—was excellent. His wife is a daughter of Rev. Dr. Bacon, of New Haven, and is intelligent and bright—worthy of her lineage. The drift of Eugene Smith's paper was to show that jails were training-schools for crime—compulsory under the law, and at the public expense. He conclusively showed the grave and fatal defects of our whole jail system. The remedy is, jails in which there is complete isolation of the prisoners,—"the Ohio Jail," so-called, unfortunately rarely found even in Ohio. The [Prison] Congress resolved against these jails.

October 30. Friday.—Lucy returned from Philadelphia this morning. . . . Our good friend Tom Donaldson was most attentive and thoughtful. He is zealous, fond, and "loyal" to the Hayes [Hayeses]. He sent me an autograph letter of

Colonel George Croghan, a South Carolina memorial volume on Calhoun, "Life of John W. Bear," the Buckeye blacksmith, and Pennypacker's "Biographical Sketches."

SPIEGEL, November 1, 1885.

MY DEAR DAUGHTER:— . . . Do moderate your surplus energy. It is well to ride, but hardly necessary to rack your bones so dreadfully. . . . Your mother had a most satisfactory journey going and coming, and a happy visit at Philadelphia,— one of her best affairs of the sort.

I go to the Loyal Legion monthly at Cincinnati, Tuesday. It is always an agreeable meeting. I see Force, Herron, and other old friends; and at least, equally gratifying, my favorite lady friends, Mrs. Herron and Aunty Davis. The legion has taken the place of the club—the famous Cincinnati Literary Club—in my affections. In the club I meet only Herron, Mallon, and Force of the old set. The chairs are all well filled with nice and interesting young fellows, but they are of recent times, and "knew not Joseph." The military circles are interested in the same things with myself, and so we *endure*, if not enjoy, each other.

With all good wishes.

Affectionately, your father,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

November 9. Monday.— Attended the Loyal Legion at Cincinnati at "The Hotel Emory," [last Wednesday evening]. General Cox read a capital paper on his campaign in Virginia — West Virginia. A good visit with old friends — the Herrons, Mrs. Davis, the Forces, and Mrs. Stephenson.

Lunched with our new Governor Foraker and McKinley.

. . . McKinley is a friend worth having. Home Saturday.

Last night Rev. Mr. Prentiss gave us a good address on the Bible before the County Bible Society. I must sometime main-

tain my proposition that a non-professor of religion — “a mere man of the world” — who wishes well to his country and his fellow men ought actively to aid in the circulation of the Bible, and in adding to its influence. The general course of my argument is this: All peoples will have some religion. Death leads the mind to consider the future, to a contemplation of Deity. Hence religion, or this is religion. Now, the best religion the world has ever known is the religion of the Bible. It builds up all that is good. It suppresses or diminishes all that is bad. With it men are happy and nations are prosperous. Where it is not found vice and crime prevail.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 9, 1885.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I am ever so glad to get your letter, and that the trinket hits the nail on the head — that it is pleasant to you.

As to talk about Grant's talk. I have a notion on the whole business of repeating conversations in print that were not intended for publication. No man ought to do it, except under great pressure, because no man *can* do it. Take the Andy Johnson affair, the Depew sensation. No doubt, wisely looked at, both Depew and Johnson's private secretaries are truthful. Johnson would have attempted a revolution — putting in a Rebel Democratic Congress and putting out the loyal lawful Congress, if he had dared to do it. He would have dared to do it if Grant would have stood by him. But not daring to do it, he never *intended* to do it — *never seriously thought of doing it*. Both sides are, in a sense, correct. So don't get into the always questionable position of relating to the public conversations not meant for the newspaper. Instead of this, one can always assert his belief, on his own responsibility, that so and so is truth. But leave it to the “*thin-brained*” to quote from memory conversations of long ago.

What a goose I am to write this old-woman talk to *you*.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—For example, our friend Lee made a mistake in quoting Grant's strong expressions. He can't quote the qualifications, the context, the provocations. How much of it all was hypothetical? — H.

GENERAL J. M. COMLY.

Toledo.

CLEVELAND, OHIO, November 11, 1885.

MY DARLING:—I came here yesterday afternoon to *preside*—so-called (it means to sit in a conspicuous seat in the centre of the auditorium, and at the time that more light is needed touch a button that by electricity illuminates the hall)—at the musical festival in the new hall. We are so well pleased that I have sent for your mother to come down. . . .

I hope you are very happy and [that] you love me about one *thousandth* part as much as I love you.

Affectionately, your father,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,

Farmington.

November 15. Sunday.—Chaplain [Ambrose] Hollinston [of the One Hundred Eleventh] preached two capital sermons.—Among other pleasant things said to me, he said: “My brother and I heard you in 1875 at West Unity when you were canvassing for governor. After your speech was finished, when brother and I met, we both said with one voice ‘He ought to be the next President.’”

November 17. Tuesday.—This afternoon a young gentleman who was visiting us, R. W. Huntington, of Norwalk, said he wanted me to know the arrangement he had been making with Adda (Adda S. Cook, “our niece”—a cousin of Mrs. Hayes)—that he was going to Florida to engage in the pine lumber business, and before going he had wanted to have an understanding with her, etc., etc. He is an intelligent gentleman of good appearance, and apparently of good character, and talents. I know nothing of his “prospects” or business capacity. The

indications are however all favorable, except I have no reason to suppose he has accumulated enough to warrant him in assuming the responsibility of a family. But a manly, independent character is worth, in such cases, a great deal, and I am therefore inclined to congratulate Adda on her good fortune.

November 19. Thursday.—Henry Howe, author of “Ohio Historical Collections” and other similar works, came yesterday from New Haven, and leaves here for Cincinnati this morning. His design is to get up another Ohio work—a reprint of the first with illustrations and additions, bringing the story down by pictures and text to the present day. It will be interesting to compare the present with forty years ago. My only doubt is as to his vigor. At seventy the powers of mind remain, but physical strength is hardly adequate for such work as he did when he was thirty.

SPIEGEL, Sunday, November 22, 1885.

MY DARLING:—At breakfast this morning your box was one of the topics. I think Adams Express will be called on to take you the food, so that you may expect it about Thursday or a little before.

Adda had a successful lunch party Friday. . . . By the by—*in strict confidence*—now, what do you think is coming? Mr. Huntington has gone to Missouri—thence to Florida, and leaves his sweetheart in Spiegel Grove for the present!! I like him—am not well informed as to his “prospects”—that is what we call dot or dower if the *lady* is named. But if Adda is content, we, of course, must approve. He is certainly a young gentleman of good culture and abilities.

We expect the Austin tribe to be with us Thanksgiving. This includes Webb.—Hoping all good angels will guard and keep our darling Sister, I remain,

Your loving father,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

November 24. Tuesday. — The first quarterly conference held this evening. . . . After church the quarterly conference of the [Presiding] Elder, pastor, and fifteen members of the official board was held. The question of salary was the leading point. I carried an advance, viz., twelve hundred dollars per year instead of one thousand dollars. Two were reluctant — possibly opposed.

November 26. Thursday. — The sudden death of Vice-President [Thomas A.] Hendricks recalls his fine traits of personal character and the friendly acts towards myself which have been from time to time done by him. Returning from Washington to the West in 1865-6, when he was Senator and I a Member of the House, we had long and agreeable talks on public affairs and personages. He was amiable, interesting, and friendly. When I was governor he visited Columbus, probably a number of times. He always called and in cordial ways and greetings was always very friendly. In 1878 or '9, after the angry contest of 1876, when many were still talking of not condoning the [decision of] 1876, he called on me at the Grand Hotel in Cincinnati and greeted us at our reception.

Possibly more significant still was his greeting at the time of General Grant's funeral, and his interview with "Gath," the correspondent of the *Enquirer*.

November 27. Friday. — Mr. Hendricks had some great advantages over his rivals in public life. He was a man of blameless private life, a consistent member of the Episcopal Church, an amiable, friendly man of even temper, kind impulses, and generous conduct. A sound and able lawyer, a good citizen, and a gentleman on all occasions. I wrote, but did not send a dispatch, expressing my esteem and regard for him and my wish to attend the funeral. I did send the following to General Benjamin Harrison:—

"Please tender to Mrs. Hendricks the heartfelt sympathy of Mrs. Hayes and myself in her great sorrow."

I now expect to attend the funeral.

FREMONT, November 28, 1885.

MY DEAR COLONEL:— I look to the healing influences of time and popular education to bring the sections and races into good relations. Wherever I look I see in the South encouraging progress. Elections and politics in this country correspond with battles and war in other times and countries. Whatever of departing evils remains is sure to show itself lost in the excitements of political contests. I am fully persuaded that their end is coming.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

COLONEL A. J. KELLAR,
Memphis.

November 29. Sunday. — Turned out a beautiful day. "All the boys" at home. We go to Indianapolis tomorrow to the funeral of the Vice-President, Mr. Hendricks. In addition to the respect due the office, and my esteem and regard for him as a man, I have a feeling that his generous way of dealing with "the fraud issue" lifts him above the narrowness and bitterness of the average partisan. He habitually said:—"I always stand up for Hayes. He could not have done otherwise than take the place of President after we gave it up to him. I don't believe in assailing him for doing it."

December [7]. — Monday [November 30] with Colonel William E. Haynes, I went via Wellington to Indianapolis to attend the funeral of Vice-President Hendricks. The Vice-President had always been very kind in his acts and words towards me personally. In particular on the fraud issue. He was in private character a most exemplary and estimable gentleman. In respect for the office also, I felt bound to attend — it being near enough to do so without great inconvenience. I am in [a] quiet way criticized by extreme partisans. Governor Noyes, at the Loyal Legion meeting, said to me: "I see you were at the funeral of that — old Copperhead, Hendricks."

I was glad to meet on the train Senator Palmer of Michigan. We had a most agreeable afternoon and evening with him. At

the depot in Indianapolis we were met by Colonel William R. Holloway [brother-in-law of Governor Morton], General Harrison, Judge Niblack, and others (a committee), with carriages, and taken to the Denison Hotel. We met many agreeable acquaintances and made some new ones. I was specially in charge of Mr. Volney T. Malott. He struck me as a man of unusual business capacity, and a man of high character. He is president of the Indiana National Bank and a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church. He has an agreeable family; two of his daughters were at Miss Porter's school at Farmington.

Judge — [Martindale(?)] and family were particularly agreeable. I there met Honorable E. B. Washburne and wife. A pleasant evening. Mrs. Morton, widow of the Senator, is not in firm health. She does not go into society. She still mourns her loss and spends much time decorating her husband's grave and statue. The son at home [Oliver] is an editor of the *Times*. He seems to be a young gentleman of talents.

I went with Haynes and others, by invitation of Mr. Ingalls [president of the "Big Four" Railway] in his private car, to Cincinnati Friday morning. A delightful meeting of the Loyal Legion in the rejuvenated Burnet House.

December 8. Tuesday. — Returned yesterday after three days in Toledo. Friday evening and Saturday — day and evening — the convention in the interest of industrial education was held in the hall of the high-school building near Madison Street. It was a most successful meeting. Capital addresses were made by Felix Adler, Colonel Jacobson, Dr. Woodward, Mr. Ham, Mrs. Ewing, and others who represent schools at St. Louis, New York, Chicago, etc., etc.

I spent the whole day replying to letters that have accumulated during my absence. This is getting to be a great burden. The most of the letters I get are of such a nature that I wish to answer them. It is not a diminishing flood. I must try to adopt some rule that will relieve me. Possibly printed forms.

December 9. Wednesday. — I am greatly gratified today by receiving from Colonel Fred D. Grant a fine copy of General Grant's (first volume) "Personal Memoirs" with this inscrip-

tion, "Sent by the direction of General U. S. Grant and with the compliments of his family. — F. D. Grant."

This is a souvenir of the great man, direct from his own hand in his dying hours.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, December 10, 1885.

MY DEAR COLONEL.—I am in receipt from you of the first volume of an elegant copy of your father's intensely interesting and very valuable "Personal Memoirs." Nothing could be more prized by me than this precious token of your father's friendship, and of the good will of yourself and the rest of his family

I have read with liveliest interest the first one hundred and twenty pages. If anything could add to the fame of General Grant, it would be such a book from his pen. It is graphic and simple and as truthful as truth itself. It furnishes in sufficient detail a capital picture of the life of one in whom the world will always be deeply interested.

A few sentences on pages 99 and 100 describe as far as they go General Grant himself, although written of General Taylor: "No soldier could face either danger or responsibility more calmly than he."

I beg you to present the kindest regards of Mrs. Hayes and myself to your mother.

With thanks and best wishes.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

COLONEL F. D. GRANT.

December 11. Friday.—I read in the *Spirit of the Times*, San Francisco, the plan and details of Governor Leland Stanford for his magnificent foundation of the Leland Stanford Junior University in California. It surpasses anything heretofore done in the world. He gives over five millions in land—a great deal of it productive. It embraces the largest vineyard known—several thousand acres in superb condition. It is stated that he will add to this enough to make the total foundation twenty million dollars.

Mrs. Hayes [and I] are indebted largely to Governor Stanford for our enjoyment of the finest trip of our lives — our California trip in 1880.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 12, 1885.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:— I read yesterday in the San Francisco *Spirit of the Times* the first full account I have seen of your matchless gift to the cause of education. I cannot resist the impulse I feel to thank you and congratulate you. I must try to express in a word or two the admiration of all good and thoughtful people for you and your work. The Leland Stanford Junior University will have the amplest endowment ever known. It will be non-sectarian. It will provide for industrial education. All of these features will attract commendation. The last, viz., manual training, I rejoice to see is fundamental. Its importance, in this country especially, cannot be overstated. No American can be regarded as well educated who cannot earn his living as a skilled laborer, either in agriculture or in the useful or ornamental arts. But I must not occupy your time.

Mrs. Hayes and myself will always remember gratefully your abundant kindness to us in the most enjoyable journey of our lives, our California trip in 1880. We have sympathized deeply with you in your great affliction and now join with all the world in appreciation of what you are doing.

We have never met Mrs. Stanford but venture to unite in respectful and kind regards to her as well as to yourself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GOVERNOR LELAND STANFORD,
San Francisco.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, December 13, 1885.

MY DARLING:— The household are happy to know that you are coming soon, and that you also look forward to the reunion of the family with such agreeable anticipations. You may be sure that the old home will welcome you warmly — perhaps uproariously — with as many of your schoolmates as you may like

to invite. They may come on their way back to school or with you or both, as you and they prefer. The hospitality of "Spiegel" is plain and old-fashioned, but abounding and hearty. . . .

We are counting the days too. Be good and keep well.

Affectionately, your father,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

December 14. Monday. — Attended executive committee of the County Bible Society, and arranged for canvass of the town and so much of the county as lies within the jurisdiction of the society. . . .

Read Sherman's "Memoirs" on the battle of Shiloh, and on Grant's intention to leave the army at Corinth and how it was prevented by Sherman. — Also Hamilton's account of the trouble at time of Adams dealing with French question in 1797-8.

December 17. Thursday. — The funeral of Captain Josiah Chance. The G. A. R. and a few companions of the Loyal Legion made it significant as a military funeral. He was in the regular army. In younger days a member of a band here. Afterwards a bugler for the body-guard of Lincoln. . . . At the cemetery the G. A. R. took possession. Rev. Mr. Barnes as chaplain and Green as commander read the G. A. R. funeral service. The singing by Mrs. Stahl and — was impressively beautiful. A finer burial service I never saw. It was far better than at General Grant's funeral. Touching, appropriate, and effective in all respects.

December 20. Sunday. — *Harper's Weekly* in a fair and laudatory notice of Sherman says: — "It was by his (Sherman's) advice that President Hayes vetoed the first silver bill, in a message generally credited to Mr. Sherman, which was one of the strongest financial state papers in our history."

I have noticed with regret during the last three years a disposition in Mr. Curtis to disparage my ability. The insinuation about

the veto message is wrong throughout. Mr. Sherman was opposed to the silver bill, but after it passed by majorities in both houses so strong that it was evident that a veto would not kill, he was inclined to think a veto might be omitted as unavailing. No line of the message was his. I wrote all of my veto messages except one.* In the case of the silver bill, Mr. Evarts was consulted freely and his opinion coincided fully with mine. If any one's advice was specially given it was his.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 21, 1885.

MY DEAR SIR:— Perhaps I ought not to trouble you with this. The last *Harper's Weekly* says, in its notice of you, many good things — none of which could be said more strongly than I would say them. But it says of the veto of the Silver Bill:—

"It was by his (Sherman's) advice that President Hayes vetoed the first silver bill, *in a message generally credited to Mr. Sherman*, which was one of the strongest financial state papers in our history."

I never heard this suggestion before. I hardly know how to correct it. Perhaps you will see no objection to sending me a short paragraph correcting the error. I could show it to Mr. Curtis and let him, of his own motion, do what is proper. I have in no instance, over my own signature, made any denial of charges based on my action as President. I prefer not to do so.

I rejoice that you are where you are and that you have the wide and good fame that you more than deserve.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 26, 1885.

DEAR SIR:— Your esteemed favor of the 17th is before me. In reply to your questions:—

* The veto of the Chinese Exclusion Bill, which was written by Mr. Evarts. See "Life," second volume, pages 213-17.

1. The whiskey frauds of 1875 and 1876 you will find fully considered, if I recollect correctly, in the debates in the *Congressional Record* for those years and in the Congressional investigations, and in the annual reports of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Bristow, for the same period.

2. As to the statement of three thousand pardons of whiskey convicts in 1877-1881, you will find no "data" to that effect. Please inform me where you saw the statement. If practicable send it to me. *Of course you know that the total number of convicts of all sorts pardoned did not approximate the number you mention.*

You are quite right in seeking exact information from official sources. A good cause often suffers by the reckless and baseless statements of its injudicious and excitable friends. If you put faith in such tales as the one you refer to, your book will have little value. *Look to your facts.*

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Don't fail to give me the authority for the three-thousand story. The bane of our time, so far as written argument goes, is not the facts and logic of our adversaries—*they have none*—but the hasty and careless statements of the friends of the good cause. Reform this—reform it altogether.—H.

REV. J. M. MONROE,
Belleair.

December 30. Wednesday.—Our wedding day. Thirty-three years ago we married. The wedding guests were not numerous—perhaps thirty-five or forty including relatives. I recall of those present the following who have passed away: Mother Maria Webb and Lucy's brothers, Dr. Joseph T. and Dr. James D., her uncle Isaac Cook, her aunt Lucy Cook, her cousin and adopted brother, Wm. T. Scott, my Uncle Birchard, Sister Fanny, her husband, Wm. A. Platt, and among the guests not relations who have died are almost all of the old people,—old Mr. Samuel Williams, formerly of Chillicothe, and his wife called by Lucy Uncle and Aunty; the old people in whose house we lived,

George and Abigail Warren, also called by Lucy Uncle George and Aunty Warren. Among my own intimate friends of nearly my own age, Richard C. Anderson (dear Dick!), George W. Jones, and R. H. Stephenson were present and are now gone. General Buckland happening to be in town was, of course, invited to the wedding as one of my early friends. He still lives, now an old man in feeble health. John W. Herron, one of my closest friends of Cincinnati, and our valued friend[s] Dr. John and Mrs. Davis were present and [are] still living. Laura Platt, our darling niece, who stood up with us — happy and proud to take part in the ceremony, *then* a girl of ten years old, now lives, the fortunate mother of a fine boy John G. Mitchell Jr., and three fine girls — one a lovely young lady! All the relatives present except Laura have left us! And of the near friends only Buckland, the Davis[es], and Herron remain!

All of the family were at home Christmas, and remained until the wedding day. A fine crowd — glad to think of all of them — Birchard, Webb, Rutherford, Scott, and Fanny, the darling!

January 1, 1886. New Year's Day. — A beautiful spring day. Called on Mr. Andrews. He is seriously sick with pneumonia. . . . Called next on Theodore Clapp. He is afflicted dreadfully with rheumatism. Is called a spiritualist. Is not a believer in orthodoxy. Takes cheerful and sensible views of the course of things in the world. Is very well informed — reads a great deal and is on the whole one of the most agreeable of my neighborhoods [neighbors]. Hands and feet so crippled that he can scarcely get out of the house. He sits at his window and reads. He occasionally drives out with a quiet pair of old Indian ponies. He meets poverty and disability uncomplainingly with a spirit which in a church member we would call that of an exemplary Christian. His wife, afflicted with cataract — almost blind, — is another meek and sweet-tempered person — like her husband a Christian in the best sense, and yet both are regarded as infidels! They are never seen in church, but have all the virtues except the devotional, which the church seeks to inculcate and extol.

Next on General Buckland, my early partner in the practice of law. He is now seventy-four with some chronic trouble, but the old hero stands up against it, and his sore affliction by reason of his wife's mental infirmity, with the patience and fortitude of a Roman. His pride is in his record as a soldier. At Shiloh he commanded one of Sherman's brigades. All in line before the enemy attacked, he held his place and did as much as any man to save us from ruin on that day of fate. He was absent at his office, where he daily attends to business in spite of age, disease, and affliction! In the afternoon he returned my call with Dr. Wilson.

In the afternoon I visited — the first time in many months — Uncle's old and dear friends Aunty Grant and Sarah. A chatty time. Mr. and Mrs. VanDoren came in. His talk was of the gas wells. . . .

I called on Dr. Rawson (aged eighty-one, last September) and found him with his mind clear and judgment prompt and sound. He doubts gas wells as a general thing. But in Findlay he says they always had an offensive smell in some localities and for years have known and used natural gas to a limited extent.

Called on Mrs. Thompson and Harriet with whom I boarded forty years ago. Both crippled with rheumatism, but cheerful, happy, and cordial.

January 3. Sunday. — A good sermon to a small congregation. Read Pope in the *Century* on Second Bull Run. The curious paragraph at the close of the article is a remarkable instance of how a falsehood, believed to be characteristic, has a charmed life and sticks. The belief that Pope issued an order containing the idea that his "headquarters were to be in saddle" is almost universal even among his friends. It turns out that this is a fabrication. The strong point of the article against Fitz-John Porter is that he, Porter, remained in column resting near a battle without moving towards it — without making a reconnaissance [reconnaissance] to his front, and that in fact he at one time intended to move to the rear when the firing indicated that our troops were being hardly pressed.

January 21. Thursday. — Lucy is very busy this morning in her good-hearted work for the needy. A poor family, Mrs. Hartzell and [with] six small children, from twelve down to the babe, wants to get back to her parents at or near Easton, Pennsylvania. Lucy pays the expenses "home again," and for a week or two has been sewing and buying to get them ready. She will feel a load of care is off from her hands when this is done. She mentioned to me that they had some kindred here in fairly good circumstances. I said why don't "the kin" help them. She replied with one of her "chunks of wisdom": "Two things I have learned. One is, *if you want help, go to strangers in preference to kin.* The other is, *go to men of the world in preference to professors, if you would have help or even justice.* This of course is liable to many exceptions, but I speak of the common fact."

January 22. Friday. — How to distribute more equally the property of our country is a question we [Theodore Clapp and I] considered yesterday. We ought not to allow a permanent aristocracy of inherited wealth to grow up in our country. How would it answer to limit the amount that could be left to any one person by will or otherwise? What should be the limit? Let no one receive from another more than the law gives to the Chief Justice, to the General of the Army, or to the President of the Senate. Let the income of the property transmitted equal this, say ten thousand dollars to twenty thousand dollars. If after distributing on this principle there remains undistributed part of the estate, let it go to the public. The object is to secure a distribution of great estates to prevent accumulat[ion].

January 23. Saturday. — Correspondence. — The political situation at Columbus and Washington read up very thoroughly. I have not read the papers at all for two weeks. Gathered the news in scraps from friends. Senator Morrill's silver speech is sound.

January 24. Sunday. — The question for the country now is how to secure a more equal distribution of property among the people. There can be no republican institutions with vast masses of property permanently in a few hands, and large masses of

voters without property. To begin the work as a first step, prevent large estates from passing by wills, or by inheritance, or by corporations into the hands of a single man. Let no man get by inheritance, or by will, more than will produce at four per cent interest an income equal to the salary paid to the Chief Justice, to the General of the Army, or to the highest officer of the Navy — say an income of fifteen thousand per year, or an estate of five hundred thousand dollars.

SPIEGEL, January 24, 1886.

MY DARLING:— You *shall* have more letters. I *will* not neglect you.

As to your studies, I agree with you. There are too many of them. The only question is which to drop. My decided preference is that you drop either Grecian history, physics, or astronomy. You will have another year at Farmington, I hope. I don't know what "harmony" means. You may drop *that* if you prefer. Music, you know, is the *pet* of both your mother and father. But if you can't manage it, why, do as you suggest. You are "wisest, discreetest, best." Who said that? Of whom was it said?

All the boys are now here. The weather is charming. We only need you with your "Oho!" to be one of the happiest families on the continent. . . .

With all love, ever,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,

Farmington.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 24, 1886.

MY DEAR GUY:— I was very much touched by your welcome letter. We are indeed marching rapidly on to the inevitable close. An acquaintance and intimate friendship that dates back almost half a century is something to think of with growing interest. The letter of Albert Pike struck me as it did you. I was so pleased with it that I had it copied as you see. Cicero "On Old

Age" is worth reading *now*. It is better than it was when we had it as a task at school. Try it some day. I now read it in a translation.

Dear Guy! He entirely won all our hearts. Give him our love. All of our children were with us Christmas and on the thirty-third anniversary of our wedding day! Fanny is at school in Farmington, Connecticut. Scott in an industrial school in Toledo. We are all in the best of health.

You have hit the nail on the head. The ex-Presidential situation has its advantages, but with them are certain drawbacks. The correspondence is large. The *meritorious* demands on one are large. More independent *out* than *in* place, but still something of the bondage of the place that was willingly left. On the whole, however, I find many reasons to be content.

I hope we can meet next summer. My home is a good place to meet. You will be *the* welcome guest here always. By the by, we missed Laura Ballinger by not knowing she was so near to us until it was too late. Always count on **us** — all of us. Mrs. Hayes joins in all regards.

As ever,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 24, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR:— I have the *Record* for the *first* session of the Forty-eighth Congress, but nothing since the parts of the fifteenth volume. Will be glad to have the rest.

Nobody felt happier over the occasion of your late election than I did. It is a signal triumph for you. With what genuine pleasure you are entitled to regard your long public life! Your friends and the country think of your career just as you would wish them to.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington, D. C.

SPIEGEL, January 28, 1886.

MY DARLING:— Your mother and Adda go to Cincinnati for some indefinite time tomorrow. . . .

Do not disobey any rules of the school. It would have mortified me if you had gone into the double ripper “biz.” Do be trusty and reliably obedient. Of course, if you do go wrong, you will not *run* or *hide* or *prevaricate*. Excuse so much lecture!

We shall have a quiet house—lonely and doleful with Lucy and Adda both gone. Write often.

Affectionately,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES.

February 2. Tuesday. — The twenty-first year since the war of the Rebellion is drawing to its close. In no year since the final victory of the Union arms has there been a deeper or keener interest in the events and scenes and characters of the great conflict than we have seen in the year that is now rapidly passing. The last book is the best. It has the largest sale, it is read with the profoundest interest and the liveliest relish. The periodical that has the most and best war articles is the periodical that wins. Our matchless comrade and companion, our illustrious commander going to his grave in the simple garb of a citizen — wearing no mark of rank — nothing to tell of his achievements as a soldier except the simple badges of the G. A. R. and the Loyal Legion, though dead to sight, speaks today to more minds, with a higher authority, and gets back a readier and heartier reply than ever before.

Two things we observe and rejoice to observe touching the literature of the war that has appeared during the last year. One is the intense and penetrating interest that is taken in it to which I have already alluded, and the other is the charitable and magnanimous spirit which penetrates what is written. The war gave rise to rivalries, bitterness, to harsh and cruel criticisms among officers and men under the same flag. Regiments were embittered against each other in the same brigade. Brigades,

divisions, and army corps were divided and hostile. This feeling soon almost disappeared. But the rivalries and contentions of officers lasted longer. Grant, Pope, Wallace, and others show a different spirit now.

SPIEGEL, February 2, 1886.

MY DARLING:—I was made very happy last night by a letter from Miss Porter in which she speaks so beautifully, so discriminatingly, so *justly* about my daughter that I could not refrain from telling you. Yes, glad to have such a young person another year,—“tourse” is the substance of it. So you have a high place, and *will keep it*.

Lucy and Adda are still unheard from. No doubt I will [shall] get a letter today. I now expect them to stay until I come a week from today.

This is woodchuck day. The tradition or superstition has various renderings. The common one is, if the woodchuck comes out and sees his shadow, he will, with a shudder and chill, run back into his hole, knowing that there will be six weeks more of winter. If he *can* see *no* shadow he understands that winter is about done with and he prepares for his spring work. Now, today it is bright and clear. Woodchuck will see a distinct shadow. So look out for more blizzards!—Write often.

Lovingly,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

February 13. Cincinnati.—At the pleasant home of John W. and Harriet C. Herron, our dear friends, lo! these so many years — about thirty-five or thirty-six years. Their charming family were never more charming. Jack is a fine, strong, promising boy — full of friendly affection! The young ladies are superior persons; the two smaller girls fill a tender place in the household. Little Lucy Hayes Herron is bewitching — a little angel.

The Loyal Legion banquet passed off successfully. Mr. Perry says my talk was perfect — good words from high authority.

When I was told by General Force that it had been said, I promptly replied: "Mr. Perry (A. F.) could surpass it himself."

General Sherman was much affected when I spoke of Hancock. Tears ran down his cheeks.

Banquets with courses in fashionable style should be given up. We should in place of them have a lunch or collation, with the food on the tables and brought in as required. We would save one or two hours of time, would have room enough for all of the ladies—and at a less cost!

We should have not more than three regular toasts and set speeches and after that short offhand talks, and so adjourn by twelve, midnight.

These reforms I am urging. We—the Loyal Legion—are now in a condition to set examples, to lead the fashion, to start reforms. Let us do it, and so do good service in the society world.

CINCINNATI, February 13, 1886.

MY DARLING:—We never made a more enjoyable visit than this one turns out to be. The Loyal Legion affair was capital. Adda, Mrs. Herron, and your mother enjoyed it to the full. General Sherman was charming. The ladies' reception passed off successfully. I send you a newspaper containing the account of it. You will *not* read the voluminous details, but as a dutiful daughter you will read about your mother's part in it, and your father's speech.

We go to Delaware Monday. We tea with General Force tonight, and tomorrow (Sunday) we dine out at Larz Anderson's.

We also hope to hear the incomparable "Sam Jones," who *is* doing a world of good work.

I could not go to the funeral of General Hancock as published.

We all love you. Affectionately,

R. B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

February 17. Wednesday. — Reached home on the Wheeling last evening via Delaware, Columbus, etc., etc. Left Lucy in Cincinnati at our dear friends', the Herrons'. A most charming visit. . . .

The evangelists Jones and Small have just finished a revival work of a month [at Cincinnati]. Leave out criticisms on trifling peculiarities of opinion and style, and their work is admirable. They have drawn audiences, many thousand each, daily and nightly. This shows unusual powers. Jones is quiet and conversational in manner, is witty and pathetic, talks wholesome sense, hits the prevailing vices skilfully; is earnest, and full of love in charity for his fellow men. With all of these attractions he delights his hearers. But all this without his topic would not draw. Men do want to know about the future life, to believe in it, to secure it. They *do* want a higher and surer happiness and rest than they find here, and they naturally crowd around a man who can tell them about these things in a way that assures them that he at least believes in it. Men and women do love to contemplate characters and beings superior to themselves. They do want to worship.

February 19. Friday. — Called in the evening at the Ball House on Judge L. B. Otis, of Chicago. He was a lawyer here forty years ago. Afterwards a banker in partnership with Uncle Birchard. He went to Chicago with perhaps forty thousand dollars, thirty years ago. His purpose was to make a fortune. He succeeded. He is a millionaire. He is happy in his good fortune. Wise in money making. He believes in corner lots in the centre of the business part of a city. He and his family — counting three brothers and sons — own ten corner lots with large blocks on them. — The night is stormy, but two hours of Otis' worldly-wise talk made it pass quickly. He has Shakespeare's idea. A man must take his time. All men have their opportunity. But only *once*. That missed and —. "There is a tide in the affairs of men," etc.

CHAPTER XLIV

HAYES'S MILITARY RECORD — LOYAL LEGION ACTIVITY —

ADVOCACY OF NATIONAL AID TO EDUCATION — HAYES'S EXERCISE OF APPOINTING POWER — LABOR AND EXCESSIVE WEALTH — HANCOCK AND THE DISPUTED ELECTION — ONE OF THE GOOD COLONELS — NATIONAL PRISON CONGRESS AT ATLANTA — DEATH OF PRESIDENT ARTHUR — THE "FRAUD ISSUE" — HENRY WARD BEECHER'S PATRIOTIC SERVICE — 1886-1887

FREMONT, February 20, 1886.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — The *National Tribune*, of Washington, February 11, in an anonymous sketch of General Hunter, has the following paragraph:

"Hunter at once went to work with great activity, and from Harpers Ferry, whither he had returned, pushed forward troops to attack Early's flank and rear, as he retreated to the Shenandoah Valley, while Wright should press in front. When he learned that Crook, whom he had moved to coöperate with Wright, was to attack Early at Snicker's and Ashby's Gaps, he directed Colonel R. B. Hayes to march directly up the Shenandoah Valley from Keyes Ferry and strike the enemy, and then join Crook. Colonel Hayes did not succeed in doing this, and fell back, for which Hunter took him to task, and again sent him forward. It turned out that Early made good his escape, but Hunter's earnestness and energy in coöperation were not disputed. Afterwards Sheridan went into the Valley and began his famous campaign against Early."

I abhor the common practice of attacking the Union commanders by their rivals and their subordinates. It is time for all Union soldiers to bury the hatchet, at least as between themselves. I would not say a word reflecting on General Hunter. He was patriotic, earnest, and willingly and bravely exposed

himself in the good cause. Touching the above paragraph perhaps something like this, viz.:—

"The fact referred to above — properly understood — was in no way discreditable to General — then Colonel — Hayes. His conduct in the affair referred to was commended by his immediate commander, General Crook. I have no personal knowledge of General Hunter's opinion, but I have no doubt that he also, if fully informed, would have concurred with Crook. Colonel Hayes' command consisted of one brigade of not more than two thousand men, two pieces of artillery, and a small escort of cavalry. He was during part of two days in the presence of Early's army, and skirmishing often quite warmly with it, or with heavy detachments from it. The whole of Early's army was on the same side of the Shenandoah with Colonel Hayes. The Union forces in pursuit had not yet crossed. It was only by presenting a bold front, and the lucky handling of his small force, using both artillery and musketry, that Colonel Hayes succeeded in avoiding a serious disaster.

"There is no doubt that General Hunter was subjected to unreasonable criticism and censure for the famous Lynchburg raid. I would not say a word in disparagement of the patriotic old soldier who has gone to 'the eternal camping-ground.' "

How is that? I am not so vain as to supply you with words or sentences. But that shows you how it lies in my mind. It may save you a little trouble, if you think it worth while, and that it is best to send a short note to the *Tribune*. "Nuff ced" (slang of 1840!)

"Same as before" (ditto of Donn Piatt).

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL J. M. COMLY,
Toledo.

February 21. Sunday.—Wrote to Mattox, recorder of the Ohio Commandery. Sherman and Wallace — Generals — were elected on a suspension of rules. It could not be done, as the requirement is in the *constitution* that the report and balloting shall be at the next meeting after the application and appointment of a committee. The constitution cannot be suspended. To cure this, let the reports be made again at the next meeting,

and another ballot and election place the eminent companions on our rolls *constitutionally*.

FREMONT, February 23, 1886.

DEAR SIR:—It gives me special satisfaction to comply with the request of your circular of the 18th instant, [asking me to sign a memorial to the General Assembly for an appropriation]. For two generations Ohio shared in the oppressive treatment of the African race which prevailed almost everywhere in the United States. It is just that by legislation now something should be done to uplift the descendants of those who were thus oppressed.

It is particularly gratifying to note that one of the specific objects of the appropriation you seek is the establishment of an industrial department. The young of all races and of all conditions should be taught skilled labor — to respect labor — to have the spirit of labor. This should be done not merely as a means of self-support, all important as that is, but for the sake of the mental and moral training it furnishes. In the early history of our State the young formed industrious habits at home. The same is true in the rural districts now. But in the large towns and cities where the colored youth are chiefly found, habits of industry are not likely to be formed unless industrial training is provided at school. *I would ask the State to aid no educational institution which does not by practical instruction inculcate the essential worth and dignity of labor.*

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

S. T. MITCHELL,

PRESIDENT WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 26, 1886.

MY DEAR S.—:—My friend of many years, Clark Waggoner, of Toledo, is likely to be persuaded by his sons — one of whom resides in New York, and the other expects to go there — to go to New York to live. You know something of him. He is now engaged in a local historical miscellany of this region. This will occupy him some months longer — under a contract I think

— and then he will want employment in New York. He is a good, vigorous political writer, of the soundest principles, and thoroughly informed as to the men and measures of the last forty years. He is a capable, loyal, honest business man — the best internal revenue officer ever known in this quarter. Without saying more than that, I would endorse his qualifications without reservation — and that he is healthy, strong, and capable of unlimited work. I write to ask your help in getting him something to do, if it falls in your way. What is the prospect? He could edit the *Tribune*. Of course, he will take *any* place. Can I say more?

I heard with a pang that you had sold [your home at] Lake Forest. Going to New York puts you nearer to me and my paths than you were in Chicago, but it seems otherwise.— God bless you and yours.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
New York.

SPIEGEL, February 27, 1886.

MY DARLING:— Glad you have had a happy visit to the old city. Our ancestor, Thomas Birchard, had a lot on the principal street when Hartford was first laid out about 1636. It remains of record — the plat I mean — with his name on the lot.

Your mother we hope to see tonight. I will talk over the Easter vacation with her.

Webb has had a misfortune. His factory burned up, with heavy loss, in a dreadful blizzard Thursday evening. I have nothing from him direct. I fear the hard work and excitement will hurt him. The loss too is probably considerable. . . .

Affectionately, your father,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES.

SPIEGEL, March 1, 1886.

MY DARLING:— All happy because your mother is at home again after her beautiful visit to the old friends in Cincinnati,

Delaware, and Columbus.—Webb was at home yesterday. He bears his ruinous fire bravely. It will change his business. But he is cheerful about it.

This is to say a word about the vacation. I would like to have you at home. Is not that best? I think so. But the time is short. How will it do to accept the Meads' invitation? and the rest of the time at Farmington? What do you prefer? . . .

With all manner of love from

Your father,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES.

Cleveland, March 3. Wednesday.—At the meeting of the board of Adelbert College and of Western Reserve University, the principal event was the retirement of President Cutler. We appointed a committee to select a new man for the place. This is the important step.

March 4. Thursday.—Webb's loss by the fire can hardly be less than ten thousand or twelve thousand, and will leave him in debt perhaps four thousand five hundred dollars. This is bad. But it may relieve him from a failure which would have been mortifying. He has made some mistakes. He cannot run both the military company and business. He must drop polo and the troop. . . .

FREMONT, OHIO, March 9, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR:—As one of the trustees of the Slater Education Fund and also of the Peabody Education Fund, I have given, during the last five years especially, a good deal of attention to the general subject of education in the South. The result is, that I feel very great solicitude in behalf of the senate bill now before the committee, of which you are a member, giving national aid to education when such aid is needed. A few words will indicate sufficiently what I think.

Elections without education — universal suffrage without universal education, must always and everywhere be a farce. There

will be no general education in the South for several generations without national aid. The bill before you is the only chance. You have an opportunity to serve the Republican party by serving the country, such as has been rarely presented since the war. Excuse me for urging you with some warmth to give the subject your best attention.

With great respect, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE ISAAC H. TAYLOR,
Washington.

March 11. Thursday. — An interesting and carefully prepared article on the appointing power of the President in the papers of the American Historical Association, volume 1, number 5, perhaps needs attention from me. It adopts the accusations of a hostile and partisan paper, "*The Nation.*" The press that originated the charges dealt with the nullification of the Fifteenth Amendment in 1876 with complacency if not approval. The Republicans (it is *undeniable*) were equitably entitled, in addition to the States finally counted in their favor, to Mississippi and Alabama, and a large majority of the popular vote as well as of the electoral vote. The journals referred to treated as fraudulent all legislation by the States, where a large vote depended on the Fifteenth Amendment, designed to secure the enforcement of the amendment. The Supreme Court, like the Electoral Commission, held such legislation valid. This is the key to the whole controversy.

The attack on President Hayes which the writer has adopted from this source, is as follows: — "Honors were conferred upon unknown men and personal friends as well as upon some who had been foremost in the questionable events connected with the action of the returning boards. . . ." All this is taken without change or qualification from a bitterly partisan and hostile press. On examination it will be found utterly unworthy of a place in a historical article by a writer so able as the author who has adopted it on trust.

A. The appointment of "unknown men." Of course, this implies men unworthy of appointment given place on merely personal grounds.

[1]. Take the appointments the general public regard with special interest. The members of the Cabinet were several of them personal friends. But taking them all together,—consider their reputation when appointed, their conduct in their high offices, and their standing today. All are still living except Honorable Horace Maynard, of Tennessee. The writer will not include the Cabinet in the disparaging sentence.

2. Consider our representative abroad:—Welsh and Lowell in England; Governor Noyes in France; Bayard Taylor and President White in Germany; Kasson in Austria; General Fairchild in Spain; George P. Marsh in Italy, etc.

3. The judicial appointments. Now, after years of trial, who would insist upon changing any of them?

[B.] If subordinate appointments are referred to consider these facts:—1. Relatives by blood or marriage were not appointed. 2. The appointees filled their places creditably, and left them with a clean record. 3. That Hayes appointed and kept in office a larger proportion of political adversaries than any President since political parties were first organized during the Administration of Washington. 4. That less partisan work was done by office-holders in Hayes' Administration than at any time in fifty years.

SPIEGEL, March 13, 1886.

MY DEAR MRS. COMLY:—The snow has bent the limbs of trees across our telephone wire until it no longer transmits intelligence. Of course, therefore, you could not use it successfully. But I heard the words "Father Hannan" and "our best citizens." I guessed the rest. I was just worrying over a reply to him. I like him—approve of him—would gladly help or please him; *was* in doubt; your "phone" was the last straw. It fractured the camel's spine. I am coming. The programme is so long that I will be able to gratify the audience by quitting promptly.

I do hope the general is himself again. I enjoyed being in New York (by means of his letters), without leaving Spiegel Grove. I am his debtor. I only recall one good thing of Ingersoll's. "I (too) would make good health catching." And wouldn't I run over almost daily and give him the contagion, or should I say, *infect* him?

My love to him, and all of ours to all of yours.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. J. M. COMLY,
Toledo.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 13, 1886.

MY DEAR COMRADE:— You ask me for some relic of the war for the Toledo Soldiers' Memorial Hall. In reply, I hand you a large tin ball painted yellow, which is of no intrinsic value, but which is interesting for its associations. When the old War Department Building was torn down to be replaced by the present State, War, and Navy Building in Washington, the engineer in charge, Colonel Thomas L. Casey, sent me this ball. It was on the top of the flagstaff of the War Department Building during the whole war of 1861-1865. From that building were issued the orders under which the war was conducted. I trust it will be deemed by the comrades of the Toledo Soldiers' Memorial Association worthy of a place in their collection.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

COLONEL R. B. COCHRAN,
SECRETARY.

Private and confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 13, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR:— I have not replied to your favors of the 9th and 10th because I have not yet received the resolutions you refer to. Your communication to the Ohio Commandery is almost identical — precisely so in the essential points — with one I had sent to Captain Mattox *privately*, advising him to have done what you directed.

The truth is, that I, personally, was more to blame than anybody else for the irregularity. I supposed the rule as to time of election, in the hurry and confusion of the moment, was a mere by-law of the commandery. Within a day or two I examined the constitution and saw the matter as you did.

Until I see the resolutions I have nothing further to say. After getting them I will write you again. This is for your eye alone.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.— Is it practicable for me now to be furnished with the circulars of the acting Commandery-in-Chief? I have a few of them only. — H.

COLONEL JOHN P. NICHOLSON,
RECODER COMMANDERY-IN-CHIEF.

SPIEGEL, March 15, 1886.

MY DARLING:— You are a darling. How are we to survive without seeing you? How long is your vacation? Give dates of beginning and ending. . . .

Webb is still busy gathering up the insurance money on the burnt factory of which he is treasurer and secretary, the salvage and remains generally. It will be a loss to us — for I look upon it as my affair — of ten thousand dollars to twelve thousand dollars. Rather embarrassing in times when my real estate is unproductive and unsalable. But he is brave and cheerful. Is looking around for what next — but will be busy with the old affairs for some weeks.

I am sure you will love the Meads. They are all lovable people. . . . You are a good observer. Don't fail to use your eyes in New York. You will learn more in ten days there than a month in school.

We all love you dearly.

Your affectionate father,

H.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

March 17. Wednesday. — I go to Toledo to attend the celebration of St. Patrick's Day by Father Hannan's people. I shall talk to the text, "America the land of the free and the home of the brave" with special reference to Father Hannan's motto "Religion, Education, Temperance, Industry"; — and this again in behalf of such measures and laws as will give to every workingman a reasonable hope that by industry, temperance, and frugality he can secure a home for himself and his family, education for his children, and a comfortable support for old age.

March 18. Thursday. — At Toledo yesterday and until 1 P. M. today. At Father Hannan's St. Patrick's Institute last evening. I spoke of the danger from riches *in* a few hands, and the poverty of the masses. The capital and labor question. General Comly regards the speech as important. My point is that free government cannot long endure if property is largely in a few hands and large masses of the people are unable to earn homes, education, and a support in old age. — A happy visit with General Comly.

March 19. Friday. — No man, however benevolent, liberal, and wise, can use a large fortune so that it will do half as much good in the world as it would if it were divided into moderate sums and in the hands of workmen who had earned it by industry and frugality. The piling up of estates often does great and conspicuous good. Such men as Benjamin Franklin [and] Peter Cooper knew how to use wealth. But no man does with accumulated wealth so much good as the same amount would do in many hands.

March 20. Saturday. — The funeral of General Devereux [at Cleveland today] was largely attended. With General Leggett, General Barnett, and General Elwell, and many others of the Loyal Legion — those named as honorary pall-bearers — saw and heard all that belonged to the impressive funeral. The leading traits of General Devereux were unusual tact in dealing with all sorts of men and all sorts of difficult questions, courage, and integrity. The president of the New York Central, Mr. [Chauncey M.] Depew, introduced me to Cornelius Vanderbilt. I could not help regarding [him] with sympathy. One of our

Republican kings — one of our railroad kings. Think of the inconsistency of allowing such vast and irresponsible power as he possesses to be vested by law in the hands of one man!

March 26. Friday. — Am I mistaken in thinking that we are drawing near the time when we must decide to limit and control great wealth, corporations, and the like, or resort to a strong military government? Is this the urgent question? I read in the [Cleveland] *Leader* of this morning that Rev. Dr. Washington Gladden lectured in Cleveland last night on "Capital and Labor." Many good things were said. The general drift and spirit were good. But he leaves out our railroad system. Shall the railroads govern the country, or shall the people govern the railroads? Shall the interest of railroad kings be chiefly regarded, or shall the interest of the people be paramount?

SPIEGEL, March 27, 1886.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— There is a short paragraph in your issue yesterday which, I fear, implies opposition to the Blair Bill for Southern education. I hope you will reconsider. There is an article by Dr. Haygood in the last *Independent* — a little over two columns of the *Independent* — which you ought to see. Date, March 25. Also, an editorial on page 18 — very short.

I have studied this whole business. The South cannot get an efficient school system without this aid. It is the only hope. After full discussion in the Senate, *all* of the reliable and able Republicans gave up their objections to the bill, viz., Sherman, Logan, etc., etc., while Edmunds, Evarts, Hoar, etc., etc., were *always* in favor of it. Intelligent voters is the only chance.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL J. M. COMLY,
Toledo.

FREMONT, March 29, 1886.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— You are entitled to know how much your friends are gratified by the record you have made as governor of Utah. Dealing with a most difficult problem and with

a situation full of perplexing embarrassments, you have so discharged your duties that your reputation has steadily increased until now you leave your office with the confidence and admiration of all who are well informed and feel an intelligent interest in the subject. The failure of Congress to adopt radical measures for the destruction of the political power of the Mormon priesthood only serves to emphasize and attract attention to the merits of your administration. Personally, I feel grateful to you, and therefore hasten to thank you. You know how anxious I was that nothing should be left undone to eradicate the shameful system of society and government established in Utah, and now spreading into the adjacent Territories, and that I was specially desirous that no part of the blame for this should attach to the Executive Department of the Government. You have ably, and with conspicuous courage and persistency, relieved the branch of the Government you have represented from all responsibility for the evil. I heartily congratulate you.

Can you not on your return via Chicago visit here? Mrs. Hayes will gladly join in a most cordial welcome to Mrs. Murray and yourself and family to our old-fashioned home.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL ELI H. MURRAY.

April 5. Monday. — I yesterday looked up the long letter written by General Hancock, December 28, 1876, to General Sherman during the electoral struggle of 1876-7. It was first published in full, I believe, July 31, 1880, in the New York Democratic papers. I give one paragraph:—

"I have no doubt Governor Hayes would make an excellent President. I have met him and know him. For a brief period he served under my command, but as the matter stands, I can't see any likelihood of his being declared elected by the people unless the Senate and House come to be in accord as to that fact, and the House would not otherwise elect him. What the people want is a peaceful determination of this matter, as fair a determination as possible and a lawful one. No other determination could stand the test. The country, if not plunged into rev-

olution, would become poorer day by day, business would languish and our bonds would come home to find a depreciated market."

General Hancock afterwards acted in the spirit of this letter. He came to Washington and took part in the inauguration ceremonies, and immediately after called on me at the White House and congratulated me. He was, perhaps, the first officer in uniform to call. During the whole of my Administration he was exceedingly friendly and cordial. He aided me in a number of important affairs. Conspicuously in the riots of 1877; in the Fitz-John Porter case; and *especially* in the embarrassing and exasperating contest over the prosecution of Governor Wells and Colonel Anderson (two of the Louisiana Returning Board) by the irreconcilables of New Orleans. He was manly, patriotic, and considerate. I found him, as I said in my remarks before the Loyal Legion [at Cincinnati], "through and through pure gold." His work, in the matter last referred to, under all the circumstances, was of rare merit.

April 6.—I go to Cincinnati today. The elections yesterday were of small significance. The Knights of Labor showed some disposition to control. Both of the old parties resented this, and by a union in one ward overthrew the Knights completely.

Strikes and boycotting are akin to war, and can be justified only on grounds analogous to those which justify war, viz., intolerable injustice and oppression.

SPIEGEL, April 12, 1886.

MY DARLING:— Since I last wrote you I have spent one day and night in Columbus, one in Cincinnati, and one in Delaware. *Hence* I have no news for you. . . .

Birch read to us last night Dickens' "Cricket on the Hearth." He read it admirably. It is a fine specimen of Dickens' genius. It is a great waste of time to read the general run of novels. It would be far better to read a second or even a third or fourth time the novels that have real merit. Better to read the same books often, if they are good, than to spend time with trash. Emerson says, "Read no book that is not ten years old." I

would qualify this by saying, unless it is by an author of well known superior talents.

We all long for you. Think kindly of us and of home.

Lovingly, your father,

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

April 14. Wednesday. — In the evening attended the revival meeting at our church. A warm time in all senses. The church thronged. A well-looking, modest young woman, who knew me but who was a stranger, took me by the hand and earnestly asked: "Do you love the Lord?" I talked kindly to her. She said a few words about the importance of my making "a public profession for the sake of the example."

April 20. — Mrs. Virginia Campbell Thompson, the postmaster of Louisville, writes that she is opposed because she is a Republican. I reply: — "You were not appointed because you were a Republican. Indeed, I did not think you were a Republican. I believed you would be a good officer, that your appointment would be satisfactory to the patrons of the office and would gratify a great many good people in Kentucky and elsewhere. It was particularly pleasing to me to appoint to an important and conspicuous place a woman. It seemed to harmonize with my wish to do what I could to remove the bitterness in the South towards the North and towards the party to which I belonged."

April 25. Sunday. — Today Rutherford became so impressed with the preaching of Mrs. Trego and other influences that he went forward and joined the list of probationers. It was without notice to any of the family. . . . I am sure he will always be a good man.

May 1. Saturday. — Returned from Cleveland with Lucy and Austin this morning. . . . We had a happy visit — our best. A good Loyal Legion spread Tuesday evening; an excellent lecture by General Lew Wallace Wednesday; a glorious G. A. R. campfire at Music Hall Thursday; visited the training school and

sick comrades Friday. . . . It was a fraternal time. I will try to attend all the encampments of the G. A. R. for the State — I mean of course the annual meetings.

May 2. Sunday. — Scott today went forward and gave his name to the church with half a dozen of his cronies. I think the step tends to hedge him round with good influences. He needs them as little as anybody of his age; but all boys need such restraining and pure influence.

It may be truly said that for twenty-five years, at least, railroad workingmen have had too little, and railroad capitalists and managers, those who have controlled and manipulated railroads, have had too much of their earnings — or too much of the money made out of them. The public has been neglected; its rights and interests disregarded. Not men enough employed — not paid enough — etc., etc. The railroads should be under a wise, watchful, and powerful supervision by the Government. No violence, no lawlessness, destructive of life and property, should be allowed. It should be suppressed instantly and with a strong hand. A bucket of water at the beginning will put out a fire which if neglected will burn up the city. There is no sense, there is no humanity in hesitation of [or] temporizing.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 3, 1886.

MY DEAR WEBB: — I return as requested the papers you sent me. My instructions to the recorder were that the proxy voting would probably be held regular unless the Commandery-in-Chief had otherwise decided. I now see by extracts from the minutes that the Commandery of Pennsylvania, acting as Commandery-in-Chief in 1869, decided against proxy voting. This may, and very likely will, change my views. You may show this *confidentially* to Captain Kendall. I am going down to the meeting and trust that all will pass off without serious discord. I believe in proxy voting, and would favor a change of the constitution so as to warrant the practice.

Sincerely,

WEBB C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

R. B. HAYES.

May 8. Saturday. — Lucy and Rutherford left with me Tuesday the 4th *en route* for Columbus and Cincinnati via Wellington. At Delaware Lucy changed cars and went to Columbus. Rutherford and self arrived at Cincinnati about 8 P. M. A good meeting of the Loyal Legion. The feeling on the subject of the hundred-days men is bitter, and indiscreet things are said, as usual in such contests. I hope the worst is over. The constitution as amended at the last Congress makes one-hundred-days men eligible. On applications for one-hundred-days men about fifteen to twenty members vote against them — “blackball” them — not for cause, but on the general principle that in their opinion one-hundred-days men ought not to be eligible. This the excited companions who favor the applicants denounce as “nullification,” and their opponents as “nullifiers.” Of course discord increases. The friends of the one-hundred-days men are for allowing all absentees to send ballots at all elections. This is opposed by the discontented. But on the whole the meeting was a very agreeable [one]. The paper by Chaplain — on Gettysburg was excellent. The spread was very enjoyable. The talks were good. . . .

The Loyal Legion meeting was so unsatisfactory in its results to General Cox that I find on my return home a letter from him in which he in strong terms condemns its action. The general, his brother, Dr. Kemper, and probably a few others, friends of the one-hundred-day[s] men, have been so bitter and severe, that it has injured their cause. On the other hand, Dayton, Dawes, and a few other anti-hundred-days men have in like manner sowed tares among friends. In a society based on the friendships of the war, with historical, social, and convivial ends in view, we ought to be very charitable to each other. We ought to allow no questions of administration or policy to embitter us. I trust that time will heal these divisions and give us no great trouble.

FREMONT, OHIO, May 9, 1886.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — On my way home I stopped a day in Columbus. Reaching here I found your letter of the 6th instant. You are quite right in supposing that I did not suspect those who

acted with you of opposing me. None the less it is thoughtful kindness in you to give me the assurance you do.

Do not mistake me. I can imagine good and natural reasons for the votes referred to. It was my own preference to withdraw. The fact that I am acting commander-in-chief is reason enough. I was persuaded not to do so against my wishes. It is all, however, of small importance, and I hope will not increase in any way our real difficulty.

As to the parliament[ary] ruling. I am clear in my opinion that it is correct. When no rules are adopted in any permanently organized body, the rules of the House of Representatives prevail as far as applicable. In our order the by-laws (Article V, Section 1, page 42) expressly adopt the general parliamentary law. The constitution settles for the House of Representatives the rule. (See Constitution United States, Article II, Section 5.) So far as I know this has not been questioned. This is therefore the general parliamentary law. It seems to me also that in practice it has been and will be found a safe and practicable rule. To allow one or five members to delay business with roll-calling would not do.

As to the voting by absent members, that is so plainly just that it must surely prevail. Two rules should be considered. One applicable to the election of officers, and the other to the election of members. As to the first, the election of officers, there should be a rule prescribing the manner in which the ballots of absent members are to be authenticated, cast, and counted. (See page 30, Article XXI, Section 4.) My understanding is that the right of the absent companion exists under Article XII, Section 1, page 18, but the manner of its exercise should by rule be provided for.

As to the second, the right of absentees to vote on the election of members (Article VI, Section 1, page 11), it seems to be prohibited by the words, "every companion of the order *present* shall . . . deposit one ballot," etc., etc.

Action on the subject ought to be taken on a maturely considered by-law, probably at the meeting when the annual banquet is held, so as to secure a full attendance. Perhaps it can be done at an earlier meeting. The postponement of your reso-

lution to March does not prevent the consideration of a new and different resolution on the same subject at any meeting.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL J. D. COX.

May 10. Monday. — I told Birchard we would give him a house and lot in Toledo worth seven thousand to eight thousand dollars. We like his intended very much. Glad her name is Mary, and Sherman adds to its attractiveness.

May 11. Tuesday. — We are today putting in pipes for heating (perhaps also for lighting) my home with natural gas. It is found in sufficient quantity, we hope, in a well two hundred yards distant, in the valley, at a depth of about five hundred feet.

May 12. Wednesday. — I call all of the lawless agitators and their followers anarchists. They train under the red flag. Let the honest American laborer shun that name and the men who bear it. Let them abhor the red flag, the cause whose ensign it is, and the men who train under it. It is the enemy, the deadly enemy, of honest industry in America. Rally under the old flag — the Stars and Stripes — the emblem of liberty regulated by law.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, May 12, 1886.

MY DEAR GUY: — I welcome your good letter of the 5th instant. This is my busiest season of the year. Other people's affairs grow on my hands, and the long continued hard times press somewhat closer upon me than usual. I believe I told you that Webb was burnt out with a loss to him of twelve thousand dollars — partly unpaid for — in one of the fiercest blizzards of the winter. I have lost by other affairs about forty thousand dollars. So that — but it is all past. *Serious* for a few days, and *annoying* for many more. On the whole, we are greatly blessed.

Two of my boys, the two youngest, have joined the church; Fanny ditto; all with my approval. We are all in usual health.

I send you an article by Major Armstrong, a life-long and

staunch political adversary, editor of the Cleveland *Leader*. Coming from that source it is agreeable.

We all think of you with the sincerest and warmest feelings of friendship. As we get down the stream, the oldest attachments are the best.

As ever,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—Lucy is in Delaware or Columbus, or her love would go with this.

P. S.—On the labor question, my position is:—1. The previous question always must be in any popular excitement *the supremacy of law*. All lawless violence must be suppressed *instantly, with overwhelming force and at all hazards*. To hesitate or tamper with it is a fatal mistake. *Justice, humanity, and safety* all require this. 2. I agree that labor does not get its fair share of the wealth it creates. The Sermon on the Mount, the Golden Rule, the Declaration of Independence, all require extensive reforms to the end that labor may be so rewarded that the workingman can, with temperance, industry, and thrift, *own a home, educate his children, and lay up a support for old age*. 3. *The United States* must begin to deal with the whole subject. I approve heartily of President Cleveland's message and so said at the great soldiers' meeting at Cleveland.—H.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

May 13. Thursday.—I read with emotion that brought tears to my eyes the following in the *Semi-Weekly New York Tribune*, in a notice of the second volume of General Grant's "Memoirs":

"In the fighting before Petersburg Grant had under his command General Rutherford B. Hayes. 'His conduct on the field [Grant says] was marked by conspicuous gallantry as well as the display of qualities of a higher order than that of mere personal daring. This might well have been expected of one who could write at the time he is said to have done so: "Any officer fit for duty who at this crisis would abandon his post to electioneer for a seat in Congress ought to be scalped."'"

We are in the habit in the family of calling flattering mention, particularly of Lucy, "Aaron's beard." This is a particularly agreeable specimen of Aaron's beard. I am more gratified by friendly reference to my war record than by any other flattery. Of course I know that my place was a very humble one — a place utterly unknown in history. But I also am glad to know that I was one of the good colonels. I was not promoted to brigadier-general until after the close of active operations in 1864. I never fought in battle as a general. An important command was arranged for me by General Hancock in the spring of 1865, but the sudden collapse of the Confederacy at Appomattox put an end to the war, just as I was preparing and concentrating my forces for an expedition from the Baltimore and Ohio at or near Clarksburg with Lynchburg and the Southwest Virginia and Tennessee Railroad as my objective.

The delay in my promotion to brigadier-general was due mainly to myself. Early in political life I had made it a rule never to seek office. When I went in the army, feeling that I lacked the military education necessary for command, my aversion to office-seeking was intensified by the consideration that to seek and get a place beyond my capacity might lead to disaster and failure which would involve the lives of the men under me. I therefore firmly resolved to seek no promotion — no place, and I used absolutely no effort at any time to get ahead. With political, family, and social influences, I could perhaps have begun higher in rank, and probably could a year or two earlier have been made a general. My feeling, often expressed, after my promotion to colonel, was: "I prefer to be one of the good colonels to being one of the poor generals." So decided was this that I often considered the question of declining promotion to the brigadier-generalship and have sometimes regretted that I ever accepted it.

As a colonel or lieutenant-colonel, I commanded a brigade, important posts with infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and in battle repeatedly commanded a division. Brigadier-generals and even major-generals, it was said, were sent to the Army of West Virginia in the Shenandoah Valley in 1864 when all its brigades and divisions were commanded by colonels, but the War Department

which had sent them, was persuaded by Sheridan and Grant to recall them.

I may feel without undue personal vanity that though unknown as a general, I was one of the good colonels in the great army. This fortunate (for me) sentence of our great commander proves this. I think with pleasure of two other facts pointing the same way.

After I left my old command in the spring of 1865 and assumed duties elsewhere, without my knowledge, a meeting was called in the camps near Winchester of Ohio troops with Colonel Devol of [the] Thirty-sixth Ohio as chairman, and with entire unanimity they passed resolutions touching my conduct and character as a soldier and recommended me for governor of Ohio to the Republican Convention then about to meet at Columbus. When I heard of it I peremptorily refused my assent. Having just been elected to Congress I could not, without the approval of my constituents, leave the place they had given me.

In 1871 on the anniversary of the battle of Cedar Creek, October 19, a meeting of the Society of the Army of West Virginia was held at Wheeling. It was the first regular meeting of the society in pursuance of an adjournment of a general meeting held the year previous at Moundsville, West Virginia. A constitution and by-laws were adopted, and the officers were elected. I was not present at either meeting, and had nothing at all to do with either. I was however pleased to learn that I was elected first president of the Society of the Army of West Virginia (see report of ninth Reunion of the Army of West Virginia at Portsmouth, page 8).

At the time of my promotion to brigadier-general I was greatly pleased. 1. It came as a recognition in the field of the [my(?)]) conduct during the fiercest and bloodiest campaign of the war. 2. It relieved me of an apprehension I had often painfully felt, that I was liable for want of rank to lose my splendid brigade and division, and to be put under some incompetent political brigadier.

May 25, 1886. Tuesday.—Those who make the laws are without excuse if they break the laws. Lawmakers should not be lawbreakers. All Americans are lawmakers.

The State Association of Mexican War Veterans met in the City Hall and dined at the Ball House today. After a meeting in the hall, at which John T. Garver delivered a very excellent address, and General Buckland, A. J. Robertson, James H. Smith, of Newark, and myself were called out, the party, about one hundred and twenty (fifty-two veterans, twelve with their wives) came up with the band and the Sons of Veterans to Spiegel Grove and were here entertained — I think very satisfactorily to all concerned. . . . A very happy time.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 6, 1886.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:— You do not need further assurances that your marriage is very gratifying to your friends throughout the country. In this feeling I fully share. Mrs. Hayes joins me in most cordial salutations to Mrs. Cleveland and yourself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 10, 1886.

GENTLEMEN:— I regret that by reason of an engagement to be in St. Paul on Wednesday I cannot attend the Parnell meeting in Toledo Monday evening.

Gladstone in Great Britain and Parnell in Ireland, under the watchword, "Home Rule for Ireland," are fighting the battle of self-government for all mankind. The convictions and sympathies of Americans are on their side earnestly and with great unanimity. Your meeting will, I trust, be altogether successful.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE S. F. FORBES, PRESIDENT,

CHARLES J. KIRSCHNER, SECRETARY,

Toledo.

FREMONT, August 4, 1886.

GENTLEMEN:— Your request for an interview on the occasion of the death of Mr. Tilden, in accordance with my uniform habit

about interviews, was declined. I wish, however, to say that there has been nothing in the relations of Mr. Tilden and myself which would prevent me from sharing in the sentiments and manifestations which are natural and fitting on the death of a political leader and statesman, who was so able and so eminent as Mr. Tilden.

The intimation you refer to, that unpleasant passages have occurred between Mr. Tilden and myself, is entirely without foundation. There has been [nothing of the sort] in our relations.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

S. C. LAMBERSON AND COMPANY,
EDITORS *Democratic Messenger*.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 28, 1886.

DEAR MRS. CRACROFT:—The sad intelligence of the death of your husband was a surprise and a sorrow to Mrs. Hayes and myself. It did not reach us until some time after the event and we have delayed until you have somewhat recovered from the distractions of the great affliction before we venture to tender to you condolence and sympathy. Our intercourse with Captain Cracroft since the war has been so limited, our home has been so distant from his, that we naturally recur to our friendship during the war and to the scenes in which our acquaintance began. We recall with mingled feelings genuine qualities of mind and heart as displayed by your husband in the trying and often embarrassing situations which he held, and in which he was so uniformly successful while engaged in his country's service.

We beg you to be assured that our heartfelt sympathies are with you in your time of mourning and sorrow. May God have you in holy keeping.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 3, 1886.

DEAR SIR:—I am glad to learn by your letter and the certificate you send that your neighbors and friends can so fully endorse you. They will, of course, see that you do not suffer.

The failure to pension the Mexican War veterans was a serious mistake by Congress. I will do all I can to aid the measure and am confident the next session will pass the bill. I return your certificate.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

RANSOM WEBSTER,
Gibsonburg, Ohio.

SPIEGEL, September 15, 1886.

MY DARLING:—Home last evening via Columbus and Wellington. . . . I saw Mrs. Davis soon after you left [Cincinnati]. The desire to retain you in the home mission work and at its head is *real* and *universal*. Mrs. Davis *cannot take* your place. Sleeplessness and general unnerved condition are giving her serious trouble. I think that after giving her and others to know, either by letter or word of mouth, that you earnestly wish to be relieved, you will find it is best to consent to remain where you are.

I saw Harriet [Mrs. Herron] and the bride after visiting Mrs. Davis. Mrs. Taft never looked better. She is brown with travel, better looking than usual, and very happy. You would have been delighted to hear the talk of Mrs. Herron and Maria on Fanny. Her complexion, her eyes, her expression and manners were all in our friends' eyes and speeches very admirable. . . .

Be happy—very—as you have a right to be. Kiss the charmer, Fanny.

Lovingly,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

SPIEGEL GROVE, November 1, 1886.

MY DEAR S.—:—I have just seen that you are again at home. Welcome, welcome. Special thanks for your instructive letters. They are full of pithy matter—the heart of the matter. I go for a ten-days trip on national prison reform to Mansfield—thence to Atlanta, Georgia, where reform is needed. With kindest regards to Mrs. Smith.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

KIMBALL HOUSE, ATLANTA, GEORGIA, November 7, 1886.

MY DARLING:— Nothing could be better than our beginning [of the Prison Congress] here. Your absence is the only thing lacking. You never had a finer reception than awaited you here —*never*— NEVER. All think of you. Both temperance and religion, capped by the social considerations, prepared the way for you. Only think of a mayor standing up and squarely, saying: — “*No man can find a bar in Atlanta, nor a gambling-house.* No city in the world has as many churches according to population or so many people habitually attending them.” Mrs. Governor Gordon was to entertain you. Rides, receptions, etc., etc.

Our meeting in the opera house was perfect. The mayor, Governor McDaniel, Governor Gordon, and all gave me full credit — emphasized by the applause of the audience — for the Southern policy. Grady, of the *Constitution*, made a splendid speech. My performance was my best. Altogether we are most happily launched. Dr. Haygood preaches the sermon today.

Mrs. Round is almost inconsolable that you are not here.— Our attendance is large. The Legislature is in session. Governor Gordon is to be inaugurated Wednesday. *Balls, parties, processions.* A wide-awake time indeed. The city has grown and is built up in the best way.

All love,

R.

Sunday P. M.— Dr. Haygood preached a noble sermon. It was *brave* and eloquent. He cut the Georgia lease system to the quick. He talked so well that all agree that it is our best sermon.

Governor McDaniel and his pretty, cheery daughter carried me home after church. This is the finest community I have ever seen. Governor and Mrs. Colquitt are specially sorry you are not here.— R.

MRS. HAYES.

ATLANTA, November 12 (Friday), 1886.

DEAREST:— Our visit is simply perfect. The lease system has been *ably debated* and *all is well*. Your little home is just what

you wish — a good, tasteful frame cottage, two stories — beautifully placed on a sidehill in a grove — well furnished and kept by Miss Mitchell and her nice girls.

I visited *Clark* [University] — *not Claflin* — with Dr. Haygood. It is encouraging every way.

I now expect to leave tomorrow noon — Saturday noon — to visit Judge Key Sunday at Chattanooga, to reach Cincinnati Tuesday, and home Wednesday. Till then shall not write again, but will love you all the time "and all the same."

Sincerely and affectionately,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. HAYES.

November 18, 1886. Thursday. — I begin a new memorandum book this morning. Last Monday evening, about 7 P. M., I reached the Central Depot at Cincinnati over the Queen and Crescent route from Chattanooga. I stepped into the baggage room to check my trunk with my travelling satchel in my hand. To get out my check I set down the satchel on a trunk, and turned to the baggage-master. In a moment or two I turned back to pick up my satchel. *It was gone! Stolen!* It contained little of value as property. . . . But it contained my current memorandum book or diary! How vexatious. I hate to lose it — will be still more vexed if it is printed. I authorized my friend Herron, of Cincinnati, to advertise for it — a reward and no questions asked.

My visit to Atlanta, Georgia, was in all respects most gratifying. I presided over the meetings of the National Prison Association. No reception could have been more cordial and friendly. All descriptions of people publicly and to me personally said that the South owed a debt to me greater than to any man since Washington. All agreed that I had taken the course first which had restored harmony between the sections. Among those thus greeting me were Governors Gordon, McDaniel, Bullock, Colquitt; [and many other men of distinction]. Whenever these sentiments were uttered in the public meetings, as they were constantly, the response was hearty and prompt. Altogether the personal part of the visit was all I could wish.

November 19. Friday. — President Arthur died yesterday. When the Chief Justice and I saw him in October, we both thought he was approaching his end rapidly. He received us in his bedroom. He did not attempt to rise except on his elbow; was thin and feeble.

I sent a dispatch to Mr. Evarts of sympathy from Mrs. Hayes and myself to Mrs. McElroy [Mr. Arthur's sister] and the family. I have a dispatch from Clayton McMichael of the death, and the funeral Saturday. I would attend if it were at all practicable.

The papers have it that my satchel was stolen with five hundred dollars at Cincinnati! Also that the suspected thieves are in custody.

I have a letter from the Harvard Law School Association informing me of my election as one of the vice-presidents of the association.

SPIEGEL, November 19, 1886.

MY DARLING:— Home from Atlanta after a most perfect trip and visit. You and your mother should have been with me. Nothing could have been more enjoyable and gratifying.

Mary Sherman is here with Birch making up lists of guests [for their approaching wedding]. All very agreeable.

I go tomorrow to New York to attend the funeral of President Arthur. The family request that I act as pall-bearer. Of course I assent. It is possible I may see you next Tuesday. Will certainly try to do so.—All well.

With love, sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Farmington.

November 21. Sunday. — Fine weather here in New York. Arrived at Fifth Avenue [Hotel] about 1 P. M. after a comfortable journey. Only three in our sleeper. One of them an intelligent, fine young fellow — a real estate and loan agent in Buffalo, "Mr. Oliver C. Read." He will be an interesting acquaintance in Buffalo.

I noticed with some curiosity that I was not in the list of pall-bearers. It is explained by General Sherman and Colonel McMichael that President Cleveland thinks he and I should be rated higher than pall-bearers—that we should be with the mourners. So it is arranged. President Cleveland and I ride together with the mourners.

I called on Schurz. He has begun his sketch of my life [for Appleton's "Encyclopædia of American Biography"]. I am to see him after the funeral tomorrow with my collection.

NEW YORK, Monday, November 22, 1886, 7:30 A. M.

MY DARLING:—We go to the funeral at 8 A. M. and I give you a few minutes. All arrangements are suitable—especially agreeable for me. I am with the President as one of the mourners.

I saw a host of old friends yesterday—*Edmunds* and *Blaine* among the most cordial. The Meads are to be absent Thanksgiving or they would invite Fanny.

I go to Farmington Tuesday and will reach home Wednesday. I do not go to Albany.

With love, as ever,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

November 28. Sunday.—Last evening attended Croghan Lodge I. O. O. F. Election of officers. Chosen Noble Grand. These social organizations have a number of good results. All who attend are educated in self-government. This in a marked way. They bind society together. The well-to-do and the poor should be brought together as much as possible. The separation into classes—castes—is our danger. It is the danger of all civilizations.

December 5. Sunday.—Returned last night from Columbus and Cincinnati. Left home Tuesday to attend the meeting of the Loyal Legion at Cincinnati. An excellent meeting we had. A

good paper on the battle of Franklin by Captain Schofield, of Cleveland. Recitations by General O. Smith and Finch and speeches by General Robinson, Colonel Dayton, and others. I told Mattox [the recorder of the commandery] I would end my services as commander with the current year, after four years.

I found the Herrons in trouble about our dear friend Harriet. She has facial paralysis of the left side, due to the condition of the nerve which controls motion. We hope for an early recovery. But it is dreadful to think of. What a lovely and beautiful person she is! At the wedding of her daughter Nellie and Mr. Will [William Howard] Taft (a fine young fellow).

Mr. Nathan G. Sherman, father of our soon-to-be daughter-in-law, and his second Mrs. Sherman dined with us today. Mr. Sherman born in 1810; came to Ohio in 1822; settled at Berlin or Florence in Huron county; sold goods; but a farmer most of his life at Berlin or Florence; in Norwalk for twenty years past. An intelligent man of character and much esteemed. He was born in Woodbury, Litchfield County, Connecticut. His wife, the mother of Mary, was [Elizabeth] Otis, the sister of Honorable L. B. Otis, of Chicago, of Mrs. [Nancy] Miller [of Fremont], etc. Good stock on both sides. He is an agreeable gentleman, with a very winning face and manner. No more youthful person at the age of seventy-six is likely to be met.

December 8. Wednesday. — Lucy goes with Webb to Cleveland to see the friend of her school days, and of all the days since, Carrie Little. We stood up with Doctor and Carrie when they were married about 1850. We were taken with each other but not engaged. I gave Lucy the ring cut from the wedding cake. That ring I now wear. When I gave Lucy the engagement ring I took back the plain gold ring and have worn it ever since. Carrie has been a widow about ten years. She is now at Cleveland in care of Doctor Webber for some serious chronic complaint. Sad that our two best friends — ladies, I mean — are both perhaps in a critical condition. Mrs. Herron whom we love so dearly is seriously ill; facial paralysis it is called. . . . We hope we shall see her at the weddings — December 30 and January 4. But alas, we fear not.

December 10. Friday.—Evarts, Sherman, [R. C.] McCormick, and others recently talked on the “fraud issue” which a faction of the Democratic party still harp upon. My notions of it are clear and decided:—

1. In 1876 the Republicans were equitably entitled to the advantages of the Fifteenth Amendment under which, if it had been obeyed and enforced, they would have had *a majority of the popular vote of the country and at least 203 electoral votes to Tilden's 166.* This includes Louisiana, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, and South Carolina among the Republican States.

2. If the States which equitably belonged to the Republicans, but which were claimed by the Democrats, are excluded from the count, viz., Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Florida; that is, if only the States are counted about which no ground of dispute existed, the vote would have stood Republican, 173 [electoral votes]; Democratic, 166.

When the disputed election came before Congress the Democratic party decided to leave the question to the Electoral Commission. The vote on the bill was as follows: [Senate, 47 for, 17 against, 10 absent. Of the majority 21 were Republicans, 26 Democrats. Of the minority all but one were Republicans. House, 191 for, 86 against, 14 not voting. Of the majority 159 were Democrats, 32 Republicans. Of the minority all but 18 were Republicans.]

Mr. Tilden advised his friends to support the measure. This is clearly stated by Governor R. C. McCormick. He says that Senator Thurman was so advised by Mr. Tilden. After the result, unfavorable to the Democrats, was announced, doubts of Mr. Tilden's position were first heard of. Governor McCormick is the son-in-law of Judge Thurman and likely to know the facts.

3. In 1880 the question was practically settled in all fairness by the action of the Democratic party and the people. The Republicans nominated General Garfield. He was identified in many ways with the result of 1876, as declared in favor of the Republicans. He was one of the visiting statesmen who supervised the count in Louisiana. He reported to General Hayes, and officially to President Grant, that the Republicans were legally and equitably entitled to the Presidency. He was by a unanimous vote of the

House of Representatives made one of the Electoral Commission, and as such judge, under oath, found in favor of the Republicans, when his vote if cast for the Democrats would have given them the victory.

In the canvass of 1880 this was made a point against him but the people elected him in spite of the fraud cry.

But still more cogent was the action of the Democratic party. They declined to take issue with the Republicans in their nomination. They declined to nominate Mr. Tilden against General Garfield. This, it may be said, was because after the Potter Committee and the cipher dispatches, Mr. Tilden was no longer an available candidate. But there was Mr. Hendricks who as Vice-Presidential candidate might well be nominated for the first place if Mr. Tilden was unavailable.. Or Judge Thurman, one of the Electoral Commission, or Mr. Bayard, ditto, ditto, if nominated might have "saved the fraud issue."

That the whole question was given up is shown by the editor of the *Courier-Journal*, Mr. Watterson, in his article on Mr. Tilden. He says (quote): [Quotation not given.]

The nomination of Hancock was a most significant yielding of the question. Pending the count he wrote to General Sherman (quote): [Quotation not given.]

When the result was declared he was perhaps the first army officer in full uniform, having come on his own motion from New York to Washington to attend the inauguration, immediately after the ceremony to call on President Hayes and to congratulate him. He belonged to that wing of the party who agreed with Vice-President Hendricks, Alexander H. Stephens, and the great body of the party that General Hayes' title was perfect. The Democratic party by nominating Hancock and refusing to nominate Tilden, or any one identified with the maintenance of the fraud issue, against Garfield, who was fully identified with every essential step in the series of events which gave the Republicans the victory in 1876-7, [abandoned the "fraud issue"].

Those who were closely connected with the declaration of the result in 1876-7 retain the confidence of the people. Mr. Evarts, the leading counsel for the Republicans, after serving as Secretary of State in the Hayes Administration, has been chosen

Senator for six years by New York. Mr. Sherman, who was a visiting statesman to supervise the count in Louisiana, after serving as Secretary of the Treasury in the Cabinet of President Hayes, is the Senator of Ohio and by the vote of the Senate of the United States is presiding officer of that body.

December 12. Sunday.—General (Rev.) Patrick Slevin is with us from Toledo in the place of the presiding elder, [the] Rev. [Mr.] Whitlock. General Slevin's wounds were received before Atlanta in August (either 6th or 8th) after swinging around to the south and southeast of the city in attack on Rebel works which failed.

We discussed two questions: 1. What would you take to run the risks again *in cash*? 2. What would you take for your war record and experience?

December 13. Monday.—General A. B. Nettleton sends me a fine argument against the Prohibition party. He omits one point: No political party can ever make prohibition effective. A political party implies an adverse, an opposing, political party. To enforce criminal statutes implies substantial unanimity in the community. This is the result of the jury system. Hence the futility of *party prohibition*.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 19, 1886.

DEAR SIR:—Withdrawn entirely from political life, I was never more actively at work. My engagements are for the most part educational and benevolent. They call me from home rather more than I prefer, but in other respects my employments are most agreeable. Few men, I suspect, are more cheerful and contented in their occupations than I am.

With best wishes. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

H. M. RAWSON.

December 21.—Professor Orton gave a fine lecture on the change in farming during the last fifty years before the Farmers' Institute. The change which science and improved machinery

brings in belittles the mechanic but broadens the farmer. The mechanic is a narrow specialist, but the farmer must add to his art a knowledge of mechanics and science.

In the great and deep qualities of mind, heart, and soul, there is no change. Homer and Solomon speak to the same nature in man that is reached by Shakespeare and Lincoln. But in the accidents, the surroundings, the change is vast. All things now are *mobile* — movable.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 23, 1886.

MY DEAR GUY:—I am very glad to get your letter. All of its sentiments of friendship and of regard for old times find a ready response from me.

I ought to have told you of the death of George Jones more than two years ago. To the last he was in many respects unchanged — unchanged in his feelings and manifestations of heart towards you and me. He retained his health and fine appearance until his last sickness which was only for two weeks. His widow has had one sore affliction since in the death by accidental drowning of a fine young fellow, her son. The second daughter Lizzie was married to a wealthy young Cincinnatian of good family. The other members of the family are as they were.

We are in the midst of a marrying mania. Birchard, our eldest son, marries Mary Sherman, of Norwalk, next week. She is of good stock — only distantly connected with the general and Roger of the Revolution. But better still is greatly loved by us all. Our niece (cousin) Adda Cook marries Mr. Huntington, a lumberman on the Gulf of Mexico near Mobile. My only nephew, Rutherford Hayes Platt, marries a granddaughter of the famous lawyer of our schooldays, Judge Joseph R. Swan — a very nice girl and family. Altogether the “social events” of our tribe are very satisfactory.

Fanny is still a schoolgirl at Farmington, Connecticut. She is now at home for the holidays and weddings. Her schooldays end next summer. Our youngest boy is the tallest and largest of the family — preparing for college. Webb, badly burned up — involving a rather ugly loss. Rutherford in the bank. All

good and honest men who make us no trouble and much happiness.

Our new daughter-in-law has an only brother now an engineer of construction on one of your railroads — Gulf, Colorado, and San Francisco, with headquarters, I think, at Dallas — *Walter* Sherman. He was a college mate of Birch and Webb, and is a young man of character. I think I have named him to you before. Lizzie Little Campbell, one of our Kenyon day friends, I see sometimes in Delaware. She is a very agreeable person still, and with two or three grown young people who are very promising.

I have travelled more than usual the past year. At St. Paul, Minnesota, Mrs. Hayes and I spent a week, with more than usual satisfaction. I was ten days at Atlanta, Georgia, last month with a deal of agreeable things in that most enterprising city.

Mrs. Hayes joins in all good wishes to you and yours.

As ever, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 24, 1886.

MY DEAR SIR: — Mrs. Hayes wishes me to thank you warmly for your kind note and for your capital book on the "Democracy of Art." I must also add my special gratification for your mention of my agency in securing the completion of the Washington Monument and your discriminating approval of the obelisk in your work. There was much division of counsels about it. The Act of Congress making an appropriation for its continuance was generally regarded as a dead letter by reason of the conditions annexed. It was confidently objected:

1. That the foundation would not sustain an average warehouse and that to patch it would be folly.
2. It would if completed be a disgrace to the Nation — merely a tall and awkward smokestack at the best.
3. It ought to be torn down and in its stead there should be built an arch or a splendid structure filled with statues and allegorical figures.

For some months I made it a study — a hobby. General Casey skilfully prepared a plan to strengthen the foundation. Mr. Spofford furnished the heights of other tall structures. Mr. Clark, architect of the Capitol, gave constant and indispensable aid to the work. Mr. Corcoran and others earnestly supported the project of going forward, and gradually all opposition was overcome. We decided that the monument should overtop all other tall structures, and fixed its height therefore at five hundred and fifty feet.

On some of the details we consulted our minister to Italy, Mr. George P. Marsh. Singularly and fortunately he discovered that there was a rule which determined the height of an obelisk by reference to the dimensions of its base, and that by the rule our monument should be five hundred and fifty-five feet high.

General Casey is entitled to special and honorable mention. He solved the difficult problem presented by the defective foundation. To him the Nation is indebted for the successful completion of its most admirable and illustrious memorial structure.

This is hastily written from memory and is of course subject to correction by recurring to documents. It will give you an idea of the ground of my gratification in reading your appreciative commendation of the completed monument.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. J. EDWARD CLARKE,
Washington, D. C.

December 27. Monday. — General Logan died yesterday about 3 P. M. of rheumatic fever. An able man — somewhat too partisan for the highest statesmanship, but a soldier of unsurpassed courage and fidelity. A favorite of all soldiers. He loved and stood by them and they loved and stood by him. His labors for them were unceasing. A great loss to them. He was clearly the most eminent and distinguished of the volunteer soldiers.

[He was] the first commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic. The man who influenced most men to fight for the flag who otherwise would have gone wrong. The man who could inspire a line of battle with his own intrepidity.

He brought men up to the point of supporting negro soldiers.

December 28. Tuesday. — I talked to a large audience [at Clyde] on Logan and [on] Sheridan's victory of Cedar Creek. Acceptably to the people and satisfactorily to myself.

I received a dispatch yesterday from Lemmon, cashier Citizens' Bank [at Clyde], in behalf of a Logan fund for Mrs. Logan. I heartily approved and pledged two hundred and fifty dollars.

December 30. Thursday. — Joe McKell and Nellie Cook [and] J. W. and Mrs. Herron with Lucy Hayes Herron, the bewitching nine-year-old, [came today]. Mrs. Herron stood the journey well. It is her first exposure to the weather since her attack of facial paralysis about the middle of November. She is now much better, but the effects of the attack were still visible in the rigidity of one side of her face. But very beautiful notwithstanding.

Today is the wedding day of Birchard to Mary Sherman. Yesterday Lucy and I went over to Norwalk and made our first call on the bride at her own home. It is a quaint old house of moderate size, over fifty years old. All has an air of comfort and refinement. Mr. Sherman is an intelligent, fine-grained man. The brother of Mary, Walter, a civil engineer in charge of the Galveston, Pacific, and Santa Fé Railway in Texas so far as construction goes, is at home. He seems to be a forcible, gentlemanly man of ability and friendly qualities. Altogether we were much pleased. The presents are abundant and beautiful. The friends from her [the bride's] mother's side of the house, the Otis family of Chicago, were specially generous.

December 31. — Birchard's wedding to Mary Sherman went off finely in all respects. A lovely winter evening. Capital sleighing, not too cold, calm and clear. With Herron, Lucy Hayes Herron, Joe McKell, Eleanor Cook, Walter Huntington, Webb, Rud, Scott, Adda Cook, Mrs. Hayes, and Harriet Herron, we are having a lively day of it.

January 5, 1887. Wednesday. — Our wedding party for Adda and Mr. Huntington went off in all respects to our entire satisfaction. About two hundred guests,—as many as we could

comfortably accommodate. Mr. Prentiss and Reverend Mr. Mather officiated.

January 7. Friday. — I returned from Columbus last night with Lucy, Fanny, and Scott. At Columbus, Adda and Mr. Huntington were entertained with Lucy and myself by Mitchell; Birch and Mary, by Fullerton. We attended the beautiful wedding of R. H. Platt and Maryette at Captain and Mrs. Smith's. All the circumstances of the best.

January 8. Saturday. — We now have with us Harriet C. Herron and her little fairy daughter, Lucy Hayes Herron. All of the wedding guests but these two are gone.

Croghan Lodge I. O. O. F. is getting ready to install with some special notice its officers. I am Noble Grand elect. I preferred not to have any such places, but the members were urgent that I should accept and I yielded to their unanimous wish. It was not perhaps best, but is in the line of my purpose to be a good citizen in all respects — to aid my neighbors and townsmen in all proper ways to increase the general comfort and happiness of the community.

January 9. Sunday. — Mr. Prentiss preached a short, pithy, and very effective sermon as an opening to his revival meetings. I read to Lucy and Harriet a rather good French story — a detective story — called "File 113."

January 10. Monday. — Finished reading "File 113," the French detective story. Quite good. Also received, and read parts of, the second volume of Ben: Perley Poore's "Reminiscences." In the main, fair to Lucy and myself. The joke of the Roman punch oranges was not on us but on the drinking people. My orders were to flavor them *rather strongly* with the same flavor that is found in Jamaica rum, viz. —. This took! There was not a drop of spirits in them! This was certainly the case after the facts alluded to reached our ears. It was refreshing to hear "the drinkers" say with a smack of the lips, "would they were hot!"

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 12, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR AND COMPANION:—Please inform the companions of our commandery at their next meeting that by reason of the distance of my residence from Cincinnati, and the consequent inconvenience of attending the meetings, I must request that my name shall not again be placed on the list of nominees for commander. Will you at the same time assure our companions of my very high appreciation of their partiality and kindness and of the honors they have conferred upon me during the last four years. I shall always cherish very grateful recollections of my relations with them and shall never cease to be warmly interested in the welfare of the commandery and of each and all of its members.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

CAPTAIN A. H. MATTOX,
RECODER.

January 13.—Read yesterday Mrs. Burnett's charming story "Little Lord Fauntleroy." The little lord is a fairy too good for real life.—Do you say an incredible or impossible character? My niece Laura can show a boy who in mind and character parallels Lord Fauntleroy. John [Grant Mitchell] is fully his equal. Our Fanny was as tender in regard for the poor and needy.

I read also Lowell's speech, "Democracy," [and] Lincoln's history article in January *Century*. Finished also a good article on meteors and comets.

January 14. Friday.—Read another detective story, "The Widow Lerouge," to Lucy and Harriet. Also Lincoln. Harriet goes home with her darling Lucy tomorrow morning. A very happy visit. A cheerful letter from Adda in her new home at Moss Point, Mississippi.

January 18.—Installation by Grand Master Richard Bacon, of Cleveland, today as Noble Grand of Croghan Lodge, Number 77. I have avoided receiving any honors or offices since I left Washington. My feeling is that as ex-President I have the highest place a citizen can hold and that it would be unseemly to take

anything else. In this case I yielded to the unanimous wish of my neighbors, on the principle that to be a good citizen I must act so as to give pleasure to my neighbors. . . . We had a very successful installation. My little short speech, in a stirring way, closed the affair happily.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 20, 1887.

LADIES:—Your circular in behalf of the *University Missionary* is before me. Please put on your list of subscribers the name of Mrs. Hayes.

One earnest word: See that you advocate, as essential, the education of all who are to become missionary workers, male and female, home or foreign, IN SKILLED LABOR. No one is fully equipped who has not been trained at least four years in skilled labor.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 20, 1887.

There is no power to compel a nation to pay its just debts. Its credit depends on its honor. The Nation owes what it has led or allowed its creditors to expect. I cannot approve a bill which in my judgment authorized the violation of sacred obligations.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[*Unidentified.*]

FREMONT, OHIO, January 21, 1887.

DEAR MRS. HARRISON:—Your letter to Mrs. Hayes referring to the Orphans' Home is before me. I have not seen the article you mention. You are no doubt correct in thinking that Mrs. Hayes collected money, books, and all sorts of goods and gifts for the Home for Christmas and for general utility at the very beginning, and probably earlier than any other person.

The Home at first was supported by voluntary contributions in 1869. Before the opening Mrs. Hayes gathered stoves from Chamberlain in Cincinnati, a range from Van, and a world of

other necessities. Mrs. McMeans and Colonel H. G. Armstrong, of the G. A. R., were with her in this. The G. A. R., after discussing the matter and failing to get the Legislature of 1868-9 to act, agreed with me that the best way to bring the Legislature up to the matter was to start a Home by voluntary contributions and thus demonstrate its importance. We held meetings at Springfield in June, 1869, at Put-in-Bay July 28, 1869, at Toledo, Chillicothe, Xenia, etc., etc. I do not undertake to name them all, or in the order of time or merit, who took part: General Keifer, General Barnett, Chaplains Collier and Earnshaw, Captain Gunckel, Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. McMeans, Mrs. Wright, Mrs. Monroe, General Wright, Colonel Armstrong were all active workers.

The first public affair at the "Voluntary Home" was the holiday celebration the 26th [of] December 1869. Mrs. Hayes with Mrs. Lovejoy of Columbus, to make this enjoyable for the orphans, ransacked the city of Columbus for money, books, gifts, etc., etc. William Deshler gave five dollars, John G. Deshler gave her twenty dollars, and a large mass of holiday gifts were gathered. Your books and gifts no doubt went into this collection. There were then between forty and fifty children in the Home. The gathering on the occasion gave to the institution great prestige. Among those present were Mrs. Hayes, Mrs. General Wright, Mrs. Monroe and other ladies of Xenia. Also General Keifer, General Barnett, General Wright, Chaplains Collier and Earnshaw, Colonel H. G. Armstrong, of Cincinnati, Captain Gunckel, and many others.

The next year (1870), after the State had adopted the institution and Dr. Griswold was superintendent, the number of orphans had greatly increased. Mrs. Hayes was again active in getting up the Christmas celebration with ample supplies. But by this time the labor was easy. The institution was safely established. The critical periods were:

1. When the institution was started and supported by voluntary efforts, viz., in the fall and winter of 1869 and prior to April 1870.
2. The close, doubtful, and difficult contest in the Legislature in 1869-70. This was bitter and at one time almost hopeless.

The dates you ask for are:

The origin of the Home in the action of the G. A. R. in the summer of 1869.

The opening of a small affair in Xenia, 1869.

First celebration (Christmas tree, etc., etc.) with forty or fifty pupils the day after Christmas, December 26, 1869.

The adoption by the State, April 1870.

The State Board take possession, April 1870.

Another Christmas affair, December 25, 1870.

Excuse haste. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.—The money spoken of may not have been raised for the first but for the second Christmas celebration. But Mrs. Hayes was engaged in both.

MRS. HARRISON.

January 22. Saturday. — I this morning signed two notes for Webb to start him in the *National Carbon Company* at Cleveland. His friends Norton and Herrick take a like amount, making the aggregate of the three eighteen thousand dollars and giving them one-third of the business.

January 23. Sunday. — Professor Henry was in the habit of saying that when a new discovery or invention was so far perfected and made practical as to be a source of pecuniary profit, he then left it to others and turned his attention to developing other new truths. In like manner, now that temperance has become popular and has powerful friends in almost every circle, Mrs. Hayes and I can leave the laboring oar to others.

January 28. Friday. — Birch and Mary are still busy nest building in Toledo. They build a few hours in the daytime and spend their nights with me. Lucy in Cincinnati. Mary and I read up about the great poets in the evening. Last evening the Italian poets, Dante, Tasso, Ariosto. I have read nothing of the last named. Must glance over his masterpiece, "Orlando Furioso."

We talked of but did not read of the Greek poets — the two great ones Homer and Æschylus, "the father of Greek tragedy."

January 31. Monday.—Mr. William E. Dodge, of New York, president of the Evangelical Alliance of the United States, sends me a circular and address of the Alliance. The noted Christian ministers and laymen of the East, such as John Jay, President Porter, Mr. Winthrop, etc., etc., to the number of perhaps two hundred, are connected with it as officers and managers. Mr. Dodge writes me a personal letter. My reply is hastily written:

Personal.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 1, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have delayed replying to your highly valued favor of the 22d ultimo, hoping I could see my way clear to pledge you hearty coöperation at a laboring oar in your enterprise.

Already, however, I am loaded down to the guards with educational, benevolent, and other miscellaneous public work. I must not attempt to do more. I *cannot* without neglecting imperative duties.

The noble address is very temperate and considerate, but none the less impressive on that account. Two suggestions I would make, only two—a small item where so wide a range of topics is discussed,—if we were sitting face to face. One of omission one of commission. The omission is chief. I will merely name it: The control of property and the power it gives are passing into the hands of a few irresponsible persons. Hence poverty and ignorance in the masses. Hence the inevitable future! This is one of the questions—perhaps the question—which you and such as you are best fitted to deal with in the spirit of Christ.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MR. WILLIAM E. DODGE,
New York.

February 3. Thursday.—Yesterday I received my commission from Governor Foraker as trustee of the Ohio University. This, if I accept as I now expect to do, connects me with the most important department of the government, except always

of course the lawmaking department, and the executive department if the governor is present, and the judicial department. . . . In preparing for my duties which begin next May, I must attend to these things:—

1. A full and exact statement of the land belonging to the university — its area, surface, quality, future, with respect to the growth of Columbus. The title, the right to sell and lease. It is due to me more than to any other man, perhaps, that we own so much — three hundred and twenty acres(?) about.

2. The legal duty of the State to build up and support the institution. This, under the law of Congress and the acceptance of the grant by Ohio.

3. What other States are doing with their institutions; other countries.

4. Improvement in industrial training.

February 4. Friday.—Today I received a letter from President Payne, of Delaware. He advises acceptance of appointment as trustee at the Ohio State University. I wrote to President W. H. Scott my acceptance of the place.

February 7. Monday.—Mary, our darling new daughter, read to us last evening the first part of Howells' new story. It describes in his skilful way class day and a flirtation. His dialogues are capital. Nothing seems wanting in the talk and badinage of his characters. In many of his stories there is a feeling of disappointment with the conclusion. Sometimes it is even more decided than a mere disappointment. I would like to whisper in his ear: "Don't let this story, so happily begun, leave a bad taste in our mouths."

February 13. Sunday.—The things we need to inculcate chiefly and specially to secure the perpetuity of our institutions are these two:—1. *Loyalty to law.* We are all in a real sense lawmakers. We should not break the law we ourselves make. 2. A practical faith in true democracy — in equal rights for all.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 18, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—I write to ask your attention to the appropriation for the Ohio State University. When the State accepted

the grant of Congress for the institution, it assumed certain responsibility for the institution. All I ask is that you vote for such appropriations as justice and a liberal spirit require, in view of the obligations of the State and the interests of education.

With best wishes. Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE SENATOR ZIMMERMAN,
Columbus, Ohio.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 21, 1887.

MY DEAR GENERAL.—Samuel A. Hite, of the adjoining county, until within a couple of years, is now in Concordia Parish jail at Vidalia for murder. His brother, a most respectable citizen here, was in your command, a soldier of the Seventy-second, Martin K. Hite by name. The accused was a law-abiding, decent man here. He probably ought *not to be indicted even*. The story he writes to his brother seems credible on its face. Can you, for the sake of his brother, look into it. His brothers will one of them come down if it is necessary, but they are not in a situation to bear the expense of the trip. Please write me as to time of trial if there is to be one, and as to the necessity of the presence of his brother. His brother could testify to the good character of the accused.

I hope to hear from you soon.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GENERAL WILLIAM L. McMILLAN,
New Orleans.

February 22. Tuesday.—Washington's birthday. I talked tonight to the G. A. R.'s at Monroeville—"a campfire," so-called. . . . A fine meeting. Spoke one hour and a half. First of Washington, next of Logan, then of the Shenandoah Valley campaign—particularly Cedar Creek. Well received by the audience and then three cheers at the close.

FREMONT, February 24, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—Popular education and the social problem are the vital questions of our day. Our educational systems need extensive reform. Every American boy and girl should have that training of the hand and eye which industrial schools furnish. Our country is fully committed to democratic principles. The division of society into castes, which prevails in the old world, cannot be established here. Our corner-stone is an equal chance and a fair start for all.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

GEORGE R. MORSE.

February 25. Friday.—As to pensions I would say our Union soldiers fought in the divinest war that was ever waged. Our war did more for our country than any other war ever achieved for any other country. It did more for the world, more for mankind, than any other war in all history.

It gave to those who remained at home and to those who come after it in our country opportunities, prosperity, wealth, a future, such as no war ever before conferred on any part of the human race.

No soldier who fought in that war on the right side nor his widow nor his orphans ought ever to be forced to choose between starvation and the poorhouse. Lincoln in his last inaugural address — just before the war closed, when the last enlistments were going on — pledged the Nation “to care for him who hath borne the battle and for his widow and his orphans.” Let that sacred pledge be sacredly kept.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 28, 1887.

DEAR MRS. FREMONT:—Your book [“Memories of my Time”] is so delightful that I must congratulate you and thank you. Mrs. Hayes and I have been reading it together. No one has given such truthful and charming pictures of our most attractive social life in America. The spirit pervading the book is so sweet

and healthful. A motto for the book might well be one of your fine sentiments: "And I, for one, hold that whoever can give happiness enjoys a Divine privilege."

Mrs. Hayes joins me in kindest regards to you and General Frémont.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT.

March 4. Friday. — Scott and I went to Cincinnati Monday. . . . A good meeting of the Loyal Legion. Noyes made a capital speech. I followed heartily, but offhand and "scattering."

March 5. Saturday. — Repeated the war talk on Cedar Creek the fifth time. Audience large in City Hall. Well pleased and very attentive. The travel and late night at Cincinnati had dulled me somewhat, but well enough.

SPIEGEL, March 6, 1887.

MY DARLING: — Scott and I spent two days with the Herrons in attendance on the Loyal Legion. Scott had no recollection of being in Cincinnati before! He thinks a city too crowded for him. In other respects he was happy. He was not so uplifted by soldier singing as you were at Portsmouth, but it warmed him up and he enjoyed it.

We too are longing for your school to end. We want you here with us. I am already planning the *oceans of reading* together. What do you think of that? The old father for a teacher? I have some fears that it will be dull for you in the old home. I recall as the doleful period of my life the first year out of college. The loss of companionship — the lonely, dull days with no bright young fellows around me. But I survived, and I hope you will. The secret of a happy life is *congenial occupation*. That we can contrive for ourselves, after a few months of longing. So come home sometime in June, and we will see.

Lovingly,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,

Farmington.

Cleveland, March 8. Tuesday. — Met board [of Western Reserve University]. *Informal* ballot on my motion for president: Thirteen for Professor Tucker, at Andover, two for Rev. Dr. Gladden, of Columbus. Lee and Upson for Gladden. Committee to visit Dr. Tucker at once: Rev. Haydn, John Hay, Rev. Davis, with myself as chairman.

March 10. Thursday. — [At] 3 P. M. reached Worcester. Soon after, Colonel Hay and Professor Tucker met us at the Bay State House. Had a long interview. Professor Tucker favorably inclined, but must stand by his associates in the heresy business at Andover; must therefore wait the result of that before deciding finally. It would seem that an acquittal would probably secure him. A condemnation leaves us in doubt.

Evening with Colonel Hay and Rev. Haydn to New Haven.
. . . Night at New Haven House.

March 11. Friday. — To Farmington. On train met an eccentric character, Dr. Beecher Barnes of Southington, Connecticut, just returning from the Beecher funeral. Full of it. Flowers, crowds, emotion. He gave me two illustrations of Lyman Beecher's. To keep God's law is to keep it all. To fail in one item is failure in all. Ten links in a chain; one broken, the chain is destroyed. One transgression destroys Christian character. Build a ship; one rotten plank, painted over so all planks look alike; the vessel lost, etc., etc.

SPIEGEL, March 17, 1887.

MY DARLING: — Scott in Uncle Birchard's room suffering a good deal with measles. It will hardly be out of the air in time for you to come home in your next vacation. This is not agreeable. But you must begin to prepare for it. How will you spend those *evil* vacation days?

The weather is bright and glorious. Our gas well gives us two or three good fires — not enough for all purposes — but a great comfort as far as it goes.

Lucy is kept very busy with her careful nursing of Scott.

. . . Scott is very good-tempered, but by no means close-mouthed about his pains.

I hope you will write often — even if very briefly.

Affectionately,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES.

March 22. Tuesday. — Completed the transfer of twenty thousand dollars of my [First National] Bank stock to Father Bauer and Colonel Haynes for thirty thousand dollars and sent to Park Bank New York to pay express company debt of thirty thousand dollars.

March 24. Thursday. — Mr. Phelps, secretary of Chamber of Commerce of Duluth, made an intelligent address at Duluth on the natural advantages of his growing city. He shows that Lake Superior projects into the continent farther with its navigation than any other navigable water. Puget Sound in like manner farther east into the continent. The distance between them is less than between any other waters in a good climate and with a continent on either hand.

I would say in a word, where the most trade and travel shifts from land to water and water to land there will be the greatest city. The most railroads and the most shipping come together at New York, at Chicago, at Duluth! Where the largest number of railway trains meet the largest number of steamships there is now or soon will be the largest population. Where steam on boats and steam on wheels meet each other and exchange loads there will be the great city.

March 27. Sunday. — A happy day with Birch and Mary. Miss Thoburn, a missionary to India, talked intelligently and agreeably, *not* hopefully on missions in India. Is there not a mournful waste of means, toil, and life in the present system? Solitary individuals or an occasional family make no impression. Civilization is carried to barbarous regions by colonies. The vices of British officers and soldiers and civil employees have done more for Christian civilization in India than the missions!

March 30. Wednesday. — Dr. Wilson, the president of our bank, has made a mistake. Without notice, he turns off two of our young men, Pero and Lang. Both are good men. It is unjust treatment. Pero is very capable and should have been dealt with accordingly. Lang had a special claim. He left a good place — better pay — to come to the bank because it was a permanent place. But the manner of it is also objectionable. I am ignored as a director. No notice given to me. No meeting No consultation.

I must say to Dr. Wilson, I can't be longer a director. You have injured me; you have depreciated my stock. I am under some sort of committal to keep a part of my stock — say at least five thousand dollars or six thousand dollars.

This [I must say] to Haynes and Father Bauer: You must allow Pero and Lang to remain until by negotiation they can leave honorably.

March 31. Thursday. — The doctor (Wilson) disclaimed any intentional slight or neglect of me. I handed him a written protest against the discharge of the young men. He called a meeting of the board of directors. They held, Wilson, Haynes, and Miller, that the dismissal must stand. Miller explained that he thought it was wrong; but the mischief had been done, etc., etc. Dr. Rawson and I voted against the outrage. I got the idea of pay into their heads and the young men will be paid.

April 5. Tuesday. — Captain James M. Craig, formerly sergeant of Company H, Twenty-third, came yesterday. He seemed by his dress and general appearance not to be a favorite of fortune. I recall him as a tall, fine-looking soldier, a brave and faithful officer. He was wounded at Cloyd's Mountain, also twice at Sheridan's victory of Winchester after crossing the slough. He crossed, then a lieutenant of Company F, soon after I did. He describes the slough as fifty yards wide and up to his shoulders, with a soft deep mud at the bottom. He said one of his men of Company H, Peter Hay, a very short but very brave young man, started to cross with him (Craig) but finding the water coming over his head, Hay said, "I can't cross, it is too deep." He went back and hurrying around to the right crossed the

stream higher up and joined Craig almost as soon as Craig was over. Craig with a few joined me under the bank. The bank or hill up to the enemy's rifle-pits was twenty to twenty-five feet high. We were there protected from the enemy's shot until enough joined us to rush up the hill. Not more than three hundred got over the slough. The Thirty-sixth was on the left of the Twenty-third and the Thirteenth Virginia on the right.

I gave him thirty dollars and an overcoat to help him to Newton, Harvey County, Kansas. Craig was wounded about half a mile beyond the enemy's line at the slough.

April 6. — I met at the G. A. R. last evening a large number of the veterans of Shiloh. My first reflection was, "Twenty-five years have made old men of us."

April 7. Thursday. — Attended the funeral of Miles D. Carrington in Toledo with Birchard at 3 P. M. — a quiet, well-ordered funeral. The singing as the body was carried to the hearse and while the mourners were going to their carriages was very fine and effective. Mr. Carrington was a most estimable citizen and gentleman. A successful business man, he was also benevolent, generous, and friendly; this in a conspicuous degree. I have met no man in years who in so short an acquaintance gained my heart.

April 9. — Worked on the place five hours. A good deal heated. Lucy protested and I retired to the porch and read Roosevelt's "Life of Benton." Well done; like Benton, vigorous, dogmatic, and a little scattering. Entertaining.

April 11. Monday. — With Ellicott from walnut and butternut patch set out in form of a Latin cross a *church* next west of the large white oak in the vegetable garden, west side of grove. Extreme length *about* ninety feet; extreme width about sixty feet. Width of nave twenty-six feet. It looks as if the trees would grow well. The church *may* be visible, but at any rate a good clump of trees.

April 12. Tuesday. — Attended with Eugene Rawson Post G. A. R. the funeral of Christian Binkley, aged seventy-five.

He enlisted in Eighth Ohio; called himself forty-one. The old fellows cut down their true age to get below forty-five and the young fellows put up their age to get above eighteen. The one set of fictions about balanced the other. All in the line of patriotic duty, however. The firing on Sumter began at 4 A. M. April 12, twenty-six years ago. We now enter on the twenty-seventh year since the great war began. How time speeds along!

April 15. Friday. — Cutting old limbs from the lightning stub, an active flying squirrel was driven from his nest. It escaped into the stub. A mole was caught and killed in the spring trap bought of Hendrick and Bristol. Our neighbor Mr. Jackman caught a loon (the great northern diver) near our pond on the north side of John Street [now Hayes Avenue] near corporation line. These three animals are the game of these degenerate days. They have taken the place, or rather, they are the survivors of the buffalo, elk, bears, wolves, and panthers of the wild days.

[Henry Ward Beecher died March 8, 1887. Not long after, Mr. Hayes was requested by Edward W. Bok to write an appreciation of the great preacher to be used in the memorial volume which he was preparing. Mr. Hayes wrote the following paragraphs, which apparently did not satisfy him, and also the letter, preserved therewith, which is undated and unsigned.]

LETTER ON BEECHER.

The only time I ever heard Mr. Seward in public speech was in Washington at a meeting of friends of Governor Corwin, held soon after his death to take steps for the removal of his remains to their final resting-place at his home in Ohio. Mr. Seward said: "I concur in all that has been spoken in regard to the eloquence, the wit, the humor, the generosity, the amiability, and the genius of the deceased. Eloquence and every other talent are, however, but instruments in what we do or attempt to do. The question is what he has done, or what he has attempted to do for his country and for mankind."

Mr. Beecher's career will stand the test suggested by the wise

statesman of New York. On the vital questions of his time, at the critical periods, and at the very points where the need was the sorest, his talents were all employed in behalf of his country and of his fellow men with a devotion and courage that America must always remember and admire. In the antislavery struggle, his pen and voice and presence were always at the command of the good but unpopular cause. The great City of New York and Brooklyn had no favors to bestow on the abolitionist. With his gifts he knew that present popularity, fame, and wealth without stint were at his feet if he would speak only smooth things. But with a cheerful spirit and a magnetic, contagious courage, he kept faith and did his appointed work. During years of almost hopeless struggle, he gave himself to the slave — the representative and type of whatever was humble and lowly and helpless among mankind.

Again, in the great conflict when all was at stake, he justly earned *a place in the honored roll of those* who have served their country best. Secession had but one chance in that war. Grant that the men of the North had equal sense, equal unselfishness, equal pluck, and equal endurance with the men of the South, and the struggle might be, as it was, long and hard indeed, but it could not be doubtful. The one chance of the South was help from Europe. European action seemed to depend on England. Her ruling class, as a body, were with the South, and were ready for intervention. Would public opinion hold them back? — This was the question. Great efforts were made by our Government to reach the English mind. Our most eminent and best equipped men for such work were sent to England. Bishop McIlvaine, Archbishop Hughes, Thurlow Weed, and others went abroad to spread before the English nation the merits of the cause of America. In 186[3] Mr. Beecher met the English people on the vital question. His audiences at first were often violently, stubbornly, and almost unanimously against him. I do not give the history of his triumph. It was complete and overwhelming. In fitting and merited recognition of this wonderful service, the honor was given to Mr. Beecher to replace on Fort Sumter with his own hand the flag which disunion and slavery had pulled down.

[FREMONT, April —, 1887.]

MY DEAR B.—:—After a proper expression of admiration for Mr. Beecher's power as an orator, my testimony in his behalf would mainly relate to his abounding sympathy and his uniform and effective help for the under dog in the fight. My point would be his genuine, warm, and unfailing devotion to [the] rights of man. Of this the illustrations are numerous. I would emphasize also the antislavery fight he made before the war and his splendid campaign against English stolidity and prejudice during the war. These are for me the brilliant pages in his career. New, the trouble is this: What I would say has been much better said already by many writers, than I could say it. I am, therefore, decidedly averse to enter a field where my words are not in the least needed.

[Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

[EDWARD W. BOK,
Brooklyn.]

FREMONT, OHIO, April 18, 1887.

MY DEAR GUY:—I warmly say ditto to the sentiments of your letter. It was my intention when I read it to write you fully, but this is my busiest season. The planting of trees and shrubs come[s] just when business and social engagements, with semi-public duties, are most urgent and numerous. Something brought to my notice yesterday a bound collection of catalogues and the like. In it I found "The History and Statistics of the Philomathesian Society of Kenyon College 1853." How I lived over the old college days! My wish was to have a similar catalogue and sketch of the Nu Pi Kappa Society.

Business is daily more and more active. This is especially true of the newly discovered oil and gas region near here in the counties next west of us. We shall share to a *limited extent* in this new prosperity. We find here gas enough for domestic fuel and lighting. It is a great comfort. We today have a blizzard of snow and sleet. It is precisely like your worst "northerns" in mid-winter. But with gas for fuel we are quite independent of out-

door troubles. Lands and lots are coming up rapidly. They sell readily and at better prices. From being land-poor, the reverse seems at hand. No doubt the same thing will in Texas be found — enough I hope to bring you relief as it is now lifting a load of debt from my shoulders.

With all good wishes. As ever,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

April 19. — The evergreens, loaded with snow, sparkle in the bright sunshine this historic day — Concord day, when “the embattled farmers fired the shot that was heard around the world”; Massachusetts day, when the Baltimore mob fired on the loyal New Englanders going to the defense of the Nation’s capital.

Lucy and Mary go with Birch and myself today to attend the Loyal Legion spread at Cleveland. I will do some warm talking if I feel as I do now when the time comes tonight.

Reached Cleveland on time, about 3 P. M., after an agreeable ride with our young folks and Lucy. At the Union Depot we were met by Webb with the sad tidings that our friend and kinsman, Linus Austin, died this morning at Asheville, North Carolina, with pneumonia. He had gone there on account of ill health — asthmatic troubles, a tendency to throat troubles, and a general liability to suffer from the severe weather of this climate, especially in the early spring. Mrs. Austin had joined him at Asheville and found him in rather comfortable health. He walked to the railroad station, some two miles, and met her with wild flowers in his hand that he gathered by the way. Mrs. Austin wrote to Mattie [Avery, her sister] encouragingly about him and said they intended to return home by easy stages in a short time. On Sunday, [April] 10, he was taken worse with a bad cold . . . [and] Tuesday morning, April 19, he died, aged sixty-nine years last December — in his seventieth year. His father was uncle of my mother and brother of my grandmother Abigail Austin Birchard. The relationship, second cousin, [rather, first cousin once removed or great-cousin] was not close.

But there are very few of my mother's blood living. The sterling qualities of Mr. Austin soon after I became acquainted with him brought us together in a very intimate and greatly valued relationship. Uncle Birchard had a warm friendship for him and admired him for his business talents and experience and particularly for his entertaining personal and social traits of character. I soon adopted Uncle's opinion about him and shared in his attachment to him. No man could die whose departure from my circle of near friends would be more felt by me.

April 21. Thursday. — All talk of the new natural gas and its "boom," so called. A strange craze to gamble or speculate in land and lots. It prevails especially in Findlay, Lima, and Fostoria. It is contagious. It will reach Toledo and possibly even Fremont.

SPIEGEL GROVE, April 26, 1887.

DEAR MRS. AUSTIN: — I have read carefully the will and am clear as to the true course: —

1. Let it be proved, and take out your letters as *sole executor*.
2. Proceed at once to attend to business requiring immediate action under the advice of some sensible lawyer or business man — Mr. Bernard, Mr. Coleman, etc., etc., may be the best advisers.
3. Let other questions wait until you feel like acting, if there are other questions.

Of course, this assumes that you will take under [the] will. I have no doubt you ought to do so; that it is best for you to do so. When Mr. Austin advised otherwise he must have been under the impression that you would be his heir — his *sole heir* — if you refused to take under the will. This is a mistake. If the will had no existence, you would be his heir, and could then carry out his wishes.

You can almost do it as it is. But all this I will talk over with you when we meet.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MRS. LINUS AUSTIN,
Cleveland.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 26, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR.—I appreciate very highly the honor conferred by the society over which you preside. Please accept my thanks for your kind note and for the interesting documents it contains.

My great-grandfathers all served in the Revolutionary army. One carried a musket at Bunker Hill, one—probably two were at Yorktown, and one died in the service.

I esteem it a special honor to be enrolled among the members of a society whose object is "to perpetuate the memory of those who took part in the American Revolution."

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

COLONEL A. S. HUBBARD, PRESIDENT.

EMERY L. WILLARD, SECRETARY.

"SONS OF REVOLUTIONARY SIRES,"

San Francisco, California.

April 30. Saturday.—Rev. Dr. Butler arrived from Boston. He has long been a missionary of the Methodist Episcopal Church to China. He told of the mode of carrying goods and other freight over the Himalaya Mountains. The pass is at an elevation of sixteen thousand feet. The track is too narrow around the cliffs for any but small animals with their burdens. Sheep are used. Twenty-four pounds weight, half on each side, is carried by each of the little animals. Tea is compressed into bricks of that size. An animal toppling over the precipice is not sought for.

CHAPTER XLV

UNIVERSITY INTERESTS — DEATH OF VICE-PRESIDENT WHEELER — FRAUD ISSUE ABANDONED BY DEMOCRATS IN 1880 — GENERAL COMLY'S DEATH — SOLDIERS' REUNION AT WHEELING, FLAG INCIDENT — INTEREST IN INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION — THE MONEY POWER — CHURCH AT FREMONT BURNED — 1887-1888

SPIEGEL, May 10, 1887.

MY DARLING:— Your mother goes with me to Columbus tomorrow or next day. It is not certain as to her going with me to Hampton, Virginia. Probably not. I go to Columbus to attend a meeting of the trustees of the Ohio State University, and to Hampton to attend the meeting of the Slater trustees.

This day is one of my anniversaries. Twenty-five years ago I was in sole command of a small body — nine companies of Twenty-third, perhaps four hundred and fifty men, a section of McMullen's Battery, about forty men, and some three hundred to four hundred cavalry of the Second Virginia. We had marched into the enemies' country some forty or fifty miles in advance of our main army under General Cox. I knew [we] were very likely to be attacked by a greatly superior force and was up and out a mile or two, to our picket in the direction of the enemy before daylight. My duty, as I saw it, was not to retreat until I *knew* the attacking force was largely superior to mine. Yet I must move in time not to be destroyed or gobbled. The sole responsibility made me anxious, but it also made me insensible to *personal* danger. I soon found the enemy were probably three thousand or four thousand strong. I put on a bold face and fought them until my camps and trains were ready to go, or were out of danger. All the forenoon we maintained a retreating fight; got off safely. My first wound — a shell fragment hit the right knee. *I feel it yet.*

Affectionately,

MISS FANNY HAYES

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

May 12. Thursday. Columbus. — We reached here after an agreeable trip at about 10 P. M. and were welcomed warmly by Laura and the young folks.

I learn by the morning paper that a meeting of the university board was held the 10th. My predecessor, Mr. S. H. Ellis, made his farewell speech to the board. Suitable resolutions of regret were passed. I do not know the ground of his non-reappointment. When the matter of appointment was named to me, I said distinctly that I would not compete for the place for [with] any one, nor take the place at the expense of a removal of any one on my account. I was told there would be a vacancy in any event. Hence my consent to serve. I declined to say even this much in advance. If appointed, I would consider it. The place came to me and I am now pleased with it. . . .

Called 11 A. M. on the governor. He is absent at Yellow Springs. Also an Mr. Alexis Cope, secretary of the board of trustees. Two things he calls attention to:—The trouble with the Grange element who complain that the farming interest is neglected, and the fact that the president [of the university] is not the ideal president. President Scott gets on well with the faculty, but does not magnetize students, nor the public. He is however, plainly, so good that he will do, and must not therefore be disparaged.

The next meeting of the board is on the 20th of June, Monday; to be together the 18th, Saturday evening, so as to hear the baccalaureate sermon, Sunday, 19th.

Afternoon, called on Judge Bates. He has lost his wife recently. We kept away from sorrows and talked only of old times — pioneer days — and managed to have a cheerful half-hour together.

May 13. Friday — I made a hasty run through the college. The geological collection is very valuable. The equipment in many respects is creditable. The weak points are the library, the preparation for mechanical industrial education and, I suspect, also for agricultural manual training. The military drill was good.

I met Professors Norton, Tuttle, Smith, Knight, Weber, Derby.

I found President Scott a gentleman of good presence, and with culture and ability for his place—so far as I could judge by a brief interview.

I noticed a lack of attention to trees and grass. The arboretum, if there is one, I did not see. More trees should be along the main drive, especially on the south side.

May 18. Wednesday. Richmond, Virginia.—After a hot day reached here about 6 P. M. The ride from daylight, at Jackson River in the Allegheny Mountains, was very agreeable until by an accident in front of us to a freight train we were delayed three hours as we were drawing near to Charlottesville. This was tedious in the heated cars and lost us the train to Newport News, compelling me to spend the night at the Exchange and Ballard—a good hotel.

Before reaching Richmond, Mr. Wickham, the president of the railroad, came aboard and asked me to stop with him overnight, promising to get me into the city in time for this morning's train. I declined on account of trunk, dirt, etc. *Mem.*:—Always travel with a valise *also*.

The landlord, Mr. Carrington, was very kind. Visited the capitol; a caucus on the debt question, the lieutenant-governor speaking, so an old gentleman in the park told me. He "knew the voice."

Rode over the bridge in street car to Manchester. A youngster with his basket told me the colored people were assuming too much; they not only rode in the cars, but they remained seated when white men were standing. The Knights of Labor were strong until they were hurt by "social quality." "Enough social quality now. Don't want any more." He was from Pennsylvania; had been here two years; liked it well.

Called at the governor's house. He was not in. Left my card.

May 27. Friday.—Was with my post of the G. A. R. at Toledo to attend unveiling of General Steedman's monument. Great crowd. Rain interrupted the principal address. My view of the matter is, Steedman, a rough man of force and heart, reckless in all money matters, a gambler and licentious, was prompt in tak-

ing the right side in the war; by pen, voice, and example, did more for the cause than any other man in this region. He prevented Democrats by the thousand from going wrong. A divided North was our danger. On that question, as a Democrat of the Democrats, he had a power and an influence which no score of Republicans that you can name ever had or could have.

May 28. Saturday. — Yesterday W. D. Howells and his sister called. A happy greeting and meeting. He warmly commended Tolstoy's writings.

May 29. Sunday. — The memorial service went off beautifully at the Presbyterian church. Mr. Barnes preached a good warlike sermon. The music by Dorr was excellent. The singing was appropriate. The closing with the "Battle Hymn of the Republic," in which the audience joined in the chorus, was especially fine.

Reading the novel of Tolstoy's, "Anna Karenina."

May 31. Tuesday. — Two special items today, one sad, one very gratifying. Thomas R. Trowbridge, of New Haven, died last week. He was a distant relative. Rutherford was his middle name. His mother was a Hayes, and the Hayeses are descended also from the Trowbridge of early times. He was a genial, friendly, patriotic, benevolent, and just man. With a good estate by inheritance, a good business man also, he has been very fortunate in his life. Lucy and I visited him in 1880 at the Yale commencement. I also called on him last winter. He was then suffering [with] the disease which caused his death. A good and a fortunate man has left us. One of the noted men of our connection.

The Supreme Court has decided in favor of General Runkle in the case in which I have taken a great interest. Runkle, a wounded officer, was put on duty in the Freedmen's Bureau.

June 3. Friday. — The news of Mr. Wheeler's near approach to his end seems to be confirmed. To use his own phrases, he was a "rare man"; "every fibre of his nature" was sound and true. He was one of the few Vice-Presidents who was on cordial terms — intimately and sincerely friendly — with the Presi-

dent. Our family all were heartily fond of him. He came often to the White House and often expressed in strong language the pleasure his visits gave him. In character he was sterling gold.

June 4. Saturday. — One of my anniversaries. Fifty-three years ago today I came in the stage with mother, Uncle Birchard, and Sister Fanny to this town *en route* for New England to visit our grandparents at Brattleboro, Vermont, and the relatives in Vermont and Massachusetts. We left Delaware about 4 A. M., reached Lower Sandusky (here) about 8 or 9 P. M. It rained near Upper Sandusky. This caused delay. Mother stopped six miles up the river on account of a sick headache, at Mrs. Frary's tavern. This was my first visit to this town, June 4, 1834. I celebrated it by buying Lucy and myself each an elegant rocking-chair of Delaware make.

Mr. Wheeler, ex-Vice-President, died this morning of softening of the brain. One of the excellent examples of a New England man of ability and character, who by sheer force of perseverance, integrity, and good conduct, rose from poverty to independence and honorable place. I will start for his home in northeastern New York at Malone tomorrow evening.

MALONE, NEW YORK, Wednesday, June 8, 1887.

MY DARLING:— We start home this morning via Niagara. This note ought not to be more than twelve or twenty-four hours ahead of us. Our hosts are Mr. Lewis, a son of Honorable Samuel Lewis, of Cincinnati,— formerly a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, now of the Episcopal church here and for four years past. All very agreeable.

I was met by a special train at Norwood, thirty or forty miles before [reaching] Ogdensburg, and run here *just in time* for the funeral. The sermon of Reverend [Mr.] Richardson was perfect — all you would wish in all respects. The whole affair capitally managed. I called at the home of Mr. Wheeler; greeted warmly by the housekeeper on *your* account. Three or four ladies at the memorial meeting in the evening heartily shook hands and sent good words to you.

The memorial meeting was good of its sort. Many talkers. I, of course, among them.

Malone is a much more thriving town than I had supposed. It grows well and is quite charming. . . . It was altogether best that I came.

Affectionately,

R.

MRS. HAYES.

SPIEGEL, June 13, 1887.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I am glad to have your dispatch. The visit is to be. Tell Mrs. Smith we rely on her to keep you up to it. . . .

I am glad you can speak so well of Schurz' book on Clay. But no man can realize to this generation the love and admiration he inspired in the most intelligent people of average condition — no, of all conditions in America. . . .

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

June 25. Saturday. — My topic for army reunions is to be for this summer: How to prepare for war in time of peace. Not by fortifications, by navies, or by standing armies. But by policies which will add to the happiness and the comfort of all our people and which will tend to the distribution of intelligence [and] wealth equally among all. Our strength is a contented and intelligent community.

1. Instruction in the rudiments of military training, at all public schools and in all colleges.

2. *Education* — not learning, not mere scholarship — by training of brain and hand and eyes.

3. National aid in the South for education.

By the results of our war we are made the guardians of the peace of the world. The world's highest interest is in our custody — our sacred keeping. We are to have the place of the great pacific power. Germany or Russia is the great warlike

power. Great Britain is the great naval power, but we are the peacemaker, if we intelligently and wisely take advantage of the results of the War for the Union.

June 28. Tuesday. — Lucy and I with Laura Fullerton went over to Toledo this morning to look at the nest Birchard and Mary are building. . . .

Comly reported near his end. Saw him looking much better than I supposed he would be. I am ready to help him as if he were my brother; so told his wife and him. Will take him and her fine presents of the sort they need in their present affliction if I can think of such; if not, why, money! I wish I knew what [would] give them the most happiness and comfort. Possibly to hire a nurse and other servants extra.

July 3. Sunday. — Last night my successor, John Correy, was installed as Noble Grand of Croghan Lodge. This is a great relief. Mere attendance was a task. Then to look after the sick and the funerals of the dead was a care. I have made it a rule through life to attend well to the humblest duties assigned to me as [an] official, or committeeman, or otherwise. This has been a necessity for me, with my feelings and notions of duty. It has also been a powerful aid. One gets the reputation of reliability, makes acquaintances favorably, gains friends, becomes a necessity or a providence to others, and is therefore supported and pushed ahead. Both for self-comfort and self-interest, I advise the young to this course.

July 8. Friday. — At Toledo. Called also on General Comly. I saw Mrs. Comly and the young lady. A sad and anxious family. My old friend is again worse. He suffers a great deal — was hardly conscious. Mrs. Comly told me that it was selfish in her to wish him to stay. "He is so good a man, so brave, so gentle, so kind always." He wishes to escape further suffering. Death will be a relief to him.

As friends go it is less important to live. My two nearest friends, Comly and Force, seem to be gone. I still hope for Force, but how can I? His mind I fear is leaving him.

July 11, 1887. Monday.—Governor R. B. Bullock having sent me a newspaper in which he speaks favorably of me, of my Administration, of Mrs. Hayes, and of my availability as a candidate for President in 1888, I wrote hastily as follows: —

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 11, 1887.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:—I thank you for the copy of the [Atlanta] *Constitution*, and am greatly gratified that you can speak in a way so complimentary of my public conduct.

It is not necessary, I suppose, to assure you of my settled purpose not again under any temptation to take part in public life.

My preference for our next candidate is Mr. Sherman, and under no circumstances would I consider it [a nomination]. The action of both parties in 1880 and the result of the election of that year afforded ample recognition of my title and of the acceptability of my Administration. The Democratic party, if they would insist upon the fraud issue, were bound to renominate Tilden. Their failure to do it was a confession of judgment on that question. Besides, they *did* nominate Hancock, who was openly and decidedly against the fraud issue and personally and officially friendly to me.

On the other hand, the Republican party took bold ground on the fraud issue. Senator Hoar presided over our convention. He was one of the Electoral Commission. The convention nominated for President the public man who, of all others, was most closely identified with the decision in my favor and against Tilden. He was a "visiting statesman" to Louisiana and reported to me and [to] the President and the country that Louisiana in equity and law belonged to the Republican column. As one of the Electoral Commission he insisted with vigor and determination on every step that led to the final result, and voted with the eight who decided the contest in my favor. Had he voted otherwise the issue would have been different.

The Democrats made the point against Garfield Tilden himself in person urged it in public speech and in letters. The people in New York, Connecticut, and Indiana reversed their vote of 1876 and decided in our favor. This is sufficient endorsement.

I have never had any misgiving about 1876 since the facts were fully known. We were equitably entitled to more States than were counted for us and to a decided majority of the popular vote. But this is ancient history. Your kind words are very grateful to me. I can say positively that I am content. I tried to do well—to benefit the whole country by restoring the old-time good feeling between South and North. I think something was accomplished.

Sincerely, your obliged friend,

R. B. HAYES.

GOVERNOR R. B. BULLOCK,
Atlanta, Georgia.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 14, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—Your letter of last month is before me. You do not need a six-thousand-dollar church. It is a *sin* to attempt to build it in your circumstances. A suitable church, tasteful and convenient, can be built for two thousand five hundred dollars to three thousand five hundred dollars. All you spend more than this is for vanity's sake.

For the privilege of giving you this sensible advice, I send you ten dollars with best wishes.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES,

REVEREND F. G. McCUALEY,
Gambier, Ohio.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 23, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just received your note. It seems to me almost a certainty—indeed I am confident—that your nomination will be unanimously favored by the convention. If, however, there is opposition and a vote taken, your decision to require "*substantial*" unanimity presents a question of some difficulty. The mere "off-ox" men to be found in all large bodies are not to be regarded. This, of course, with two hundred—almost one-third—against the resolution you could hardly call the vote '*substantially*' unanimous. With *less* than one hundred in opposition, or less than one in seven, it seems to me

clear that you would regard the vote as practically unanimous. With one-seventh against you, query?

I have tried to draw the line as I see it. But the event will I trust, relieve you of all embarrassment by giving you a hearty endorsement by acclamation.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Mansfield.

July 24. Sunday. — We are deeply interested in the affliction of our friends, General and Mrs. Force [now visiting us]. He is a noble gentleman. With scholarship and elegant culture in many directions, with all manly virtues; honorable, heroic, and scrupulously upright; thoughtful and punctilious in regard to every duty; by reason of intense overwork in his office as judge of the superior court of Cincinnati, his nervous system is broken down, and the strange delusion that he has been charged with dishonesty of some sort has taken possession of him. This mental hallucination we cannot remove. He has been advised to go on a sea voyage. He came here to stay ten days and then go by steamer from New York to Antwerp. He thinks his best friends suspect him and treat him with contempt. "Why did — call me a dog?" I instantly denied it. He seemed to be staggered by the positive and indignant denial. It is an instance of his delusions. Very sad.

July 25. Monday. — I visited Comly [at Toledo]. All at home. He is not conscious; a great sufferer. Mrs. Comly says she has passed through the great trouble.

July 28. Thursday. — General Comly died last night just before 10 P. M. My loved comrade all the years of the war! My devoted and most valued friend ever since! A clear, gentle, brave soul! At 5 P. M. went over to Toledo; visited Mrs. Comly. A lovely family all of them. A noble widow.

July 30. Saturday. — . . . To Keeler's grove near Fort Meigs. Here was a meeting of the Maumee Valley Monumental

Association. In charge, General John C. Lee, Asher Cook, Keeler and others. I was announced as president of the day.

August 1. Monday. — With General Force and wife and Horton to Orrville *en route* for Baltimore, New York, and across the ocean to Antwerp. The general has been benefited by his visit here. But the future is uncertain — full of anxiety for his wife and friends.

August 4. Thursday. — My correspondent at Gambier is a testy young clergyman. He wrote me a tart letter. I reply today.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 4, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:— Let us be friends. You are angry. It is always a mistake to get angry because you are told the truth. I wrote hastily and perhaps bluntly. I had a host of letters to answer. I know perfectly your situation. I abhor church debts. You are in an old community with no prospect of growth. To go in debt, hoping to raise money abroad, is a mistake. There is no lack of gospel privileges at Gambier. It is in no sense missionary ground. You admit the truth of my statement in cutting down your plan *one third*. *Let another third go.*

As to my letter, read it again. If you still find it offensive, send me a copy or the original, and I will *explain* or ask you to pardon me. I am too old to have any other [desire] except to do precisely what is right towards you and towards every fellow being. Call up your better nature and reply as *it* dictates.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

REVEREND F. G. McCUALEY,
Gambier, Ohio.

August 5. Friday. — Reverend John Theodore Kellam, of Ripley, Huron County, Ohio, born July 30, 1809 [at] Concord, Sussex County, Delaware, emigrated to Ohio May 1, 1816, crossing that day the Ohio river at Wheeling, and settled near Zanesville in Newton township, with parents. Removed to Springfield township, Putnam, Ohio.

In twenty-first year to Granville and worked at carpentry. Helped put the roof on the Baptist college. Then to Columbus, Ohio, and worked on "Sugar in the Gourd." Thence to the Quaker settlement in Delaware County. Licensed to preach in 1833 at Mount Gilead. "Thence my appointment [he says] was at Lower Sandusky, Clyde, and a large number of other places, on Toussaint, and elsewhere; all together thirty-six places, many of them at private houses and schoolhouses. No church buildings of any sort in this town when I came here. Rev. William Sullivan was on this circuit with me — he in charge — but the work fell largely on me. I preached in this place my first year in the court-house often. We built the first church here on the corner of Garrison and Arch street where Dr. Hilbush now lives. It was almost out of town then. I preached in it often. Left here the next year sick and went to Sandusky.

"I knew Sardis Birchard [and] Judges Justice and Hulburd. Birchard and Hulburd were engaged in taking care of the sick and dying in cholera time. Birchard gave not less than five hundred dollars out of his own pocket to support the sufferers and to bury the dead.

"The sheriff joined the church when I was exhorting in the court-house. Our members were: — Thomas L. Hawkins and family, Samuel Treat and family, — Emerson and family, Widow Frary, Jacob Bowlus and family, — Lighter and family, Brice J. Bartlett (afterwards came out an infidel), Father Henry Beck and family (four or five), and Rebecca Prior.

"I have preached more or less ever since. I superannuated some ten years ago. Have lived in Huron County over twenty years. I was presiding elder — two years at Maumee, and four years at Wooster district. Member of General Conference 1860 at Buffalo; voted then for the change of rules on slavery."

On the Lower Sandusky circuit his salary was \$56.68. All that was allowed for salary was one hundred dollars, but all that was collected was \$56.68. "Donations were made by a few persons. Birchard gave me, perhaps, in clothing, etc., one hundred dollars. I preached a funeral sermon on the Seneca Reservation in 1834 while cholera was raging here; perhaps the only sermon preached on Seneca Reservation.

"I have often said that Birchard was the best man I ever knew without the grace of God. I do not say this because he was good to me. He was good to everybody. I ought not [to] speak of him as 'without the grace of God,' for he had it in his heart. He was merely at that time not a professor of religion."

August 12. — A party in the evening for the young folks — Grace Derr, of Wilkes-Barre, Emily Failing, of Portland, Oregon, Mary Bulkley, of Hartford, Helen Reynolds, of Wilkes-Barre, and Mary Goodloe, of Lexington, Kentucky, [school-mates of Fanny and all house guests for some days]. Singing very fine.

August 13. — The young people now eighteen at the table. . . . Tennis, shooting at mark, and riding during the day. Singing, and playing "hide and seek" at night, with dancing, etc.

August 14. — The visitors attended the Episcopal church today. Lucy and I the Methodist. A young preacher of talents. Two faults growing in delivery. The young walk about too much. It is a bad practice. It withdraws attention from the sermon. Keep within a circle of two feet in diameter. The other is like unto it. They talk too much of themselves. "All are fluent on self — none interesting"; so in substance says Byron.

August 16. Tuesday. — Our bevy of fine girls, except Miss Mary Goodloe, left us last night. A happy visit for them and for us.

August 17. Wednesday. — Rutherford, at table this morning, (only four of us present, viz., Rud, Scott, Lucy, and self,) said: "Well, Farmington educates natural girls. I saw a New York school advertisement. There they teach them how to tell pictures by the old masters from pictures by the new masters, and how to select diamonds!" There is truth in what he says.

August 19. — Finished a short essay on General Comly for the West Virginia Reunion next week. Not what I would wish. Too many interruptions. Arthur, of Springfield, talked over the battle of Cloyd's Mountain. Gave a soldier of Brinkerhoff's reg-

iment money. [He] got "into the cooler." Dr. Brinkerhoff got him out. I must stop giving money to "tramps."

August 21. Sunday.—Auntie Davis came for the first time to visit us at Spiegel [Grove]. Only think of it. One of our earliest and most constant friends. Indeed Doctor and Mrs. Davis have been steadfast and warm friends thirty-five or forty years. They have not visited us. We often visit them.

Mrs. Force is in great distress about the general. He still is the victim of insane delusions. To attempt to control or confine him as a lunatic may not be advisable and yet I can think of nothing else that is practicable.

September 3, 1887.—August 24-26 at Wheeling. Attended the monster reunion [of the Army of West Virginia] on the island at the Fair Ground.

[The] 29th, 30th, and 31st [of] August at the annual reunion at Lakeside of the Twenty-third O. V. I.

Both reunions were well attended and very enoyable. In his speech at [the] West Virginia Reunion Governor Foraker wandered off into the Rebel flags' return. He said he would not leave such a subject "to [a] Massachusetts Mugwump and a New York Copperhead," meaning the Secretary of War and the President. This and the like gave a partisan turn to speeches in the evening at the hotel. I was with the soldiers in the tent at the Fair Ground and knew nothing of it until the next morning.

My connection with the partisan affair was this: A flag with the portrait of President Cleveland was stretched across the street the procession was to pass under. It bore the legend: "God bless our President, Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States." It was believed by many that the object was to excite the soldiers to violence. I with others took the position that the true course was to pay no attention to it, or to salute it respectfully. I took off my hat and saluted it as I passed under it. No trouble occurred anywhere near the head of the procession where I was. But later, bodies of the G. A. R. men to avoid passing under it obliqued.

SPIEGEL GROVE, September 6, 1887.

MY DEAR GUY:— Your kind remembrance of me from Monterey is appreciated. I am just now overwhelmed with company and work. We are pained to hear of Mrs. Ballinger's illness. All who interest you are interesting to us. I am called upon for all sorts of work. Witness these talks. Don't bore yourself to read them except when nothing else is possible.

Sincerely. As ever, R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE G. M. BRYAN,
Texas.

September 7. Wednesday.— Addressed fifteen thousand people at Toledo gas celebration. How will it turn out? Finlay, the Democratic millionaire, said to me: "I am a Democrat, but I always say you were a good President. You honestly tried to do the best you could for the country."

September —, 1887.— Friday [the] 9th via Buffalo, Lewiston, and steamer on Lake Ontario to Toronto. Saturday, about 2 or 3 P. M., we (Professor Wayland and others) were met at the dock by Honorable James Massie and others [and] taken to the fine hotel (the Rossin House, kept by Mr. Irish). A noble welcome in the evening by the lieutenant-governor, mayor, bishop of Huron, Baldwin, and others. [I] added to my printed speech a warm and semihumorous talk which was well received.

A good, strong prison reform sermon by Bishop Baldwin Sunday. Lunch with Professor Goldwin Smith and wife; Professor Wayland with me. Interesting conversation with Professor Smith on English and Canadian politics. He describes Gladstone as a demagogue.

Prison Congress opened Monday. Excellent meetings. Monday evening dined with McMasters; Tuesday evening with Lieutenant-Governor Campbell. Both occasions unexpectedly cordial and enjoyable.

TORONTO, Tuesday, September 13, 1887.

DARLING:— Better and better. I wish you were here. We dined with the leading dissenter last night. All excellent and

hearty. They would have sent an earnest appeal to you to come and be their guest but for lack of previous acquaintance; and it would have been lovely. Both are models. She went to school in Norwalk about the time I did. Interested in many common acquaintances and topics. We will visit them perhaps some day.

I go to Philadelphia tomorrow, Wednesday.

Ever,

MRS. HAYES,
Fremont.

R.

September —, 1887. — Wednesday morning with Mr. Alfred H. Love, of Philadelphia, left for Philadelphia via Buffalo. . . . [The] 15th, reached Philadelphia about 11 A. M. Mr. Cassidy took me to the Aldine Hotel.

About 2 P. M. General McCook took me across to the grandstand on Broad Street and [I] saw the whole industrial parade.

That evening at the reception of Cardinal Gibbons met also Archbishop Ryan, Bishop Gilmore, etc., etc. [On the] 16th, military display. Met President Cleveland at [the] Merchants' Exchange. In the evening of [the] 16th escorted Mrs. Cleveland to her place of receiving in the Academy of Music. Did not see the Foraker affair, although I was very near it.

In the line of those who received were President Cleveland, Mrs. Cleveland, Mrs. Fairchild, myself, [and] Secretary of State Bayard, in the order named. The President shook hands with all who came. Mrs. Cleveland, for some time, as suggested by the ushers, only bowed to the passers. After a while she with friendly warmth shook hands with all, and the rest of us on her left followed suit. This compelled some delay. The ushers suggested haste. Mrs. Cleveland resumed her fan. But again and again the order was changed. When Governor and Mrs. Foraker came I shook hands of course with both and introduced both to Mrs. Fairchild on my left. I did not see the affair which has caused so much comment. Governor and Mrs. Foraker told me of it at the hotel. Mrs. Foraker said: "Mrs. Hayes would never have treated any human being as Mrs. Cleveland treated me." Mr. Bushnell's account of it must be accepted as the truth until it is satisfactorily explained. I regret it.

Mrs. Cleveland has appeared so kindly and full of heartiness that one can't but hope and think well of her. What an opportunity she now has! If she were to publicly admit her mistake and apologize to the Governor and Mrs. Foraker, how all the world — the *good* of the world — would approve and applaud.

PHILADELPHIA, September 17, 1887.

MY DARLING:— You will see by the enclosed that I had over two hours with Mrs. Cleveland and exactly how she looked. It is said, I fear truly, that she failed to take Mrs. Foraker's hand. Mrs. Foraker said to me this morning that "Mrs. Hayes never would have done *that* to anyone"!!! You see the feeling. Other matters of the same sort are not pleasant. But on the whole it was a lovely time.

How I wish you were here. You are as much loved and respected here as ever, or more. Constantly I was greeted during the two hours' handshaking on your account.

I now expect to come Monday or Tuesday. Will dispatch you.

As ever,

MRS. HAYES,
Fremont.

R.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 21, 1887.

DEAR SIR:— Your favor of the 16th is before me. My impression is that your "opponent" is correct in his statement of the fact that the resolution referred to was presented by Mr. H. R — and probably *his* view of the matter is also correctly given.

The committee did not suppose the time had come to abandon Reconstruction as the leading and vital issue. No declaration at all on the prohibition issue would probably have been their preference. They certainly did not wish to commit the party for or against it. The declaration against "unconstitutional laws" was probably regarded as good politics in a case where non-committalism was the policy of the platform makers.

It was silently acquiesced in by the friends of prohibition, and avoided a breach with its adversaries.

All this is my personal notion of it, not intended for publication or other use aside from your own satisfaction.

Sincerely,

L. C. BREESE,

Portage, Wisconsin.

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 25, 1887.

MY DEAR GUY:— You are as ever true and generous. Of course, I find few men who will see all these things with your practical eyes. And yet I am not rarely gratified in the same way. The governor of South Carolina, on the grandstand at the Centennial in Philadelphia, a few days ago, greeted me with emphatic and public commendation on the part of himself and his State in the most generous way, and they were very cordial on the same ground.

The friendship, personal and political, of Republican leaders is all I could wish. Of necessity, in the political and partisan warfare of the time the hot-headed take umbrage at my cooler and, as I think, fairer way of dealing with these matters. I hav[e] preferred to let some years pass before I take up the history of the past, if I ever do it. But for your constant and considerate support, all thanks.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

P. S.— Mrs. Hayes and I are greatly pained to hear of the serious illness of Mrs. Ballinger. What a throng of recollections are called up by the mention of her name! Those golden days of almost forty years ago on the Brazos! There must be as my friend Comly says a hereafter to make all things even. I am still called upon to speak — hence these scraps.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,

Texas.

October [2], 1887. — Favorable weather these days for the annual conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Bishop

Bowman [our guest], a natural, amiable, and entertaining gentleman; formerly a chaplain of the Senate. Also a delightful colloquial preacher — tender, pathetic, and effective.

Among our guests also for a part of the time of the conference were Rev. Dr. Bayliss, of the *Western Christian Advocate*, the President of Baldwin [University], at Berea, Rev. Fitz Walter, of Wauseon.

We had a reception Friday evening. Four hundred present. [We] invited the conference [and] their *entertainers* to meet Bishop Bowman, President and Mrs. Payne, and Presiding Elder Whitlock and Mrs. Whitlock.

The good sermons I heard were by the Bishop and Rev. Dr. Bayliss. Chaplain McCabe was happy as usual on church extension.

I spoke twice Saturday; afternoon on woman's home missions and evening on industrial education. Well enough.

SPIEGEL, October 2, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:— Your good letter of the 30th is before me. I return the letter as to Parrott. No doubt the action is wise.

I want to hear about *Grandison*. He spoke at our annual conference in the church you *corner-stoned*. He is able and sensible, if one may judge by a single speech. Why not take him up and give him the best advantages for scholarship and training the world affords? He is coal-black of hue, African blood. As we say of Jerseys, "he can be registered."

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

DR. HAYGOOD.

October 3. Monday.— Fanny and I go to New York tonight to attend the Peabody meeting.

Altogether the annual conference of the Central Ohio Conference has been a happy time. Mrs. Hayes has enjoyed it, and has been herself in making others enjoy themselves.

The event of the time is the birth of a son to Birchard and

Mary at Toledo, yesterday, 2 P. M., Sunday. . . . *The first great-grandchild of the name of Hayes in the Brattleboro branch of the Hayes family!* Therefore all hail to Sherman or Birchard as the case may be! . . .

New York, October 5. Fifth Avenue Hotel. — Three or four hours spent in the meeting of the trustees of the Peabody Education Fund. Present, Winthrop, Stuart (A. H. H.), Evarts, Chief Justice Waite, Justice Manning, our Minister to Mexico, General Jackson, ex-ditto, Governor Porter, of Tennessee, Bishop Whipple, Drexel, J. Pierpont Morgan, Colonel Lyman, Dr. Green, and self. Met in a large room on parlor floor at west end of north hall.

Mr. Winthrop began (a gentleman of the old school): "Our meeting will be opened with prayer by Bishop Whipple." All rose except Mr. Winthrop, now bent with the weight of years, who leaned forward on his hands on the table. Bishop Whipple in a quiet, distinct tone repeated the Lord's Prayer impressively and added a few words. Mr. Winthrop then read his opening address, which see.

He called for [the] "records," accent on the last syllable, of the last meeting. Dr. Green read the printed last year's report, omitting resolutions of length, reports ditto, etc., etc., in a businesslike tone, — loud enough to be easily heard.

Then in some detail Mr. Winthrop told how President Payne was appointed by him, on the suggestion of Dr. Curry, as president, subject to the confirmation of the board — president of the Nashville Normal University.

The business proceeded as usual. Justice Waite keeps his attention fixed on the course of things, and is prompt in making sensible and practical suggestions that are likely to be heeded. No debating. Brief talks, hitting the nail on the head, and quitting when done, is the uniform habit of all who rise to speak, or who talk from their chairs. Mr. Evarts is quite as brief and pithy as any member. No long sentences from him. Our relations with the local authorities in charge of the Nashville Normal would in most bodies have occupied hours. It was well discussed within twenty minutes at the outside. A body of highly educated and able men wastes few words.

Governor Fish, too unwell to attend, sent a beautiful and discriminating tribute to Governor Aiken, lately deceased.

After working an hour and a half, a lunch of bread, crackers, cold fowl, tongue, coffee and perhaps ale or wine, water and apollinaris, was enjoyed for ten or fifteen minutes.

Report of treasurer. About one million five hundred thousand dollars in government bonds at 4 or 4½ was debated. Change favored into bond and mortgage at 5 and 6 per cent and sell at 124 per hundred of United States bonds. Only three remain of Mr. Peabody's original board, viz., Winthrop, Fish, and Evarts, out of sixteen! The three now out of health are Manning, Stuart, and Lyman.

October 6. Thursday.—Last evening the Peabody dinner. The members present the same as at the business meeting except Judge Manning and Colonel Lyman—out of health.

With Mrs. Winthrop. I had an interesting time with her. Forgetting that she was the daughter of Francis Granger, I was agreeably surprised to find she knew General Force. Old times were the source of good long conversations. Her afflicted daughter was on my left with Bishop Whipple. Ladies present: Mrs. Winthrop, Mrs. Whipple, her daughter of Philadelphia, a large fine figure, Mrs. Paul, daughter of Drexel, Mrs. General Jackson, Mrs. Waite.

During the dinner, Mr. Porter, a committee of one from the Loyal Legion opening dinner, came over after me. On my telling him of General Sherman's presence, General Sherman was also invited. A good time with Colonel Church as acting commander at Delmonico's. Made a warm little speech. Then taken to the Yacht Club,—and another *time*.

A. S. Sullivan, Esq., was the welcoming orator to the Scotch Thistle men. They got him pretty full, and he greeted me with the greatest gush about old times in Cincinnati. It was in spots rather maudlin, but on the whole left a pleasant taste in my mouth. He is, I suspect, a fine gentleman and a good fellow. At least, I shall so think of him in spite of his condition last night.

[At] 12:20 P. M., Peabody Board, all business done, ad-

journed to first Wednesday in October 1888 *here*, unless President Winthrop and the executive committee otherwise determine. Elected Mayor William A. Courtenay, of Charleston, South Carolina, trustee to fill vacancy caused by death of Governor Aiken.

October 8. Saturday. — With Mr. Simon Stevens, a nephew of "Old Thad," visited the Produce Exchange. Mayor Edson and Mr. Milmine, formerly of Toledo, were with us; also Fanny, Miss Stevens, Mabel Stevens, and Miss Pennington, of Philadelphia. From top to bottom. Also the lovely bay and the Commissioner of Emigration's [Immigration's] house, etc., etc. Dined with Schurz. Met General Hastings and Emily in the evening at 20 East Twentieth Street. Fanny sails with them to Bermuda on the *Orinoco*, Thursday, 13th.

A long talk with —, a close friend of Garfield. He now is working up the case against Blaine. His list of cases or occasions in which Blaine has acted with duplicity, falsehood, and corruption is very long and if true frightful.

Mr. and Miss Endicott called. Pleasant people. He told of a toast an old Federal lawyer gave: "The health of Joseph Story [here there was dissent among his hearers], elevated to the Supreme Bench from a hogshead in Wells's distillery, he will be worthy of the place whence he sprang." Both parties held their meetings in distilleries in the good old times of Adams and Jefferson and were far more brutal in their attacks on each other than they are in our day. Mr. Endicott told of the horse-whipping of Joseph Story in his younger days.

October 9. Sunday. — Yesterday called on Whitelaw Reid at his office. A short and agreeable interview. The danger is that the Catholic Church will drive all its labor men back into the Democratic party and that many Republicans will go to the new party. With my sympathy for the general cause of the workingmen, this to me is not so awful. Let there be enough good men in the new party to save it from dangerous measures.

Called on Fred Mead — good wife — nice baby. Ditto, Melvil Dewey; also a long call on General Schurz.

FREMONT, OHIO, October 15, 1887.

DEAR MADAM:—Your letter of the third came to my desk during my absence, and has just been read.

Pecuniary aid, applied for by strangers, is so common in our circumstances, and often of so questionable a character, that the letters asking for it are usually allowed to go unnoticed. In this case, however, I say to Mr. N. Hulett, that if he approves of the object he may pay you for the Duluth Home Society fifty dollars and charge it to me. By showing him this note he will be authorized to act.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES

MRS. SARAH B. STEARNS,
PRESIDENT DULUTH HOME SOCIETY.

October 22. Saturday. — Returned last evening after a happy time at Philadelphia. Presided over the Commandery-in-Chief of Loyal Legion at the hall of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. At the Meade Post G. A. R. banquet, a very enthusiastic greeting. Made a fair speech. Again, Wednesday, at banquet of Pennsylvania Commandery of Loyal Legion to the Commandery-in-Chief, at the Union League, gave them the close of the battle of Cedar Creek, twenty-three years before; October 19, 1864.

October 24. Monday. — Webb came in time for breakfast from his hunt in Wyoming near Utah and Idaho. He is strong and healthy. Not much success with game. The Indians hunt the large animals for food. About a third of their subsistence must come from hunting.

SPIEGEL, October 24, 1887.

MY DARLING:—Spent last week at Philadelphia presiding over Commandery-in-Chief of the Loyal Legion and unveiling statue of General Meade. On return found Lucy had gone for three days to look after the boy and the settlement of Birch and Mary in their new home.

Webb returned from his hunt with General Crook in Wyoming this morning. Never looked so well before.

Our new preacher, Mr. Mills, with his wife, three daughters, and girl Winnie, are still with us. The parsonage will be all right in a day or two when they will leave us.

The *other home* in Toledo will have a large share of Spiegel soon at the rate carpets and things are moving in that direction under the energetic management of the new grandmother. Scott counts on a room in the Ashland Avenue home. Thus with you in Bermuda, and the rest at different Ohio places, Rutherford and I will be left alone to continue the campfire at Spiegel.

. . .
We all love you — but papa *most*.

Affectionately,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Bermuda.

October 27. Thursday. — Evening visited VanDoren. His talk of the town prospects is intelligent and interesting. The town certainly is growing again. I talked of a village improvement society of Fremont to Mr. Meek and Rutherford. . . . Another idea is that we give a reception to the newcomers and their families, to be met by the Board of Trade and their families; the editors and preachers ditto.

October 28. Friday. — A letter from Russell A. Bigelow, grandson of my Uncle Russell Hayes, shows that he has caught the genealogical fever. He inquires after the ancestors of Abigail Hale and says, "Of the one hundred and twenty-eight ancestors back as far as the seventh generation, there are only some thirty-two who are unknown to me." Well done.

November 6. Sunday. — Returned last evening from a trip via Toledo and the Ohio Central to Bucyrus and Cincinnati.

At Bucyrus addressed a church full of the District Conference and people in behalf of industrial education for high school and college. Well received. Bucyrus is a fine town of seven thousand; growing.

At Cincinnati met with the Loyal Legion. A rambling, quiet talk and told the incidents at Buford's Gap.

Returned via Lima Saturday. On train met J. B. Townsend, prosecuting attorney of Lima, and General Ewing. In quite general accord with both as to the labor-capital question. *A few get MORE than their share, the working, productive many get LESS than their share,* is the corner-stone fact, is the evil to be prevented in the future by peaceful and lawful means. We agree that, of course, lawlessness and violence are to be put down; order and prosperity are to be preserved.

November 10. Thursday.—With Lucy visited Birchard and Mary. All night with them Wednesday. First sleeping in their new and beautiful home. Workmen still engaged in finishing.

. . .

Left home after voting. The election in Ohio, a victory for the Republicans. In other States fairly so except New York. I account for New York by the increased activity of the saloon interest. In that State the Republicans made a square assault on the saloons. As usual in such cases, the saloon interest by combining with the Democrats carried the day.

Called on Mrs. Comly at her new home, 73 Locust Street, and went over in a general way the proposed pamphlet or volume *in memoriam* General Comly.

November 13. Sunday.—A letter from General Sheridan wanting my article or lecture on Cedar Creek. Sent him the proceedings of the reunion of the Army of West Virginia at Portsmouth in 1886 with my speech marked.

November 14. Monday.—The Evangelical preacher, Schott, preached a good sermon at the fifty-seventh annual county Bible meeting. It gave a detailed and statistical account of the Bible. [At] 10 A. M. met with the board at Wilson's office.

November 15. Tuesday.—At the Loyal Legion banquet in Philadelphia I made a sprightly speech. It was the anniversary of the battle of Cedar Creek. I referred to it. A man at the lower end of the table, perhaps in liquor, asked, "Where were you?" I replied, "If you had been there you would not ask

that question." It brought down the house. I received an account of it "with the compliments of Admiral Almy, Washington, D. C."

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, November 15, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—Enclosed find a letter from [Thomas] Nichol which please return. The general impression is that recent events have improved your chances.

When [I was] in New York before election Nichol predicted failure this fall. He also urged me to bring to your attention the importance of decisive action on your part, viz., that your friends—naming two Illinois leaders, Farwell and Jones—should be in more intimate and cordial relations with you—in a situation to confer freely and to act advisedly. I told him I would inform you, hoping to meet you somewhere pending our state election. He strikes me as sincere in his friendship.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

November 17. Thursday.—Washington's letter to his favorite nephew Bushrod Washington, to whom he left Mount Vernon, contains excellent and quotable sentences. Dated January 15, 1783.

Webster's speech at the Washington Centennial, 1832, "The Character of Washington," is worthy of careful reading. It is referred to by Mr. Evarts in his argument to the jury in the case of the officers and crew of the *Savannah*, tried for piracy in New York in 1861.

November 18.—With Mr. White visited the newly-established manufactures of the town, viz., the railroad spike factory, carbon works, drop-forgé works, Clauss shear works, and fifth-wheel works. All are new; all seem to promise well, and all except one are already doing good work. These, with what we already have, give good reason for the hope that this will

be a place of prosperous manufacturing interests. Mr. White says we will not equal or compete with Cleveland or Toledo, but in ten years we may expect to have a population of twenty thousand. It seems possible.

November 19. Saturday.—I told Mr. White I thought of giving a reception to the newcomers. He approved of it heartily. Invite all the newcomers and their wives [and] the other principal manufacturers. Also journalists, clergy, city officers, and a few [other] leading citizens.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, November 19, 1887.

MY DEAR COMRADE:—It would indeed be a joy to meet you and the comrades at your installation. No man in your audience will be a happier listener to your soldier talk, when your turn comes, than your Buckeye friend would be if he could attend. But it is out of the question. This is one of my busiest months. All I can do is to thank you for your invitation, and to assure you of the lasting friendship and the warmest good wishes of Mrs. Hayes and

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.—Please so report me with thanks to the committee of Buckingham Post.

COLONEL EDWARD ANDERSON,
CHAPLAIN, *etc.*

November 20. Sunday.—Attended funeral of Statira Dickinson. She died of paralysis. Went to sleep and never awoke. She was taken to St. Ann's church. With me as pall-bearers were Haynes, Dr. Rice, Judge Finefrock, McCulloch. Father McCarthy preached an orthodox, old-fashioned, eternal-punishment sermon. Nothing noticeable, except the dogmatic way in which he put it down—"this is the doctrine of the church."

November 25. Friday.—Spent Thanksgiving at Toledo. A capital dinner and social reunion at Birchard's. Our first dinner

with Birchard and Mary at their own table and in their new home.

I reached Columbus Monday, 4:30 P. M. . . . Tuesday met at the office of Alexis Cope, secretary of Ohio State University, Mr. Wing, president of the board, Mr. Booth, attorney of Columbus, and Honorable Cowgill. The controversy between the board of control of the experiment station, representing the farmer sentiment of the State, and our university board is the interesting point in the present situation. My impression is in favor of a policy which will restore harmony between the university and the farming interest. Let us grant to the experiment station all the land and other privileges in our power, without injury to the university, it being understood that in like manner the friends of the experiment station will aid the university in all proper ways.

November 26. Saturday.—W. K. Rogers my old friend, and with me as private secretary during my term as President at Washington, [is here]. A man of fine culture, noble sentiments, a true friend; too guileless for practical life, and so unsel-fish and unsuspecting that his business ventures have generally been failures. He is interested with me at Duluth. Hence his visit. He talked entertainingly about the Presidential situation in 1880. He says it was a surprise to my friends that I was in earnest in refusing to think of a second term. They could not believe it. They argued that many Presidents, including Washington and Jackson, were committed against a second term, but no President ever failed to accept it if offered, and to *seek* it at the end of his first term, if seeking it was apparently necessary to get it. Said he: "You have the distinction of being the one President who, believing in the one-term principle, was true to your convictions. It would be a long story to tell of the numbers who took an interest in the second-term talk for you."

Rogers left for home via Wellington [at] 3 P. M. He added two thousand dollars to the debt for which I am his surety.

November 27. Sunday.—No book study merely—no study without practice—gives a complete and thorough education. The study of rhetoric will not make an orator or a writer. Dec-

lamation, debate, the habit of composition must be formed by practice. Work must go with study. Geology and the other sciences are to be learned well only by practical work. Thoroughly to understand a theory, we must be able to put it into practice.

I constantly find an advantage in working for educational and benevolent enterprises in the fact that having been in the first place, I am not suspected of wanting any personal promotion or advancement.

SPIEGEL GROVE, November 27, 1887.

MY DEAR FRIEND:— It is too bad that we lost another chance to see Mrs. Smith and you. Rogers was here yesterday. Our talk of Washington days led us to you at every turn.

Just now I am giving my thoughts to the Ohio State University at Columbus. It is in some respects not in a satisfactory condition. It will come out in due time. If anybody was its founder, in the words of George Corwin, "a great part of it I am which." The land I worked so hard to get, now in the city of Columbus, is already worth twice as much as the land-grant fund, and will be in a few years worth millions.

I am to be in Columbus again [the] 7th and 8th of next month. When will you be there or in Cincinnati? I have no other engagement before the 20th [of] December.

With greatest regard of all here to all there.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

HONORABLE WM. HENRY SMITH.

Private

FREMONT, OHIO, November 29, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:— To encourage a young person striving for an education is a labor of love. Unfortunately my senator, a very worthy man, is not entitled to go into the caucus that would aid you by its nomination. If you fail in this, do not give up. There are many ways open to those who resolutely push.

Sincerely,

E. P. NOEL.

R. B. HAYES.

November 30. Wednesday.—Emerson, as shown by Cabot, is almost as good a democrat as I am. I read to Lucy his talk about a separate table for servants, talking in their presence in a way to wound their feelings, etc., etc. She said: "I am delighted to hear that from Emerson. I don't think much of transcendentalism, but that is good sense and good feeling too." I said: "Yes, he is almost as good a democrat as I am." She replied: "But don't say democrat; say republican. That means everything good."

December 2. Friday.—Our reception to "all," particularly the newcomers in the manufacturing plants and others, [last night] went off beautifully. Lucy had a capital circle of lovely and sensible ladies to assist her, viz., Mrs. Bristol, Mrs. Dorr, Mrs. Ranck, and Mrs. Thompson. They were never surpassed in our experience as ladies for such a place. The newcomers were out in good force. The workmen, young and old, were on hand with their employers and their wives. General Buckland, Mr. White, Dr. Wilson, Dr. Stilwell, Dr. Caldwell, Dr. Smith, and other leading citizens were present in goodly numbers. Altogether about three hundred were in attendance. Our preparations were for four hundred to five hundred and the surplus was considerable. The idea of Mr. White and the Board of Trade was no refreshments. Of course, Mrs. Hayes and I insisted on "breaking bread" and "eating salt" with our guests. Nothing else is quite worthy of the hospitable record of Spiegel Grove. . . .

This morning a tall, good-looking man called and after some hesitation announced himself as A. H. Hale, from near Batavia, Genesee County, New York. Recently, as he squarely stated, discharged as a convict from the Michigan state prison after serving out a ten years' sentence for burglary and larceny at Monroe, Michigan. By good conduct his sentence was finished in seven years and seven months. Was guilty but drunk. With two others. One an older man than Hale, after they had been drinking together, told them that his niece had eight hundred dollars under her bed in his house. The two others got into her room, told her to show them her money. This she got

up and did. "We were discovered next day. The old man [was] not suspected by the citizens. The other turned state's evidence, but got a five years' sentence. Was well treated in prison. Chaplain Hickox was a good-hearted man. I had been a steward in the Methodist Episcopal Church in Genesee County. Had no confidence in the religion of the prison; would not go to the church, or rather religious services generally, unless compelled. Catholics went; spoke in meeting and would say they did it merely to aid in getting pardons.

"The rule as to silence in prison does no good but harm only. Talking is not prevented. But misunderstandings between prisoners and quarrels would be prevented by an opportunity for an explanation. Let them talk with proper rules as to discipline, etc., etc., as in free shops."

He is a wagonmaker by trade. Wants to go home to New York. Friends do not know of his misfortune and disgrace. Got only seven dollars to return to Monroe from the prison and a suit of clothes. I gave him fare to Buffalo where he would be provided for and money, altogether about nine dollars. He promised to write to me. Will he do it?

December 4. Sunday.—In church it occurred to me that it is time for the public to hear that the giant evil and danger in this country, the danger which transcends all others, is the vast wealth owned or controlled by a few persons. Money is power. In Congress, in state legislatures, in city councils, in the courts, in the political conventions, in the press, in the pulpit, in the circles of the educated and the talented, its influence is growing greater and greater. Excessive wealth in the hands of the few means extreme poverty, ignorance, vice, and wretchedness as the lot of the many. It is not yet time to debate about the remedy. The previous question is as to the danger—the evil. Let the people be fully informed and convinced as to the evil. Let them earnestly seek the remedy and it will be found. Fully to know the evil is the first step towards reaching its eradication. Henry George is strong when he portrays the rottenness of the present system. We are, to say the least, not yet ready for his remedy. We may reach and remove the diffi-

culty by changes in the laws regulating corporations, descents of property, wills, trusts, taxation, and a host of other important interests, not omitting lands and other property.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 4, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—I am glad to hear from you that you are at home and well. It will give me pleasure to hear from you fully occasionally. I hope you will be careful of your health and habits. I hope your friends are well and *good friends* to you.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. A. H. HALE,
Batavia, New York.

December 10. Saturday.—Returned yesterday from Columbus. A most agreeable visit at Laura's, with all things more charming, if possible, than usual. The general, Fanny, Jean, and John, all interesting. Fanny Fullerton in excellent health; good accounts of all the darling young folks.

The business of the meeting of the university board was important and somewhat critical. But all points of difference with the experiment station were talked over between the two boards and so adjusted in a friendly spirit that there is good reason for the hope that the farmers of the State will be content with the university as an institution for practical education, and give it a support hitherto denied to it. Colonel Brigham, president of [the] State Board of Agriculture, with Mr. Ellis, Mr. Stevens, and Mr. Thorne—all of the experiment station and representing the farmers especially—took part with the university board in all of the negotiations looking to a settlement of differences. I hope for the best. As the results were largely my work as a peacemaker on liberal principles, I am very solicitous that all may turn out well.

I read an article on the labor question in the *National Baptist*, December 8, which set me to thinking of the unfair ad-

vantages given to the very wealthy in the practical administration of the laws. Is this not true — That in proportion to the value of their estates the extremely wealthy pay far less taxes than those of moderate means? *Compare the amount paid by millionaires with the amount paid by ordinary citizens. I believe that in proportion to their estates they pay less than half as much as ordinary citizens, whereas they ought to pay more.*

On my way down to Columbus I made an agreeable acquaintance with the superintendent of the new insane asylum at Toledo, Mr. —.

Also, on return, with Isaac D. Smead of Toledo — a builder of ventilating furnaces and the like.

Rev. John Henry Pitezell, of Three Rivers, Michigan, since 1862, was preacher in Lower Sandusky August 1835 to September 1836. Preached in upper part of the old frame church, corner of Garrison and Arch Streets. John Kinnear was preacher in charge. Don't recall any brick houses in town. No pickets at the fort. Same church members as in time of Kellam. Bartlett in a liquor place as clerk. Got an anonymous letter supposed to be inspired if not written by him. Soon after Bartlett left the church. In that day went Sunday morning ten miles [to] Mud Creek and preached at 10:30; thence to Port Clinton and preached in the afternoon. In the evening, about three miles down the lake, preached again. The active men in the church were Hawkins, Bowlus, Beck, Priors, Main. Preached at twenty-three or twenty-four places, viz., Lower Sandusky, at White's, Port Clinton, Peninsula, Portage (three places), two in Black Swamp, east side of river up at David Gray's, an old preacher (died at Findlay a few days or weeks ago), at Treat's, Green Spring, at Butternut Ridge, east of Green Spring, near Bellevue, Mr. Croft's a stone house, north of Bellevue, Hamer's Corners, Stephenson's, three miles from Hamer's Corners towards Sandusky, and a settlement in the woods where "we used hickory torches to light us through the woods." "Early candle-light" was the time of meeting, with tall candles for light.

Born in Frederick County, Maryland, fifteen miles from Frederick, Graceham, April 18, 1814. Left in 1823; came with

father to Ohio in Licking County, five miles west of Granville, New Alexandria. Five years there; then to Tiffin in 1829. Lived there five years. An apprentice five years with Jacob Huss, a saddler. Then to Norwalk in 1834. Rev. John Edward Chaplin, principal of the seminary.

Chaplin drunk at a meeting, converted. At Norwalk a year or more. Bishop Harris a student. He taught school at Hunt's Corners. "I worked at a saddler's in Monroeville and taught in Seneca County thirty scholars for twelve dollars per month."

In April 25, 1835, licensed to preach, John H. Power, presiding elder. Went to Lima circuit — twenty-two appointments — one hundred dollars per year. Some presents — ten dollars or twelve dollars. Fully paid; a suit of jeans also. Here one hundred dollars per year.

December 15. Thursday. — William Henry Smith, my old-time near friend in Cincinnati thirty years ago or more, and ever since, came Tuesday evening. Spent Wednesday and last evening. We went over to Toledo together and visited Birch and Mary until his departure for Cincinnati. An able writer, a most capable man of affairs, a wise public man, and with an industry and perseverance rarely equalled. *He has aided me more in my public life than any other man.*

Met Lucy as I returned from Toledo today in town. Found a young clerk in one of our clothing stores, "Mr. Boalt, under the care of Lucy at our home, as an invalid recovering from a fever. Good woman !

December 17. Saturday. — "One secret of keeping young," says Rev. T. L. Cuyler, "is to keep at work, touching life at as many points as possible." Old men, men who have passed "the dead line of fifty," have done often their best work long after middle life: Milton, Wesley, Franklin, Gladstone, Bismarck, Bancroft, Storrs, Adams (J. Q.), Stevens (Thad).

December 18. Sunday. — President Hitchcock says: "We mean that our boys and girls shall be able to teach something besides the blue-backed speller."

The delusion of the past in all our schools and colleges has been that there is no mental training except in books, while in

fact the best intellectual culture is to be found in learning how to use skilfully the eyes and hands.

SPIEGEL, December 18, 1887.

MY DARLING:— Your mother last evening went over to Toledo to spend Sunday with Mary and Birch. She went in response to an urgent appeal from the children. They find their new house not yet nearly finished. Little matters essential to comfort are turning up to view every day to be changed or put in. Webb made his first visit to the new home last Sunday. He came back in a very complimentary mood. Their house, he says, is the finest of its class (the giddy sort, called Queen Anne); none superior, or even equal, to it, he says, either in Toledo or Cleveland. As soon as the workmen get out of it, they are coming to make us a two weeks' visit.

We shall have a gay time holiday week. . . . I send you an *Advocate* and [a] *Zion's Herald* to keep up your Methodism. If you don't read them you can *show* them, as pirates show the colors of great nations(!), to prove your character! On reflection, I fear the *Zion's Herald* will give too much sectarian news for one week, and I therefore send you the Cincinnati *Gazette* to furnish a dish of politics and agriculture. . . .

We had a good visit from my old friend and staunchest and most efficient political supporter, Honorable William Henry Smith, the chief manager of the Associated Press. He is a good historical writer of the semipolitical, semiphilosopical cast. He is now meditating, when all his ships get in making him independent, two works, "The Political History of the United States from the Organization of the Government down to the War for the Union," and "The History of the Hayes Administration." Meanwhile, he is working up the almost desperate struggle against Blaine's second nomination. He prefers Sherman, and is very hopeful of victory for Sherman. But failing that will take Sheridan, Harrison, Gresham, Hawley, or "anybody" to beat Blaine. It still looks to a calm outsider (to-wit your paternal) as if the Plumed Knight can get the nomination if he wishes it, and as if his friends will find it

not difficult to persuade him that a second race is necessary for his vindication. No doubt, Mr. Cleveland's free trade message has brightened Republican prospects. For more than twenty years existing legislation has enticed capital and labor into manufactures. This is especially true of these last few years. To strike them down now at a blow looks like cruelty and bad faith. It will hardly be done. But something too much of this. The paternal cannot expect this to be read without yawning.

I relieve your patience with good wishes to all at [the] Hastings home.

Affectionately, my dear "Sister,"

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,

Soncy, Bermuda.

December 23. Friday. — We met at the Board of Trade room to begin subscriptions for the Lakeside and Islands Railroad at 2:30 P. M. Mr. White looked and spoke in a discouraging way. I think for some reason he is opposed to the enterprise. He showed the necessity for delay until after the holidays. Finally it was understood that after the holidays work would begin. He subscribed one thousand dollars. As the largest property-owner in the town, he would get the largest benefit from the growth of the town. If favorable to the project he would have given at least three thousand dollars. If he is against it, to raise the thirty-five thousand required is simply an impossibility. I hope we may somehow get it.

December 25. Sunday. Christmas. — Clear; a thin veil of snow only; lovely winter weather.

Rev. Parker P. Pope preached two good sermons. Quiet; no dancing around the pulpit, no low, whispered tones, no straining of the voice, no elaborate gestures; a natural, straightforward delivery of weighty matter. In the morning, Christ's love for men; in the evening, all things changing but a longing for stability and rest, which can only be gratified and supplied by the Future of the Bible.

SPIEGEL GROVE, December 26, 1887.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I have just received from your son Horace the beautiful sword and sash voted to you at the Ladies' Catholic Orphans' Fair in Memphis, November 1864, and by you now presented to the Birchard Library. This souvenir of the appreciation of your administration as commander of the district of Memphis in a time of difficulty and peril will be a most acceptable and precious addition to the treasures of the library, and your generous and thoughtful action will be an example which will no doubt be often imitated. The sword will be preserved with care and placed where it will remind all who visit the library of your honorable record, both as a soldier in the field and also as military governor of the important city of Memphis.

With admiration and friendship.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES,
PRESIDENT BIRCHARD LIBRARY.

GENERAL RALPH P. BUCKLAND,
Fremont, Ohio.

December 30. Friday.—We celebrated the thirty-fifth anniversary of our wedding by visiting Birchard and Mary on *their* first anniversary of the like event. For us it should be and is a happy day. Rarely occurs a happier union than ours. Fanny is far away in the storm-vexed Bermudas or our felicity would indeed be complete.

December 31. Saturday.—First day's sleighing on the last day of the year. Electric lights on the streets for the first time tonight.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 31, 1887.

DEAR SIR:—The facts you refer to are no doubt in the main correct. The relic of the old Vermont home will go with sim-

ilar souvenirs. The date of removal given you is an error. My parents had been *five* years in Ohio when I was born.

With thanks.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

LAURENCE F. BOWER,
Sewickley, Pennsylvania.

SPIEGEL, December 31, 1887.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—The Comly tribute is in all respects excellent and will adorn the book. We have a merry household of young nephews and nieces “(one [once] removed),” from Columbus spending with us the holidays. The boys with their cannons and the girls with their dolls are no more joyous than the old folks.

Mrs. Smith and Allie [Mrs. Charles Richard Williams] will be more than welcome. They must not postpone too long. Our days are waning. We entered our thirty-sixth year of wedded life yesterday! And you have done your share of work for others. Now is the time to work for your own pleasure and fame, and at the same time for the instruction and happiness of others.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
New York.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 31, 1887.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your esteemed favor of the 26th instant. The honor conferred by the invitation of the Honorary Commissioners is, I assure you, highly appreciated. With serious doubt of my ability to fitly discharge the duty assigned to me, I am yet inclined to accept the invitation. I have other engagements for the first week in October, and for two or three days in each of the months of August and September. The two latter, I can probably fix at such dates as I prefer. I will be glad to hear from you as to the probable time of the “Ohio Day,” and also as to any other addresses, poems, or other literary work relating to the celebration. Of

course, originality and novelty are not to be expected, but it often happens on such occasions that there is an excess of oratory, history, and poetry which makes the closing or later exercises too stale to be comfortable for those who are at the foot of the program.

On hearing from you again as to date, etc., etc., I will promptly decide.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

A. L. FRAZIER,
Cincinnati, Ohio.

SPIEGEL, January 1, 1888.

MY DARLING:—This is my first writing of 1888 and you see I came near getting it 1887. So we all wish you and “you all” a happy new year.

Here a big snow fell Thursday night on roads frozen solid and reasonably smooth. One day of sleighing, and then a warm thaw Saturday. No snow this morning and now a clear freezing day again! Even temperature you see.

A happy week with John G. [Mitchell] Jr., Laura, Dorothy, and Rutherford all here. The finest young folks in the world —outside of Bermuda. . . .

I send you no presents. Buy what you would like and call it from Lucy and self. We are getting more and more tired of life without you.

We have had a jolly Sunday dinner. Webb in his best spirits and your mother in hers made it a lively and joyous time. Your mother delighted the young people, all, for that matter, all of us, with her stories told in her happiest way of Miss Baskeval and her punishments, her teaching of manners, and her gait. . . .

Affectionately, your “paternal,”

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Soncy, Bermuda.

SPIEGEL, January 3, 1888.

MY DEAR GUY:—Our holiday season has been a happy one, and your letter added to the joy. With Laura's only son, John Mitchell, and Fanny Fullerton's equally interesting young folks viz., Laura, Dorothea, and Rutherford, our house was full of youthful cheerfulness and merriment from Christmas to New Year's.

Laura B.—in Cleveland! We will write to her and hope she can make us a visit. I think I told you Fanny was spending the winter in Bermuda at Mrs. Hastings' island home. We are lacking young ladies in our household. The only drawback here is the limited young society. We and ours go to the cities near us a great deal.

How fast we are getting on! Birch has a son *Rutherford*. Ruddy Platt has a son *William A. Platt*.

I am quite busy with duties, correspondence, etc., etc., benevolent, educational, and public. As long as my health continues good, this is probably best, but sometimes I am over-worked. I shall be ready to go to my *rest* when my time comes, be it never so soon.

I hear of the illness of Mrs. Ballinger with sympathy and deep regret. I never fail to recall the delightful days on the Brazos when she was such a vision of loveliness!

We shall be ever so glad if you can contrive to spend a time with us. We are always ready.

As ever,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

January 11, 1888. Wednesday.—A meeting at White's office on the new railroad. Not of much public spirit. Haynes, West, and Bush were decidedly favorable. Tillotson, against. White not decided or hearty but rather friendly. I expect he looks for and probably hopes for failure.

January 12. Thursday.—Received the report in five volumes of the Royal Commissioners of Great Britain on technical

instruction. Mr. William Mather's report on technical instruction in the United States is the part of this report which is especially interesting to us. It contains much that is worthy of quoting.

January 13. Friday. — Another railroad meeting in White's office. Another resolution to go ahead and raise what subscriptions we can. Mr. Brannan still insists on twenty-five thousand dollars, but we hope a less sum will bring it.

January 14. Saturday. — Accounts from the West tell of the severest storms since the prairie country was settled. Dakota, Nebraska, Iowa, and Minnesota all swept by blizzards. Wind forty to fifty miles an hour, mercury 40 degrees or more below zero, and blinding snow. Think of hunting for lost school children — ten men holding to a hundred feet of rope and sweeping in line in groups to find them!

January 17. Tuesday. — [This] afternoon I went over to Toledo with the portraits I had obtained through Colonel Nicholson of General Comly and to prepare for the memorial I am to publish in his honor. The portraits were very satisfactory to the family. I spent the afternoon with Mrs. Comly and Susie looking over the scrapbooks and papers of the general to select a few pieces showing his characteristics as a writer. A little difficult to do it. His personality was so identified with his editorial work that no editorial or other essay seems quite equal to what we have been accustomed to see from his pen.

January 19. Thursday. — Last evening General and Mrs. Buckland celebrated their golden wedding. Mrs. Buckland whose mind has been clouded for some years seemed more natural and cheerful than I have seen her for a long time. Indeed, she was almost herself again and enjoyed and appreciated the occasion. The guests, about twenty-five, were the "old settlers," as a rule. . . . All passed off unexpectedly well.

January 20. — Last evening presided over the campfire of Manville Moore Post in the city hall. Captain E. M. Colver made the address. A good account and eulogium on the cavalry

of the war. The star event was the fight between Wade Hampton and "Little Kil" [Kilpatrick] near the close of the war in Carolina.

January 21. Saturday.—Two degrees below zero! The most terrible reports of death and suffering at the West. Nothing equal to it in the settlement of the country.

January 26. Thursday.—Tuesday to Cleveland to attend the inauguration of Dr. Haydn as President of Adelbert. After hearing him, [the board] passed resolutions that he wished, returning to the old idea of boys and young men alone. The special situation at Cleveland and the endowment of Adelbert fully justified the action taken by the trustees in my judgment. In common all friends of the old college and of the Western Reserve University have great reason to rejoice that the institution has secured as its head a man of distinguished talents, enthusiasm, and devotion to any work he undertakes. Under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Haydn, we may confidently hope that the institution will be greatly prospered.

As to the delivery of the keys and the address which is expected in connection with that ceremony, it gave me an opportunity to practice what I habitually try to teach, viz., that all programs for such occasions are apt to be too long and should be cut down from one-third to one-half. Surely the audience after listening to Dr. Haydn did not want more speaking.

THOUGHTS ON VARIOUS TOPICS.*

There is one sure way of attaining happiness, it is this: A sincere and unrelaxing activity for the happiness of others.

Revolutions and "*bolts*" are alike. They are sacred when the facts justify them. When not so justified they are blunders of the sort that is worse *than crime!*

The happiness of the home, of old age, of middle life as well — how largely does it depend on the young of the household!

* Recorded in the Diary, volume 20.

If they are worthless, what misery! If they are full of promise, what serene joy!

Give the young wide diversity of education. There are talents buried in every neighborhood.

The end and object of manual training is to make our young people able and willing to work with their hands; to give them habits of labor,—willing to put on their old clothes and work—not merely willing to work but enjoying work.

Among the essential advantages of all industrial training, on the farm or in the shop, these two are the chief: It forms habits of labor; it gives skill and knowledge in labor. Now, for the farmer's boy or girl these are secured at the college and the special skill of the farmer is continued and extended in the vacations of two or more months.

On what ground do free schools stand? Our government rests on the intelligence and virtue of the people. Without free schools we cannot have intelligence and virtue.

On the one hand, Europe sends us labor, ignorant and degraded. On the other, it sends faith in money. *Money is might* and *might makes right*. The remedy is, mix brains with labor. Intelligent labor is *safe*, is conservative, is virtuous.

The average professional man is apt to be the last to accept any reform appertaining to his profession. "What is, is perfect." But in this case the professional scholars of best repute, both as instructors and as examples of the higher education, are friends of the reform.—President Gilman of Johns Hopkins, President Payne of Wesleyan University, at Delaware, President Scott of Ohio State University, etc.

The new education does no harm. It means physical health, steady nerves, the ability to sleep when sleep is needed. While

to neglect the new education, to do without bodily exercise, means the opposite of all of these things.

You give your boy over to laziness, give him an easy time, and you will make a monkey of him. Give him habits of industry, give him a hard time, and you will make a man of him.

Vast accumulations of wealth in a few hands are hostile to labor. Their tendency is to break down fair competition, to build up monopoly, to corrupt politics, to bribe conventions, legislative bodies, courts and juries, to debauch society; and [even] churches are not beyond the reach of their baneful influence.

SPIEGEL, January 27, 1888.

MY DARLING:—After leaving you I went to the [Toledo] *Commercial* office [and] had a long confidential talk with Mr. Pelton, the business partner of the Comlys. It was interesting and on the whole encouraging for the family. Called on Mrs. Comly. She was out on a visit. Susie, Guy, and Smith dined me agreeably. A fine and interesting family.

Got to the train just in time. Failed to see Birchard. At home found the enclosed from Webb. His direction in this instance, you will decide as you prefer. Perhaps it is best to obey. But whatever you do will be "discreetest, wisest, best." . . . All well at home.

Affectionately,

MRS. HAYES,
Cincinnati.

RUTHERFORD.

January 29. Sunday.—Began preparations to speak off-hand at Jefferson to the farmers. Two points I must repeat and emphasize: 1. The value of instruction in all skilled labor. 2. The importance of the Ohio State University as a normal school in skilled labor and natural science. We must have teachers specially prepared to teach the sciences pertaining to agriculture.

SPIEGEL, January 29, 1888.

MY DARLING:—Your mother left for Cincinnati Friday in excellent health and spirits. Indeed this lovely winter has seemed to build her up in all ways.

We have had none of the storms that have been so severe both West and East. We now have excellent sleighing and bright weather. We are apprehensive that when the snow goes off we may have floods again.

Mary and Rud gave a young folks' party of about fifty or sixty that was very successful. You will notice by the cutting from the *News* a good many new names. Many of them are a valuable addition to our society. They are the newcomers in the recent manufactures, which natural gas has brought in.

Rud has at last, I think, a pretty good picture of your nephew. I hope he can print some in time for this mail.

You still say nothing of returning home. I fear such excessive gaiety. *Do not* stay so long, nor keep the floor so many times at the dances. It is not well in any respect. . . .

Lovingly, your father,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,

Soncy, Bermuda.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 31, 1888.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—Your article on Mr. Horton is so excellent that I can't wait until I have time to write a letter before telling you of the gratification it gives me. He was a noble gentleman, and you have nobly portrayed him.

How fine the photograph of Horton is. Thanks, thanks.—Kindest regards to the boy and his mother.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,

Cincinnati.

FREMONT, OHIO, February 7, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:—By reason of absence from home, I have only just received your esteemed favor informing me of the

invitation for February 22d with which the [Ohio] House of Representatives has honored me. I beg you to receive my thanks for your kind note, and to assure you of the pleasure it will give me to attend the meeting of the 22d, and confer with all who are interested in manual training as part of our educational system in school and college.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[Unidentified.]

February 8. Wednesday.—A long list of interesting events since the first.

1. Thursday, 2d, with Lucy made a five days' visit to Mr. and Mrs. D. Z. Norton, Cleveland. *A finer visit never made.*
2. Friday to Jefferson — at Mr. H. Talcott's to dinner. Afternoon spoke almost two hours to the Ashtabula County Farmers' Institute. Evening, hand-shaking and a little talk in the rink to the G. A. R. and an entertainment at the Giddings Post; ladies and comrades. A call on Mrs. Wade, and spent the evening and night with Hon. — Howland, Mrs. Howland, and son. Exceedingly pleasant.
3. Sunday, called on Captain Kendall and heard the scandalous story which touches nearly the Loyal Legion; agreed to meet General Leggett and General Barnett to deal with it. Another happy day with our attractive friends the Nortons and their circle.
4. Monday, 12 M., met General Leggett and General Barnett at General Leggett's office and heard General Voris' story. All agreed [on] a letter written [and] entrusted to me which it is hoped will prevent publicity of the affair.

[At] 3:35 P. M., started home. Soon were informed by Judge Lemmon that our *elegant little church at home was afire!* Hoped the report was untrue. But as we approached home the details were against hopes. *Our church burned completely!*

Met that evening in Finefrock's office and resolved to rebuild at once; to take up subscriptions. The old building committee to act again, viz., June, Bristol, Stierwalt, Dudrow, Siegfried, —, and myself.

Tuesday, [the] 7th, began to circulate subscription. Dick Tobin, Irish Catholic drayman, paid over the first cash — one dollar.

February 9. — Our pastor, J. Stierwalt, and myself had a meeting to talk over plans for rebuilding our burned church last evening. We agree that the unburned walls etc., are worth for the new building five thousand dollars. Insurance expected on building, ten thousand dollars. We should have to pay in full not less than seven thousand dollars — [a total of] twenty-two thousand dollars. We considered some changes. . . . [But decided] the audience room and general appearance to remain nearly or exactly as before.

February 10. — Spent the day in Toledo. Dined with Mrs., Guy, Stewart, and Susie Comly. Finished for the printer the memorial to the general. Found Mr. Bristol at the depot [on my return]. The adjusters want something — that is, to shirk their liability or to haggle about the amount of the [church] losses. They can't afford to adhere to such a course.

Poor Hoadly! At the dinner on Tilden's birthday he spoke of me as "the usurper." He can't get that awful snub of the Electoral Commission, "Aye, none, Nay, 15," on his Oregon rascality, out of his memory.

February 11. — The church affairs still occupy our time. The insurance men today allowed the full amount of the policies — ten thousand dollars on building, one thousand dollars on organ, and five hundred dollars on parsonage.

February 12. Sunday. — The Presbyterians having offered to share their church with us, we (Methodists) united with them and filled their large church with a great congregation. Mr Barnes preached a very notable sermon on the Divinity of Christ. Mr. and Mrs. Bristol and their youngest daughter spent a cheerful hour with us.

SPIEGEL, February 12, 1888.

MY DARLING: — The event of the week is the burning of our beautiful little church Monday, 6th of February, soon after

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noon. We were on our way from Cleveland in the cars when we heard of it. The preacher's family, we found in our house when we reached home. The parsonage wrecked by the church wall falling on it. Hannah Day was upstairs in the parsonage and was driven through *two* floors into the cellar and bricks, etc., four or six feet piled on her. *Not seriously hurt!* We rebuild at once, but it has been a busy time for Lucy. Of course I am also "in the suds." . . .

When you return Lucy will meet you in New York. Perhaps I will accompany her. Do not *push* things about a return. Make the time agreeable to our friends. We are *hungry* to see you, but can wait until the suitable time.

The boy improves, as you will see by the latest photo. — With ever so much love.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Soncy, Bermuda.

February 13. Monday. — At night in the rink, attending the "carnival" of the Catholics of St. Joseph's Church, Rev. S. Bauer. A great crowd of happy people — handsomely handled by Father Bauer. I made a short speech in response to the toast, "The Glorious American Principle of Religious Liberty and Equality," It was well received. The whole affair was successful. Dr. John Rice made a philosophical and humorous speech on the German element of our population. Only one fault, the common fault — "too long." I suggest shortening the programme fifty per cent in all cases. Fix a time to adjourn — not later than eleven — and push things. *Work up to it.*

SPIEGEL, February 19, 1888.

MY DARLING: — Our cousins Ed Cook and Nellie are with us. Lucy and I go with them tomorrow morning as far as Columbus to visit Laura, Fanny, and the rest. I will preach on my hobby to the Legislature — viz., on industrial education.

Birch and Mary with the boy, after spending with us more than a month, have returned to their own home. The boy grows and gains in all ways. . . .

Our Presbyterian friends receive us with good feeling and the two congregations fill the large church gloriously. . . .

We start at 9 A. M. tomorrow. Some packing, and our cousins may stop this letter here. If so we all love you dearly and long for your return. . . .

Ever affectionately, your father,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Soncy, Bermuda.

February 26. — On the 20th with Lucy via Toledo to Columbus. A happy visit, very. On the unanimous invitation of the House of Representatives, [I] addressed them the evening of the 22nd on industrial education. Satisfactory. Indeed it was received with enthusiasm. Dined with Charles Dudley Warner at Laura's. One of Lucy's best times at Columbus. [On the] 24th, Friday, returned to Toledo. Spent the night at Birchard's. The new house is made home — beautiful home — by the furnishing, carpets, papering, etc., etc. Mary, as always, delightful.

At Columbus found the boom over after a few weeks of rush. Prices up to present conditions the result.

SPIEGEL, Monday Morning, February 27, 1888.

MY DARLING: — At this moment the mercury is just above zero — two degrees. Clear and beautiful morning. We begin to look for winter to wind up with a feeling that we have had enough. Last week there were a few days warm enough. We talked of spring! . . .

I go to Cleveland to stir up the Methodist alumni of the college at Delaware on the subject of work — a department of work in the university. We are still you see busy at semipublic work.

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We hope to meet you in New York when you return, and escort you home. You do not yet indicate the day. When the spring weather was down upon us we thought strongly of *ordering* the young lady home. But this frozen term closes our mouths. We love you all the same. And shall not be up to the full mark of happiness we are entitled to until we hear your voice ringing through the house. Spiegel misses you!

Your mother says she loves you very much and is getting very homesick for you. "Besides, doesn't Cousin Emily feel like starting" you?

With all love.— Your affectionate paternal,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Soncy, Bermuda.

March 1. Thursday.—I returned from Cleveland last evening. While there the 28th, Tuesday, I spoke at a meeting of alumni of Wesleyan University in favor of manual training. A select audience. Professor Whitlock also spoke. He was convincing and conservative. My broken remarks of thirty minutes were well received. We will begin the experiment with printing.

March 2.—The ladies' supper for funds to rebuild our church was a big success. Lucy busy about it for some days.

Besides feasting perhaps two hundred to three hundred citizens at thirty-five cents each, they gave a supper to the I. O. O. F. by McPherson Lodge. About fifty guests from Elyria and elsewhere. A notable time, indeed. The three degrees and initiation were given in capital style—the new team-work being used. A great fondness for dramatic work is one of the deep-seated desires of the heart. It was done last night in good taste, and with much genuine pathos.

March 3. Saturday.—I received a letter from N. E. Gray, the ex-convict of Philadelphia, warmly thanking me for the twenty-five dollars I sent him for the article on the Eastern Penitentiary of Pennsylvania, which I had published by F. H.

Wines in the *International Record of Charities and Correction*.
Very gratifying.

March 8. Thursday. — Yesterday I was at the meeting of the board of Western Reserve University. We added a musical department to the institution. The gymnasium does not walk off as it should. President Haydn does not, I suspect, estimate at their worth the academies. Fifteen hundred dollars is subsidy enough for the Green Spring Academy, but it is not too much. It is money as well spent as any that the Adelbert [College] appropriates.

March 9. Friday. — Finished a short talk for the Press Club at Toledo. A cheerful view of the newspapers as a whole without flattery. Merely a sensible talk. The brevity and a spirited reading will carry it off; a quiet statement that the newspapers with all their faults are useful and important.

March 10. — The death of [the] Emperor of Germany at a great age is the fact of the week. His heir, dying with cancer, comes in as Frederick III.

March 11. Sunday. — Mayor Hewitt, of New York, is complimented by the newspapers for brave words spoken on the labor question. They are all in criticism of the Labor men. Some obvious blunders of the leaders and mistakes in methods are easily pointed out. But there is no bravery in it, and I suspect not much wisdom. The real difficulty is with the vast wealth and power in the hands of the few and the unscrupulous who represent or control capital. Hundreds of laws of Congress and the state legislatures are in the interest of these men and against the interests of the workingmen. These need to be exposed and repealed. All laws on corporations, on taxation, on trusts, wills, descent, and the like, need examination and extensive change. This is a government of the people, by the people, and for the people no longer. It is a government of corporations, by corporations, and for corporations. — How is this?

March 12. Monday. — Fifty-one years ago, a morning like this, but the snow was perhaps ten or twelve inches deep, I started in a sleigh, the stage on runners, Mr. Hinton, the great

stage man of that day, in charge. Some eight or ten passengers Reached Marion at dark. Passengers, tired, wanted to stop. It was the regular stopping-place. Hinton saw that the south wind was blowing and that soon the snow would melt leaving us on bare ground. No wheels at Marion; must get on to Delaware where he would find a coach on wheels. He said to the landlord privately: "Give these people your best supper and good strong coffee. I can manage them after they are well fed." After supper all felt in good spirits. Hinton pleasantly told them the situation. He said: "I can carry you on in the morning on wheels, but it will be in uncomfortable road wagons. It will be more comfortable to go on tonight." All changed their minds. We reached Delaware after midnight with the snow melting fast. When I awoke in the morning the sun was shining brightly and there was not a particle of snow in sight.

March 13. Tuesday. — The greatest storm, snow and wind, in New York for thirty years or more [the historic blizzard] was Sunday night and yesterday.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 13, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— I wrote you on the back of one of Judge Lemmon's statements touching the toll-gates on the pike—that there was a *general sentiment* in favor of abolishing them. This might be misleading. Indeed, I was myself mistaken as to the extent to the opposition. I am in favor of the measure but I find more opposed to it than I supposed. I therefore write to request that you will not use my letter with other senators, or allow it to be published.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE J. ZIMMERMAN,
Columbus.

March 15. Thursday. — We had a pleasant time at the [Toledo] Press Club entertainment [last night]. My speech was well enough, perhaps even better than that. It was an attempt to deal fairly with the newspapers; to recognize their value and,

without denying their shortcomings, to give them due credit as part of our system of education and government.

March 16.—I am to respond to the sentiment, “The Irish and the War for the Union,” at the St. Patrick’s festival, 17th of this month—tomorrow night. Only a few words. The attitude of Ireland towards America in the war, and Irishmen as soldiers in the Union army. All governments were against us. We were alone. No aid, no sympathy, but a constant peril. A deceptive and malicious neutrality, or a dangerous and hostile intervention.

March 17. Saturday.—The unexampled storm of wind and snow that swept over the States from Washington to Portland, Maine, and perhaps beyond, involving all of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and New England, is the event of the week.

The St. Patrick’s celebration by St. Ann’s congregation was excellent. A neat, good supper and good music, singing, recitations, and speeches. We left at 10 P. M. I told stories of the little Irishman of the Twenty-third.

SPIEGEL, March 19, 1888.

MY DARLING:— . . . The weather here is and has been superb—bright days are the rule. The gusty storms West and East do not reach us. We leave the matter [the time of your return] however entirely to you. Your mother says: “Bring a large store of patience and cheerfulness” to bear with us all.

I am going to set you going in “manual training.” That more than ever is our pet hobby. Your mother and I enjoyed greatly the Press Club entertainment at Toledo Thursday evening in the opera house. The star feature of the occasion were tablaux and exercises of the boys and girls of the Training School. You see what you are coming to. The desire of my heart is that you take this training in hand and become a “burning and a shining” example of “M. T.” . . .

Give Emily and the general our warmest regards.

Affectionately,

MISS FANNY HAYES,

Soncy, Bermuda.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

FREMONT, OHIO, March 20, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— . . . Our friend General Crook is, I am sure, the man to take the place of General Terry, if the latter retires as is now expected early in April.

I believe General Crook is the senior brigadier. His appointment will be especially gratifying to all who take an interest in just and humane treatment of the Indian.

His attitude to Mr. Cleveland's Administration is not in his way, and he is the most distinguished soldier named for the place.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

THE CHIEF JUSTICE,
Washington.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 20, 1888.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Can you do anything to help our friend General George Crook? General Terry it is expected will retire in a few weeks. If so the vacancy should be filled by the best man. We know Crook as the brave and successful Indian fighter of his time and what is better, as the true, judicious, and reliable friend of the Indian. He is, I believe, the senior brigadier and although no politician, he is a friend of Mr. Cleveland's Administration. If you have any opportunity to aid in bringing the facts to the President's attention, it will, I hope, aid one of the best and most deserving officers in our army.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GENERAL CARL SCHURZ,
New York.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 21, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:—In reply to your favor of the 20th:—

1. The most important amendment to the National Constitution, in my opinion, is to fix the Presidential term at six years, and no eligibility for a second term.

2. Universal education by state authority where practicable,

and supplemented by National aid where needed. Compared with this, money spent for fortifications and navy is wasted.

3. Industrial training to be part of the education of all the young, of both sexes, and of all conditions.

4. Believing that the existing capital and labor troubles are mainly due to the irresponsible power of wealth on one hand, and of numbers on the other, the aim of reform should be to bring both equally under the control of laws for the general good.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

J. M. STURTEVANT.

March 22, 1888.—On the way over [to Toledo this morning, I] read in the Detroit *Free Press* that the city council and school board of Detroit would visit this morning the Manual Training School of Toledo with a view to introducing the system into the schools of that city. [I] decided to go to the school and assist in their reception. At the school met Mr. Miller, Mr. Macomber, Mr. Marx, and Mr. Scott who requested me to remain, to speak, etc., etc. After visiting all parts of the school, viz., drawing rooms, cooking, millinery, wood-carving, and other rooms of the young women, the carpenter, turning, blacksmith, etc., shops, the party assembled in the hall. I spoke in behalf of the new education, acceptably, and Mr. Macomber, one of the directors of the school, took the floor and in a conversational way gave a very intelligent and valuable account of the school with full details. The building cost a trifle less than forty thousand dollars; tools, engines, and equipment almost twenty thousand dollars; yearly cost nine thousand dollars (a little less). A satisfactory meeting.

Some opposition by Knights of Labor in Detroit. I said: "If I did not [think] that industrial education was in the interest of the workingman, I would lose my interest in it."

In the afternoon I went to Tontogany. Was the guest of *Samuel L. Irving*, wife, two daughters and one son, a child of four. Meeting of the G. A. R. in the Presbyterian Church.

Snow deep, roads almost impassable from frozen mud and snow ; audience not large. Five of my old soldiers present. A half dozen more who were in the Valley Campaign of Sheridan. Told the story well enough, and could see that the audience were pleased and enjoyed the talk to the end, one hour and thirty minutes !

CHAPTER XLVI

DEATH OF CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE—GROUNDS FOR LIBERAL PENSION POLICY — CHARACTER OF CONKLING — NOMINATION OF HARRISON — PRISON CONGRESS AT BOSTON — INTEREST IN STATE UNIVERSITY — DEATH OF GENERAL SHERIDAN — CINCINNATI CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION — COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF LOYAL LEGION — — MARCH-NOVEMBER, 1888

MARCH 23, 1888. — In Toledo this morning walking in the street, I met Kramer, formerly of this town, who told me of the death of the Chief Justice. Verified it by telephone to his brother Richard.

Toledo has recently lost many valuable and greatly esteemed citizens. But none so beloved, so eminent, and possessing such a combination of wonderful powers, high qualities, and attainments [as] the friend we have now lost. He was of large and strong intellect. He was great-hearted, warm-hearted, and of generous, just, and noble sentiments and feelings. He was thoroughly trained and schooled from his youth up. He was in the best sense a learned man and a well educated man. He had saving common sense, untiring industry, and great energy. He was always cheerful, easily made happy by others, and with amazing powers and a never-failing disposition to make others happy. He was the best beloved man that ever lived in this part of the United States. His death is felt as a personal loss and grief by a multitude of people in every walk of life from the humblest to the most exalted.

As a Chief Justice I do not venture to speak of him. In other circles ample attention, justice, will be done to his conduct in his great office and to the services which it enabled him to render to his country. Here we must ever think of Morrison R. Waite as a man; a man so altogether worthy that no title, no dignity, no office, and no opportunities could add to the respect, admiration, and love in which he is held — simply as a citizen, neighbor,

and friend — by all who have known him long and well. Here in Toledo the memory of Morrison R. Waite will be ever cherished with undying affection. — Hail and farewell!

March 24. Saturday. — Webb came last evening. We call him our "Anarchy." He is full of fun and life. A relief after our sadness. But we return to it. Dear, dear "Mott Waite," how beloved he was!

SPIEGEL, March 25, 1888.

MY DARLING: — The death of Chief Justice Waite after a few days' sickness — pneumonia — was a shock and fills us with gloom and sorrow. Mrs. Waite had just gone to California. She is now on her mournful journey home. She returns to Toledo direct. The Chief Justice will probably be buried at Toledo this week.

If so, we go to the wedding of Lucy Cook Monday and will be absent about a week. Your coming home is a joy indeed. To be sure, our weather is now wintry enough. A deep snow for three days, and now a sleet such as broke down our trees four or five years ago! But you will have a warm welcome in any weather. It is not probable that I can go to New York in time for your arrival. If it can be managed, Rutherford will meet you in New York at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, or as far out at sea as he can get. Of course, we cannot say positively who will meet you, but it seems now as if it would be Rutherford. . . .

We long for you. Our best wishes and love to the general, Emily, Lilly, and all the young people.

Affectionately,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
Soncy, Bermuda.

March 29. Thursday. — The funeral of Chief Justice Waite at Toledo. With Sherman, Evarts, Allison, George, and Gray, Senators, lunched at the Boody House. An interesting conversation. With Justices Miller [and] Harlan and with Evarts

rode out to Birchard's new home. A pleasant visit for Lucy and Mary.

P. M. With the justices at the funeral in Trinity Church. Justice Lamar spoke [to me] in warm terms of my dealing with the Southern and other questions — of the success of my Administration. "One part of your Administration all approve. Mrs. Hayes will be always remembered as the perfect hostess at the White House. If you go South you will be warmly welcomed everywhere. Mrs. Hayes must come with you. She has a warm place in our affections." All very pleasant to hear.

Rode to the church with Justices Miller and Harlan. After Dr. Walbridge's funeral address and the other exercises, Justice Miller said they would not go to the graveyard. "Take our carriage," said he. This I did. Not wishing to be alone I asked a policeman to get me company. Two polite and intelligent young men were put in the carriage. They were very civil and grateful.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 3, 1888.

MY DEAR S.—:— It is not likely that Mrs. Hayes will accompany me to New York. Your friendly suggestion is appreciated. But it is scarcely to be expected that I will have time for "company dinner." With *you* I can spend a good sitting. . . .

No more public life for me! I will retain the place of the one man who having reached the Presidency would not seek or accept a second term. I hear of the governorship occasionally but uniformly reply that *under no circumstances* would I take the nomination, and this is final.

With best wishes, sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HON. WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

April 13, 1888. Friday.— We reached home from our Ohio Centennial journey last evening from Cleveland after a most delightful tour.

[Monday, April 2], to Columbus. Dined with Laura. Thence Lucy to Chillicothe that evening. I spent the night at the Park

Hotel and at a banquet with Professor Lazenby, Dr. Townsend, Colonel Brigham, *et al.*, of the experiment station with the new superintendent or director, Mr. Thorne. The Pugh election that night. Tuesday to Chillicothe. Wedding of Lucy H. Cook to Mr. McCandless, of Allegheny City. A lovely affair. Wednesday with Maggie Gilmore on the hill. Dined with Joe McKell and Aunt McKell in the evening. Thursday to Marietta. Spent the days of the centennial with Douglas Putnam, viz., until Monday, 9th. A model New England family of the old style. Senator George F. Hoar and other guests. The Senator was capital company and made a solid and perfect oration. Monday, 9th, . . . to Wellington. At American House all night in Wellington. Visited M. E. church in the morning (Mr. Houghton) and reached, with Warner, Cleveland about 10:30 A. M. At Mrs. L. Austin's 10th [of] April. April 11 at Forest City House, Cleveland, all night. Presided over the Loyal Legion banquet and made a satisfactory speech "*impromptu*." Ditto, after Hoar in Marietta.

Altogether a very satisfactory trip of ten days with Lucy, who was everywhere the life of all circles, especially at Cleveland with the Loyal Legion. The singer, Miss Agnes Huntington, and Mrs. Ford were the musical attractions of the evening at Loyal Legion banquet.

Quote Judge Burnett on the treatment of the Revolutionary soldiers. Poverty furnished then an excuse — at least a pretext — for the ingratitude of the then young and feeble republic. But now with a surplus! I wish there was [were] half as much desire to do our full duty by the soldier as there is to take care of the surplus money in the treasury!

Father Bauer was right. The man who is accepted as a soldier, signs his enlistment and takes the oath, unless he forfeits it by bad conduct which can be proved, is thenceforth the ward of the republic, as he is the lifeguard of its safety, and must be taken care of. Suppose he lacks thrift, economy, sobriety, industry. He is part of our standing army. I speak for no particular measure. I speak for the spirit, the sentiment, the principle, which should govern us.

April 14. Saturday.— Senator Hoar was very interesting. Humorous anecdotes bubbled up naturally in his conversation. Good nature, kindness, friendliness, and the savor of integrity and patriotism pervaded his talk.

One story on his brother, Judge Hoar, of Concord, illustrated the strength of local feeling. Lexington claims the honor of the first bloodshed of the Revolution. Concord also. Riding in the cars home from the Cincinnati Convention the judge said: "It was very hard to vote against Blaine. He came to the Concord Centennial and attended all of its exercises, *and he never went near Lexington.*"

April 15. Sunday.— Wrote a great many letters. The awful heap gathered during our centennial trip is almost disposed of. Heard Dr. Barnes preach a capital sermon.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 16, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— Your letter finds me overburdened with demands on my time. I rejoice with you in your restored health, and in the encouraging prospects of your noble work. I trust you will fully recover and that your enterprise will be altogether successful.

As to the name of your industrial work, I prefer to see the names of generous givers to the endowment fund honored in naming institutions. I have just received a letter from Dr. Haygood in which he furnishes abundant ground for thankfulness in view of the progress making in his educational work.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

REV. W. D. GOODMAN.

April 19. Thursday.— Chief Justice Waite had a large, warm heart, filled full of love for his fellow men. He had a sound head in which a good conscience and a wise judgment were at home. He had a cheerful and friendly spirit that easily made captive even the most gloomy and coldest of those around him.

His industry and persevering ability to work without ceasing long hours after others were wearied and worn out, made him a matchless lawyer in difficult and responsible work.

Conkling's death calls up the past. He was talented and able in the debates of public life; but, as I see it, his place is largely due to his manipulation of men and patronage. He had no measures, made no memorable speeches, but his fidelity to supporters and skill in flattery, with an impressive presence and manner, were his chief points. An inordinate egotism and self-will were too much for his judgment. If he could not rule, he would not "play." He was unfaithful to his party whenever he could not control it. Examples are numerous. He failed in 1876 after his disappointment at Cincinnati. A man with less vanity would have known that he had no chance there. After the election, during the contest over the disputed results, he was again untrue, but lacked the courage to carry out his wishes. In the Potter Committee business he intrigued with the common enemy. He had to be pacified in the Garfield campaign. After the election he required control of New York appointments as a condition of support of the Garfield Administration. After his defeat in New York due [to] — brought about by his "monomania on the subject of his own importance," he was out of political life until the convention at Chicago in 1884, when he allowed it to be understood that he would support Blaine. But when the election came on he, as usual, opposed his party, it being no longer under his control.

After I went to Washington and after the delivery of the inaugural, he was profuse in admiration of my opinions and course — *this to me personally*, — until the announcement of my Cabinet, when he became hostile, never again calling on me. We never spoke with each other afterwards. He wanted Platt for Postmaster-General. *That* was the condition of his support.

April 21. — Captain Alexis Cope, the secretary of the board of trustees of the Ohio State University, an intelligent and efficient man, here. Good company. The university to be improved and popularized. Farmers, mechanics, and military men to be especially considered in the university! Good.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 22, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have just read the debate on the election of 1876. You have done an excellent work. You have vindicated the truth of history. It is to me a great gratification, and adds largely to the obligations I am under to you. I thank you for it. This is probably the end of the debate. Your use of the speeches of McEnery and Eustis was indeed crushing. If anybody renews it, and you think it worth while to renew it, there is a strong line of retort.

1. Tilden was not nominated again in 1880 because the cipher dispatches and the attempted Oregon fraud were traced to his door.

2. The Democrats *did* nominate Hancock who was the first officer in uniform to call on me, and who always in public and private recognized the validity of the election.

3. The Republicans nominated Garfield, who as a visiting statesman to Louisiana, *reported to Hayes* and to the country that the State was legally, fairly, and equitably carried for Hayes.

4. Garfield as one of the Electoral Commission decided the case for Hayes.

The country endorsed him. But for the Morey forgery *every* Northern State would have voted for him.

With thanks, sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

April 24.—Last evening I made a speech, on the invitation of the school board of Fremont, on manual training with a view to its introduction into the public schools here. The city hall was well crowded by an attentive and intelligent audience. At the close of my address, Mr. F. S. White, perhaps our ablest and wealthiest citizen, moved a vote of thanks to the speaker, and “that it is the sense of this meeting that the school board take immediate steps to introduce manual training into the public schools next fall.” A standing vote was unanimously in favor of the motion.

April 25. Wednesday.—We go—Lucy and I—to Toledo this morning to be present at the encampment of the G. A. R. for Ohio. I am a delegate from my post, but have no special duty or purpose beyond my own satisfaction in meeting comrades of the war, and the little I can add to their enjoyment. This I feel to be an agreeable duty.

My speaking is unimportant. Five or ten minutes. The ideas I will get off are the neglect of the Nation to provide for her defenders. In the war of the Revolution, in the present case, the States have felt compelled to take care of them. . . . Don't quote as precedents that govern the Revolutionary War. The old heroes were shamefully neglected. Don't refer to the soldiers of the War of 1812 or the Mexican War. But consider the pledges given, the sacrifices made, the service rendered, and its results.

April 27.—Received when I spoke Wednesday evening with great warmth. Cheering all through and at the close “three cheers and a tiger.” Again well received Thursday evening. A very harmonious meeting of the annual department encampment.

Judge O’Neal, of Lebanon, commander, a prisoner of war, had all of the experience of war in every form which could befall any man in the Union army except death itself.

SPIEGEL GROVE, April 28, 1888.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I have been greatly gratified to learn from Mr. Mack, of Sandusky, that the trustees of the Soldiers’ Home intend to appoint you as the head of the home. I do hope, for many reasons, that you will find it consistent with your interest and inclination to accept the position. At first there will, no doubt, be a good deal of care and labor connected with it. But with your ability as a disciplinarian as shown in the war, I think you will soon find it easy to master the situation. Would it not be well to make us a visit and look over the ground with me?

Sincerely,

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,
Cincinnati.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 28, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— I have been greatly interested in your debate. Any continuation of it will be eagerly read. But I don't wan't you to get into any controversy which will be used against you at Chicago. No doubt the body of the party want to see the remains of the rebellious spirit firmly rebuked and promptly met. It seems to me as if I had missed the beginning of the debate. I have the 19th and 20th *Record*. Was there an earlier debate?

Chicago grows more interesting daily with your leadership assured.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

SPIEGEL, April 29, 1888. Sunday.

MY DARLING:— Your letters make us happy. As long as you are in New York I feel that you are almost at home. We can easily reach you and hear from you, and many good friends of your father and mother are near you. We gladly leave the question of your remaining until I come the middle of next month to you. The doctor's advice is to be duly heeded. You will have no better opportunity than now to make a perfect job of the surgery needed. . . .

We love you ever so much, especially the elderly person.

Affectionately,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MISS FANNY HAYES,
New York.

May 5. Saturday.— Returned from Cincinnati via Wellington last evening. A capital visit to Cincinnati. Stayed at the Burnet House. The [Loyal Legion] banquet was well attended. The finest in all respects we have had. General Sherman presided in his characteristic, offhand way. Speeches good. Mine unusually well received.

May 13. Sunday.—I go to New York tomorrow to attend the annual meeting of the Slater board and to meet Fanny and bring her home with me.

FIFTH AVENUE HOTEL, May 16, 1888.

MY DARLING:—I reached here at eight last evening and found Fanny at 41 and 42 plump, blooming, and good, ready to welcome me. She had been in about two hours. All agreeable. Met Mr. Dodge on train, got President Gilman's card and a note from Dr. Haygood. So we can begin [the Slater board meeting] this morning, I suppose. I hope to get off in time to reach home Saturday as I proposed.

I send a sheet of the *Tribune*. On one side is Bishop (?) Taylor's report on his African work. One of the sharp questions to come [up] in the [Methodist Episcopal General] Conference. The other side has a bright criticism of Donnelly's book on the Shakespeare-Bacon craze which may interest Birchard.

I hope to keep away from the Conference. Indeed I will not get into its clutches. I may go to see it.

Be happy! As happy as you are good will do.

Affectionately,

MRS. HAYES,

R.

Fremont.

May 17. Thursday.—Our Slater meeting was interesting, harmonious, and businesslike. All things are in good trim. The report of Dr. Haygood shows the work to be going forward prosperously. It was resolved to have a committee of three select a school at Atlanta to aid more largely than heretofore in the special interest of manual training by showing how far that department of education among the negroes may be made self-sustaining. As educational work merely, it is conceded that learners must go on from one trade to another as soon as the first is reasonably well learned. While for money-making they must keep at the same work for much longer periods so as to get the benefit of skill already acquired.

After the adjournment, I visited with Dr. Haygood the Industrial Training Normal school at Number 9 University Place in care of Dr. Butler. Both of us were much interested. They charge sixty dollars per year and thirty dollars per month for pupils; that is, the first for tuition and the last for board and lodging.

May 18. Friday. — Called on Mrs. General Grant. A cordial interview. Introduced to her sister, Mrs. Dent. An agreeable talk on all matters of interest to her family and ours. The wretched business with Badeau was shown up. Called, afternoon, on Mrs. Parsons. She was out. On General and Miss Sherman. A pleasant visit. Fanny rode with Dr. Bosworth; a fine ride in the park. I went into the empty Metropolitan Opera House; found difficulty in getting out; Conference not in session.

Dined with Mr. and Mrs. [Melvil] Dewey in their beautiful flat. His advanced views were pleasantly talked over; libraries, spelling reform, etc., etc.

May 28. Monday. — My old commander, General Sheridan, is in a very critical condition. My relations with him were not intimate, but sufficiently so to know him well. He was a most satisfactory commander to serve under. He was always alert, determined, and enterprising. He, as I have often said, was emphatically our battle general. My speech before the Society of the Army of West Virginia at Portsmouth in 1886 was a fair statement of his qualities.

May 30 — Memorial Day. Good weather. The ceremonies passed off pleasantly in all respects. In the forenoon committees strewed flowers on the soldiers' graves. In the afternoon the G. A. R. ceremony took place at the monument, Fort Stephenson Park. The crowd of decently dressed and orderly people made a handsome display. After this the crowd went over to the court-house park where music and singing and the address of Captain [Isaac F.] Mack were the events. Captain Mack's speech was exceptionally good. I made a very short talk and read Lincoln's Gettysburg speech.

Called on Mr. and Mrs. Raikes. Mr. Raikes is pastor of the Episcopal church. An Englishman, hearty, patriotic, and sensible. He is of a good family. Fine portraits and the snuff box (silver and large) of an admiral show the ancestors to have been of "blue blood." But better far is his genuine character. Mrs. Raikes shares these good traits also.

June 8. Friday.—The nomination of Cleveland and Thurman at St. Louis is announced. Thurman's nomination hurts the Democrats in the doubtful State of Indiana; is therefore, perhaps, not "good politics." But it is pleasant to see that his independent and honorable course in the trial of the ballot-box frauds at Columbus has not driven Judge Thurman from his party.

June 10. Sunday.—Mr. Barnes gave the picture of "Innocence," the child, and "Guilt," the murderer.

The points in prisons, crimes, etc., are, 1. Prevention. 2. Reformation. 3. Place the incorrigible, the professional, where they will do no harm—convicts for life, earning by labor their own support.

FREMONT, June 11, 1888.

MY DEAR WILLIAM HENRY:—Thanks for Gorman's article. I have seen notices of it, but would have missed it but for your attention.

It is well written and contains many facts. Cleveland was so swallowed up in his own egotism that the whole world around him was unseen. True to his own desires meant fidelity to party—to duty—to country. His admirers shared largely in his own delusions.

I have not seen the scandalous pamphlet about the President. Is it believed by insiders?

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.—At the Portsmouth reunion 1886, I roughly sketched the salient points of Sheridan's military career.—H.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

June 22. Friday.—Absent from home a full week. The 13th, Wednesday, with Lucy to Cleveland. Found Fanny at Mrs. Austin's. All attended the double Garfield weddings Thursday, 14th, at Mentor, viz., Harry Garfield to Miss Mason, and Mollie to Mr. Brown (Joseph Stanley).—[The] 15th, I went to Delaware. Reached President Payne's in time to attend the evening gathering in the chapel and make a short talk to them [the students]. One point made: "Idleness recruits the ranks of misfortune, of failure, of vice, and crime. Industry recruits the ranks of success, of achievement, of high and noble character."

[The] 16th, Saturday, early, drank abundantly at the dear old spring. Worked with the board of trustees. Placed on committee of six or seven to nominate a new president.

[The] 17th, President Payne delivered baccalaureate. Strong, but no, or very little, personal reference. Farewells, of course, to citizens, students, and class. [The] 18th to Columbus. At once met the board [of the Ohio State University] at Captain Alexis Cope's office. Godfrey, Wing and Booth; finally also Perkins and Colonel Brigham. A little rebellion of the senior class—easily settled. A lack of tact in our good president. [The] 19th, a pleasant visit with Laura and the Fullertons. Left for Toledo with Colonel Brigham. A pleasant night with Mary and Birchard. [The] 20th, home again. Lovely home, never so homelike as this hot weather. The grove, green and fresh, and the house, airy, cool, spacious. Found Lucy and Fanny cheery and affectionate in their welcome.

My concern now is the danger of diabetes. . . . Have used sugar to excess all my days. Must drop that and adopt a diet suited to the complaint.

I am interested in the success of Sherman at Chicago. A noble President he would make. It is probable he would prove also available as a candidate because he is fittest. The others named are good men. Harrison, Depew, Allison especially so. The three ballots place Sherman ahead—249 [votes]. No other one above 130, but this proves little.

June 24. Sunday.—The Republican convention adjourned until Monday. Depew withdrew in a handsome speech. On the last ballot yesterday Sherman was still slightly ahead—224 to Harrison, 223 or 213. New York went to Harrison for the most part. General Harrison would probably be a good candidate—possibly the best; possibly a very excellent candidate. His ancestry would tell. He is a soldier; he is in a doubtful State; his civil record is good; he is a firm, sound man; his personal character is clear and high.

The danger is Blaine. After his letters, to nominate him would be a mistake. The acceptance now would seem like a trick. The charge of a lack of sincerity and integrity would stick worse than ever.

June 25. Monday.—Read quite fully the proceedings at Chicago. While I think it very unwise to nominate Blaine again, those who wish it at Chicago have certainly thus far acted with good sense and entire fairness, so far as I can see. They seem to give all opponents a fair hearing and to aim to nominate their favorite only when it is shown that no other can get a majority. If to this they add the condition that all other candidates or their friends consent to his nomination, I do not see but he is relieved from all committals to the contrary and may be supported heartily by all Republicans.

If McKinley is nominated it will be in order for me to congratulate him with “We’re tenting tonight on the old camp ground.”

Harrison nominated on the eighth ballot. Majority large. He is received here with much satisfaction—yes, with enthusiasm.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, June 24 [25], 1888.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—Mrs. Hayes joins in heartiest congratulations and regards to you and Mrs. Harrison. Very few households rejoice more sincerely than mine. We were attached to Sherman and loyal to his desires, but your nomination covers a *host of points*. Encouragement and determination will spread everywhere.

Do not—of course you will not—think of replying to this hasty note from

Your friend, sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GENERAL BENJAMIN HARRISON,
Indianapolis.

June 26. Tuesday. — The Harrison and Morton nominations are sound politics. They are likely to be very popular and strong. Enthusiasm will begin in Indiana, a partisan State, usually close. The people give much time to politics. Harrison will stir them up. Great meetings will be held. The spirit will extend to other States. A lively campaign all over with the chances pretty even, but inclining to the Republicans.

Speaking of the facts of the disputed election of 1876 an article, presumably written by Curtis, concludes:

"*Harper's Weekly* held then and holds now that there had been so much intimidation, bribery, fraud, and suppression, that it was absolutely impossible to know what the vote really was, and that under the circumstances the only way to avoid civil convulsion was to agree upon such a scheme of settlement as was adopted. Its adoption and the peaceful carrying out of the decision, was one of the greatest triumphs of patriotism in our annals." — *Harper's Weekly*, June 23, 1888.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 26, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— You have no time for long letters. I wish merely to congratulate you very heartily, and to send to Mrs. Morton the kind regards and best wishes of Mrs. Hayes and myself.

Your nomination was good politics, and is specially gratifying to,

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE LEVI P. MORTON,
New York.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 27, 1888.

MY DEAR SHERMAN:— You know how I and Mrs. Hayes and all of my household feel about the Chicago result. We like Harrison, of course, and think the ticket “good politics,” in the sense of availability. But you were so clearly entitled to it by service and fitness, and our personal feelings were so enlisted that we cannot think of it without great disappointment. I try to find comfort in the reflection that it has become usage in our country that the man of great and valuable service in *civil* life must be content to leave the Presidency to the less conspicuous and deserving. In your case the one fact that Indiana was doubtful and Ohio sure compelled the adverse decision. The first statesman of the land can’t be nominated when this consideration is not in his favor if the contest is close.

We are surprised and mortified by the conduct of Luckey. I know him well and was assured of his fidelity to you. I don’t understand it. Mrs. Hayes joins me in special regards to Mrs. Sherman and yourself.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 27, 1888.

MY DEAR JONES:— So our friend Sherman failed. It was in accordance with precedent, and was probably “good politics.” The man of large and conspicuous public service in civil life must be content without the Presidency. Still more, the availability of a popular man in a doubtful State will secure him the prize in a close contest against the first statesman of the country whose State is safe in any event. The ticket is a wise one. Our Democratic friends will find it no picnic to beat it.

Sincerely,

JUDGE T. C. JONES,
Delaware, Ohio.

R. B. HAYES.

FREMONT, June 27, 1888.

MY DEAR MAJOR:— I congratulate you heartily. Depew behaved handsomely. He left the convention with enhanced repu-

tation. But who else was so fortunate? You gained gloriously. The test was a severe one, but you stood it manfully. It was finely done. A better crown than to have been nominated.

The old story was reënacted. . . .

There were ambitious men near you at Chicago. That, of course. Men in political life must be ambitious. But the surest path to the White House is his who never allows his ambition to get there to stand in the way of any duty, large or small. The man who is guided by ambition alone, who acts from policy, "cannot somehow sometimes always tell."

My old friend Judge Johnson used to say, "The Presidency is unlike the Kingdom of Heaven,—those who seek shall never find."

Since 1868, twenty years ago, [Republicans] have not been so united as they are now.

I could not help telling you how my young hero looked to his old friend at a distance.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

MAJOR WILLIAM MCKINLEY,
Canton.

June 29. Friday. — Harrison and Morton seem to please in all quarters. No such unity among Republicans in the support of any ticket since 1868, twenty years ago. In 1872 Grant's unfortunate Administration had alienated thousands—Greeley, Sumner, Depew, and a host. In 1876 the hard times and the Greenback craze took off thousands, making Ohio even and other Western States doubtful. Besides Conkling's disappointment sent him to his tent in a fit of sulk. In 1880, again, Conkling was sullen and hostile with Stalwart followers until the canvass was nearly finished. Besides this, Garfield's record,—Crédit Mobilier and DeGolyer, etc.—was a load. In 1884 Blaine's record drove off thousands. Now *all* are *content*, at least, with Harrison and most are enthusiastic.

June 30. Saturday. — Mr. Niles, "a gentleman who has read and travelled," dined with me today. Through his wife, a Miss James, daughter of John H. James, late of Urbana, he has a

large landed estate near Toledo on the lake shore. He lives there in Black Swamp—the only great swamp which has not an acre of real swamp in it. No springs in the swamp; no swamp without springs. I must visit him and become acquainted with him and his family. He is liberal, cultured, and religious. Worth some effort to know intimately. The “better brethren” who have seen the Vatican library and treasures and who have walked sixty miles a day across the Appenines—only one day at that rate—are to be esteemed in this level country,—level society as well as scenery.

July 1, 1888.—Mr. John W. Patterson of Brooklyn, formerly of Tiffin (1826 to 185—), blind for twelve years, called with his assistant Miss Potter Saturday. He is the most cheerful and hopeful blind man I have met. Now seventy-six years old—(golden wedding celebrated five years ago), he is an interesting and companionable old gentleman.

July 4.—Have spent the whole morning slowly hammering out a speech for Boston [National Prison Congress]. So-so only, but two-thirds done at one sitting.

July 5. Thursday.—I gave [the finishing touch to] my Boston talk—a little “communistic” in its tendency, the “privileged class” will say. But I quote largely on this topic from such high authorities as Webster and Horatio Seymour.

July 12. Thursday. Boston.—At the Tremont House, as it is called here. Left home 7:30 A. M. train yesterday. A good time [on trip]; reached here 9:50 A. M.

Here in Boston—the first of the prison people! A day on my hands. So much to see. What first? Probably it should be prisons.

TREMONT HOUSE, BOSTON, July 14, 1888.

MY DARLING:—Lovely cool weather. Fine quarters, good company, nothing lacking but you. With Wines, Millikin, and Judge Wayland yesterday afternoon visited the Female Reformatory of Mrs. Johnson. All creditable. But her special

pride was her dairy. One hundred pounds of butter — was it a day or a week? And her dozen or fifteen Jerseys, one Alderney, and as many more grade. Today in the afternoon is the *card* reception, and tonight the speaking.

All love to all and to you the special affection of your

RUTHERFORD.

MRS. HAYES,
Fremont.

July 15. Sunday. — With Edward L. Pierce yesterday I rode out to Cambridge — the loveliest college town! What a grand arched room for the tablets of the heroes of the war! Afternoon, an excellent reception, well attended. A leading usher, Mr. James, son of George James, of Zanesville. He was best man at Stilwell's wedding.

Dr. Brooks' sermon on the text, "In jail and ye visited me" was broad, sound, and strong. He speaks rapidly; voice a little hoarse. Pierce says, "He is the preacher of the world."

TREMONT, BOSTON, July 15, 1888.

MY DARLING:— All has gone off in the best possible way — the reception, the meeting and speeches last evening, and all. Nothing wanting. Your *absence* is a notable exception. So sorry you didn't come. Never *read* a speech so well. It was received most flatteringly.

Pierce took me to Cambridge in fine style yesterday. Today Phillips Brooks. Lunch with Mrs. Homans, and then to Mr. Winthrop's to tea. He sends his carriage for Dr. Green and myself.

Very happy. Much love, ever,

RUTHERFORD.

P. S.— Treated well by all the papers.

MRS. HAYES,
Fremont.

Tremont House, July 17. Tuesday. — All goes well with the Prison Congress. Met [yesterday] in the hall of the House of Representatives — a most convenient and suitable place. Good ventilation, good for hearing well, etc., etc.

The meeting was interesting. The labor question up. Especial reference to the O'Neal Bill in Congress. Passed a resolution on the absolute need in all prisons of *skilled and remunerative labor*. A superintendent of [the] Southern Prison of Indiana, Mr. Patton, a fluent, windy, and endless speaker, undertook to hold the floor in spite of the five-minute rule. He was persistent when called to order, but I gently and firmly said: "The gentleman from Indiana will take his seat." He continued standing. I ignored the fact and in a rapid but orderly way went on with the business, the meeting applauding!

P. M. On train through Lexington to Concord, visiting the fine prison of Colonel Gardiner Tufts, the Concord Reformatory. Returned direct to the Hall of the House 8 P. M. and went on with the record. Mr. Brooker, of South Carolina, made a good talk in a quiet way.

This afternoon with Edward L. Pierce to his home in Milton. Drove over this lovely suburb. Mrs. Pierce and Mary with us. *Trees, ocean, hills.*

July 22. Sunday. — Home again. The Boston visit and the Prison Congress altogether agreeable. Met old friends, made new ones. And most cordially treated by all. The work of the [Prison Association] goes on gaining steadily. The Boston jail and other institutions of Massachusetts in commendable condition. Models for others.

As I left the chair the last day, I emphasized as among the things to be remembered:— 1. Dr. Brooks' sermon. 2. The permanent imprisonment of the incorrigible old offenders. 3. The better treatment by the public in all ways of the police, and their value.

Reached home last night. I recall especially Mrs. Homans, Mr. R. C. Winthrop, General Dewey, Colonel Russell of Charles-ton Prison, *especially Edward L. Pierce*, Governor Claflin. Of course our old associates are not to be omitted — Professor

Wayland of Yale, Mr. Wines, Major McClaughry, Dr. Byers, and a host of others.

My address and other speeches were well received and the Boston audience greeted me beautifully. A happy time.

July 24. — To Lakeside. Spoke to a fair audience in the auditorium. General Leggett, Dr. Buckley, and others in the intelligent audience. Offhand and satisfactory.

July 26. Thursday. — Invited by the Society of the Army of Tennessee to respond at the banquet to the toast, "The President." Can I make a satisfactory ten-minute talk on this? I would strenuously urge *a single term of six years*. Now, the wisdom of the fathers has given to the President a host of motives to be honest and patriotic. Presidents in the past have always been better than their adversaries have predicted. Take, of course, only those who are so far removed by time that no one's sensibilities will be shocked or even touched by allusions to them, — say, from Washington to Jackson inclusive. All were free from any the least taint of personal corruption. All were honest men. All were in the best sense gentlemen. Compare them with the chief magistrates of the nations of Europe. Quote Jefferson's opinion — "could not be elected a vestryman in America."

July 28. Saturday. — Will give a sketch of Chief Justice Waite at the meeting in Fort Wayne August 15 and will add some sentences on the interest that clings to Fort Wayne; next to Detroit, the most interesting spot in this part of the old Northwest Territory.

July 31. Tuesday. — I go to Columbus today in reference to president for Ohio Wesleyan and a professor for Ohio State University.

August 1. Wednesday. — Met at D. S. Gray's railroad office, High Street, near the Columbus depot. Present, Chairman Gray, Trimble, McDowell, Lyon, Hayes. After hearing letters it was plain that no one named for president was satisfactory to a clear majority of the committee. Phelps preferred to any other.

Agreed to report not able to find a candidate and to suggest postponement one year and Vice-President McCabe to act as president in the meantime. Adjourned. The board called [to meet] at Delaware the 16th of August.

August 2. — With Captain Cope to the Ohio State University. President Scott opposed to the German influence — beer and Sunday — in the faculty. Therefore opposed to Bleile as successor of Tuttle. Met Bleile, a bright, modest, intelligent scholar.

August 6. Monday. — General Sheridan died last night at 10:30 P. M. — suddenly, rather. Sent Mrs. Sheridan [a despatch] as follows: "By the death of your illustrious husband our country loses her great battle general. All who served under him suffer with you. Mrs. Hayes joins me in deepest sympathy."

I must send to Colonel John P. Nicholson instructions to issue proper orders to the Companions of the Loyal Legion.

August 9. Thursday. — The death of Sheridan last Sunday is the event of the week. I always speak of him as our best battle general. He was able in all the exigencies of war, but in fight he was specially great. He was cautious and courageous, enterprising and sagacious. Firm of purpose, confident of himself and of his men, always ready to aid them, never leaving a subordinate to get out of his scrape.

August 13. Monday. — I go today to Toledo. Thence tomorrow up the Maumee to visit with General Poe and others the places of historic interest and on Wednesday at Fort Wayne to attend the meeting of the society over which I am to preside.

August 18. — Monday evening left home for the Fort Wayne meeting of the Maumee Valley Monumental Association. With Birchard and Mary that evening. Tuesday morning in the carriage of — Schenck, coal dealer at Toledo, and General J. C. Lee up the Maumee to old Fort Miami on the west bank of the river a mile or more below Maumee

FREMONT, OHIO, August 18, 1888.

DEAR SIR:—I have no doubt the copy of my letter written more than twenty years ago is correctly given, but I do not recall it. Having never used spectacles, I could not then or now speak from experience as to the skill or work of opticians. What was said was, as the printed letter shows, correct.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MORRIS BERNHART.

August 26. Sunday.—The past week with Lucy at [the] Twenty-third Reunion, Lakeside 21-23d. Thursday, 23d, spoke at Erie County Harvest Picnic, Cedar Point, in the afternoon, and at the school building [to] Erie County Teachers' Institute in the evening. Industrial education the topic.

[The] 24th at home. [The] 25th, Saturday, with Mr. and Mrs. Post, General and Mrs. Leggett, and thirty other gentlemen and ladies, over to Middle Bass and called on General and Mrs. Harrison.

General Harrison told me Blaine wrote him (or told him) that my Letter of Acceptance was the best ever written. General Harrison asked me to send it to him. This I have done today.

At the Twenty-third Reunion the presence of General Scammon, of Chicago, Colonel Fisher, of Denver, and Dr. Jenkins, of San Diego, gave us special pleasure. The singing and recitations of Kimberley assisted by Major Palmer and Colonel —, of Cleveland, carried the affair through gloriously. Lucy and I enjoyed it all.

Our friends with whom we dined and teaed at Sandusky, the Post family, Mack and his wife (I. F.), and the rest were particularly agreeable.

I spoke of Sheridan, the "ride," etc.; also his stirring little speech at Five Forks.

August 27. Monday.—Fanny's merry [week-long] party begins to break up. This morning Robert Neil Dickman, Herrick, and A. R. Warner, all of Cleveland, leave us. A more joyous party and time we have not had. Good singing of sacred, war,

and college tunes and an abounding good nature has carried the whole along.

I am to speak twice at Columbus; once to the Sons of Veterans and must think up my topic. 1. The work done by your fathers can't be extolled beyond its merit. 2. The principles and example of Lincoln. 3. The good name you have in your keeping is a sacred heritage which must carry you safely through every temptation.

Next Thursday the Sandusky County Pioneer and Historical Society meets. I will think up a little talk for that occasion also.

August 28. Tuesday.— This is the birthday of Lucy. She is fifty-seven years old. Health good. Her good constitution preserves her beauty. She has little *down* spells sometimes; but all society, all sorts of people stimulate her to a fine flow of spirits and she is always happy when she can make others happy.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 28, 1888.

DEAR COMRADE:— Of course I recall the severe nature of your service on the raid to Lewisburg, but not the details. The best I can do is to write a personal letter to the Commissioner of Pensions. I believe General Black wishes to do all he can lawfully for the meritorious soldier. When you have made all the case you can, let me know the number of your application and I will write in your behalf.

We had a happy time at the reunion at Lakeside last week. General Scammon was there.

With best wishes, sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

PHILO F. TWITCHELL,
EX-SOLDIER, 23D O. V. I.

August 30. Thursday.— Our Pioneer meeting was unusually well attended at the city hall. Excellent music and singing. . . . S. A. Wildman, Esq., made a sound, good speech. Mine was well received. Told the story of the sun, the moon, and Joshua of Franklin.

August 31. Friday.—Hazy but clearing. Getting dry. But never a summer with such grass and leaves. Very few hot days, but enough to give a great crop of corn. On the whole, the finest summer I have known.

The climate of Ohio is perfect, considered as the home of an ideal republican people. Climate has much to do with national character—with the character of a people. The highest civilization must reach all members of society. It must be one that requires labor on [of] the people to secure food and shelter and clothing. Hence the warm and luxurious climate of the tropics which do not require for health or comfort labor or skill, industry or economy, is not favorable to progress. If the climate is too severe, either too cold or too hot for labor in the open air, the best society will not be found.

A climate which permits labor out-of-doors every month in the year and which requires industry to secure comfort—to provide food, shelter, clothing, fuel, etc.—is the very climate which secures the highest civilization. No work, no civilization. The climate which encourages industry is the climate of the highest civilization. The temperate zone, the productive soil, the varied industry,—these are the elements.

Habits of industry are formed by the necessity to work in order to live with comfort and the encouragement to work by reason of confidence that production and abundance are the sure results.

September 2, 1888. Sunday.—Fanny's birthday. Born twenty-one years ago this morning about 7 A. M. in Cincinnati, at Walnut Hills. I returned the evening before from a week's absence "on the stump" in the canvass—my first candidacy for governor. I spoke in the afternoon at Hillsboro. No train until Monday. Four soldiers volunteered to take me to Loveland on a handcar. There I took a train on the Little Miami reaching the summer boarding-house of the family about 10 or 11 P. M. I gave Fanny a check for one hundred dollars by way of present on this happy occasion.

September 5. Columbus.—Came down Monday evening from Toledo. Laura and the general waiting for me 11:30 P. M. A

good welcome. Rev. Dr. Jones, son of my friend Judge T. C. Jones, of Delaware, here.

A fine time with W. D. Howells — as charming and bright as ever, and more and more a man of wisdom and heart.

Yesterday with Governors Foraker, Brackett, and Lounsbury (Massachusetts and Connecticut) to the review of the Ohio National Guard and to the opening of the Centennial at [the] State Fair Grounds.

Two blunders only. No police to clear the reviewing stand, and no sprinkling or weed cutting *en route* to the Fair Ground.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, September 5, 1888.

(Wednesday Eve.)

MY DARLING:—I have had two busy days. The speeches were good — the music excellent. Of course the soldier week is the great time. I am to speak for the Sons of Veterans Monday evening in the big tent and will have a busy time for three or four days. You and Fanny are specially expected by Laura. You should come as early as practicable Monday. If Scott wants to come I can arrange for him, I think at Fullerton's. . . .

Howells left this afternoon. A good time so far.

All love.

RUTHERFORD.

MRS. HAYES,
Fremont.

September 6. Thursday.—Yesterday presided at the Coliseum. General Gibson, Lieutenant-Governor Brackett, of Massachusetts, and Governor Lounsbury made good speeches in the forenoon and Frank H. Hurd made a particularly fine one in the afternoon. State Senator Palmer of Michigan, Big Rapids, responded in a patriotic address quoting all of the favorite lines of "chestnut" poetry!

Dined with Governor and Mrs. Foraker, the governors, their blazing staffs, etc., etc. Meeting Howells and Hurd was the event of the occasion so far. Riding with Hurd, out to the fair

grounds and return, alone in a —, gave me an agreeable opportunity to know him. The impression is altogether favorable.

September 7. Friday. — I dined with Warden Coffin of the Ohio Penitentiary. Present his wife and daughters, Phips, Smead and wife, Murphy, the chaplain, and others. We had an agreeable gathering.

We saw the machinery where murderers are now executed. Seven have been executed. The plan is better than the old one. It is quietly done. Only a few, at the most about thirty or forty, can witness [an execution]. It excites nobody outside of the list permitted to attend. I think the time for capital punishment has passed. I would abolish it. But while it lasts this is the best mode.

I met among officers and guards a number of my old command, one of the Twenty-third. They were cordial in their greeting. This, of course. Smith Hirst, the generous Quaker who gave the Slater fund three thousand dollars, has gone home. He lives at Colerain, Ohio.

I will call on Bishop Ireland, of Minnesota.

September 8. Saturday. — I had a long talk with General McMillan, of Louisiana, formerly of Columbus. The old troubles of 1876-7 in Louisiana were called up. I told him of the good faith of Governor Nichols, Lamar, Hampton, and especially of Gordon. Our only argument was on the wisdom and necessity of letting bygones be bygones — of entire amnesty for past political offenses on all sides.

September 9. Sunday. — Lucy and Fanny arrived last night, their train from Toledo behind time more than an hour, a little before midnight. No getting trunks that night. With some trouble got them this morning. [We] attended church at the new green stone Methodist Episcopal Church, our old congregation, on Broad Street. Heard General Gibson for the first time in the pulpit. Style almost identical with his stump and soldier speeches. Text, "Thy kingdom come," from the Lord's prayer. It was a hopeful, optimistic view of the progress of the Church. "When a boy, one in fifteen were professing Christians, now four and one quarter are in." Can this be so?

"Don't look down — look up. Men who have the dyspepsia look down and don't see the progress."

In the evening at the big tent of the Army of West Virginia General Gibson preached to his comrades on David's advice, "Be brave, show thyself a man." A soldier's sermon. Good.

September 14. Friday. — Went in Governor Alger's private car to the Cincinnati exposition in celebration of the centennial with Governor and Mrs. Foraker, Governor Thayer, General Belknap, Governor and Mrs. Alger, Colonel F. D. Grant and wife.

I escorted Mrs. Foraker, first to dinner at the Burnet [House], then to the Music Hall where we were received by the president of the exposition, Mr. Allison, and the mayor, [Mr.] Smith. Governor Foraker was introduced. After a few words, he introduced me, General Belknap, Alger, Governor Thayer, etc. I said a few words only. Well received. Wonderful exposition. Rode in the gondola — one of the six — with Mr. Howe of the State Department. Called on Dr. and Mrs. Davis, Herron and Will, and General and Mrs. Force and Mrs. Horton.

At the depot 9 to 11 P. M. No cars. Got one myself. Gave the ladies — nine to a dozen — first berths and took what was left after their husbands also were provided and got back to Columbus at 8 A. M. [of the] 15th.

[*September 16]. Sunday.* — The great G. A. R. Encampment and Reunion of the Army of West Virginia are over. Both greatly successful. More army songs, less *fine* music, would have improved them. But they were near perfection. Foraker made many taking speeches. His talents, especially his versatility, are remarkable. His wit is ready. A little too much tendency to partisanship and to say sharp things that wound. He says his speeches are suggested often by what he reads in the daily paper. This accounts for their freshness. His talk before an audience is often almost conversational. Always attractive. He is troubled if he repeats in the presence of those who have heard what he has said before. He is handsome — fine brown complexion, good eyes, dark, an intellectual and manly look, fine figure, above medium size. He has risen rapidly. He says when living out of Cincinnati a few miles he made at his profession one thousand

one hundred dollars the first year there — soon it was up to ten thousand dollars. Then nominated for governor; beaten by liquor questions by Hoadly; then defeated Hoadly. Before he ran that year his income was twenty-eight thousand dollars yearly. Employed at salary by fourteen railroads and other corporations. Politics, a loss financially.

Heard the minister of Wesley Chapel — a good old-fashioned sermon. Lovely church.

September 17. — Bright and cool. We leave Columbus today after the finest visit we have perhaps ever made here. Laura and the general have been in their best condition of health, and full of all attractive traits and ways.

September 18. Tuesday. — Reached home via Toledo last evening with Lucy and Fanny from Columbus.

My old friend, Dr. La Q. Rawson, died last week and was buried today. He was one of Uncle Birchard's nearest friends. They came to Lower Sandusky together from Fort Ball (now Tiffin) in 1827. Their friendship continued until death. The doctor was descended from [the] Rev. Edward Rawson of Puritan days in Massachusetts. He was a liberal in religion, but his character, full of strong traits, was worthy of his lineage. The family were long-lived. He died aged eighty-four and one day, having been a sufferer from severe attacks many years.

September 19. Wednesday. — Honorable J. C. Lee of Toledo, secretary of the Maumee Valley Monumental Association, writes me that the board of directors have elected me president. I ought not to assume, loaded down as I am, any more burdens. But it is one of my hobbies (viz., local history), and I replied, "If you will do the work, I will hold your hat."

September 20. Thursday. — Scott R. left last evening for Cornell University. My talk to him was, in substance: "Be a good scholar if you can, but in any event be a gentleman in the best sense of the word — truthful, honorable, polite, and kind, with the Golden Rule as your guide. Do nothing that would give pain to your mother if she knew it."

September 28. Friday. — Home again after a delightful trip with Lucy of five days to the Allegheny Centennial at Pittsburgh. Nothing could be more charming. We enjoyed the music, American and army songs, the fireworks and gas gushers on the river, the procession of veterans, the children's (two thousand four hundred) chorus, etc., etc. Made three successful talks. One on the main stand, the first day; the others at campfires, the last evening. Received with unbounded enthusiasm on all occasions. Very gratifying, indeed.

September 29. Saturday. — With Huntington, Adda, and Rutherford drove about town. The new brick paving with the grading and parking makes Birchard Avenue a fine street.

October 6, 1888. — I returned from New York via Toledo last evening. Left Lucy and Fanny at the Fifth Avenue Hotel.

We left home Monday, [the] first, eleven o'clock train, and were in our rooms at the homelike hotel (rooms 41 and 42, our old quarters) at 10:20 A. M. Tuesday.

Myron Herrick and wife were our travelling companions from Cleveland. Mr. Lawrence, Webb's partner in the National Carbon Works at Cleveland, I met for the first time at the hotel. They are thinking of setting up a plant in the vicinity of New York. He is a good business man, intelligent and shrewd.

Mr. D. S. Gray, chairman of the committee on the presidency of the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware, met us as we entered the hotel and told me [the] Rev. Dr. Tubbs would meet us at noon. We had an exceedingly agreeable interview with Dr. Tubbs. The only drawback to the pleasure was the evident impossibility of getting him to leave Drew Seminary and take the presidency of Ohio Wesleyan. What a president he would be at Delaware! Afternoon of second with Lucy to General Sherman's new home in New York. A hearty and warm welcome by the general and his family.

Called afterwards at Mead's. A good reception and pleasant hour with Mrs. Mead. Met at the Fifth Avenue Mr. Lawrence, Governor and Mrs. Warmoth, the Goodloes, and other friends.

[On the] third of October, a harmonious meeting of the Peabody trustees. Elected the new Chief Justice in place of the old;

General Devens, *vice* Lyman, and Senator Gibson in place of Manning (both of Louisiana). Banquet in the evening. Escorted Mrs. Courtenay, wife of the new member from Charleston. Mr. Winthrop delivered a fine eulogium on Chief Justice Waite at the morning meeting.

Bishop Whipple told several good stories. One of the Scotch Seceder, who said: "It is a saire thing that the only adherents of the true faith now left are Sandy Thompson and me,— and I am not so sicker about Sandy."

Lucy and Fanny very happy. Left New York on limited express, Thursday, 4th, at 10 A. M.— My birthday. Sixty-six years old.

October 10.— The owner of the Aldine at Philadelphia told me here in the Burnet, Cincinnati, this morning that Tom Scott under Cameron as Secretary of War bought muskets in Vienna at two francs each and sold them to [the] Government at twelve dollars to fifteen dollars each. Sanford and others in the deal.

October 12. Friday.— Reached home via Toledo about 6.40 P. M. on the Wheeling from Cincinnati after a most agreeable visit of three days. At Toledo was shown into the room of Mary. She was in bed looking cheerful and happy. *By her side was the new son, born that morning.* Good features; darker than his older brother — darker eyes. . . .

October 13. Saturday.— Lucy and Fanny returned from New York last night after about two weeks' absence. A good trip and visit. They spent about five days with Charlie Mead, our favorite cousin with a favorite wife and family.

The new grandson is not so much of a delight to Lucy as he is to me. Her rejoicing is in the fact that the newcomer is not a girl.

October 18. Thursday. Philadelphia, Aldine Hotel.— I left home Monday 8 A. M. Lake Shore to attend meeting of Commandery-in-Chief of Loyal Legion. Dined at Cleveland with Aunty Austin. Thence reached Pittsburgh at 7 P. M. The inevitable reporters found me — three. Sleeper to Philadelphia. Reached here about 10 A. M. one or two hours behind time.

Found Lieutenant Thackara on train — son-in-law of General Sherman, an agreeable and well informed travelling companion.

At Philadelphia, after breakfast, called at Loyal Legion headquarters, 723 Walnut Street. Thence to Nicholson's business place. We at once entered into the affairs of the Loyal Legion. He explained the conduct of Colonel Sheridan as to the death of the general; that is, told what it was. The motives of his singular exclusion of the Loyal Legion from prominence are not known.

He told me of General Sheridan's gratification with my course last year; how he often requested copies of my speech on his nomination, etc., etc. Sheridan expected to be made Lieutenant-General when Sherman was promoted at the end of the war. Grant had so promised, but Sherman's friends in the Senate would have only one. "Sherman," he said, "was only for himself," etc.

I explained to Nicholson why I preferred either Sherman or Schofield for Commander-in-Chief, viz., as a military order, we should have at its head the man of largest military reputation; that if he, Sherman, was not available, we should take the next man in military rank and reputation viz., Schofield. On his stating that under no circumstances could Sherman be chosen, I then named General Schofield.

My final, positive, and unshaken position to the end was that I would not take the place unless it was given with substantial unanimity. I would not have it after a contest with any one. If any number wanted anybody else, I would not take it. Colonel Nicholson replied: "Then you will be chosen, for all want you."

It so turned out. I told the same thing to Commander E. C. Dawes. General Chamberlain told me after our meeting at the library that if I was modest I would have to leave the chair, for he was a-going to nominate me for Commander-in-Chief on the unanimous request of all present — about thirty members. The election was fixed for the afternoon. Our business meeting in the forenoon was agreeable in all respects but without incident worthy of note. Present: General Fairchild, General Gregg, Hartranft, and many others of note. The Philadelphia members were particularly cordial and disposed to congratulate me.

In the afternoon meeting when Governor Chamberlain rose and spoke of his embarrassment in speaking in the presence of etc., I immediately left the chair to General Gregg, commander of the Pennsylvania commandery, and left the hall. I met in the office of the library Dr. William H. Egle of the State Library of Pennsylvania. We sat down and he showed me the last volume of the "Pennsylvania Archives" and asked me to let him supply my missing volumes.

We soon heard applause in the room adjoining. It was quite a burst at the close of some speaker. I was told it was Colonel Livermore, of Massachusetts, who made, it was said, a splendid but short speech. In a few moments Governor Chamberlain and — came to me in the office where I was talking with Dr. Eg'e and announced to me that I had been chosen unanimously Commander-in-Chief. I went in with the committee. All rose and applauded. I made two sentences of talk and was immediately installed by General Gregg. I replied to the constitutional question: "To the best of my ability, yes."

Then came the filling of my vacancy as Senior Vice-Commander-in-Chief. General Hawley [was] unanimously chosen. Nominations were then made to fill his vacancy as Junior Vice. J. Mason Loomis, of Chicago, General Charles Devens, of Massachusetts, General Gresham, of Indiana. No concentration. A recess of ten minutes. After recess, all names [were] withdrawn and expunged from [the] record. Then General Gresham [was] again nominated. Soon Surgeon-General Brown [was] nominated. On a ballot, the vote stood for General Gresham eighteen and for Brown ten. Gresham [was] declared elected.

In the forenoon meeting, after reading the call, prayer by Chaplain Trumbull, and roll-call, I delivered memorial address on Sheridan. Well received [and] ordered printed.

In the evening at the banquet of the Pennsylvania Commandery at Union League [Club, I] gave it again. Congratulations seemed hearty and general.

My own feelings are those of gratification of course. Coming as it [the election] did, etc., etc.



FIRST THREE
COMMANDERS-IN-CHIEF OF THE MILITARY ORDER
OF THE LOYAL LEGION

MAJOR-GENERAL WINFIELD
S. HANCOCK

GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

BREVET MAJOR-GENERAL
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

ALDINE HOTEL, PHILADELPHIA, October 17, 1888.

MY DARLING:— You will hear of the doings of the Legion today before this reaches you, and no doubt you will share my feelings. Nothing could have been done more handsomely. It was not merely unanimous, but it was done heartily and in the best way. Governor Chamberlain, of Maine, made the nominating speech and the speech of Colonel Livermore, of Massachusetts, was spoken of as wonderfully beautiful. I was not present at the time. On a confidential caucus, only one man was for anybody else (he was for Schofield), and he at once said:—"I have not the least objection to Hayes, but think the Regular Army should have [the office]. I will of course make it unanimous." He afterwards congratulated me cordially.

The talk on Sheridan went off so well that I am asked to repeat it tonight at the banquet of the Pennsylvania Commandery at the Union League Club House.

You notice that Hawley was advanced from Junior Vice-Commander to my former place and Judge Gresham to Junior Vice. The latter was after a good deal of well-tempered division and debate, and was finally made unanimous.

I called, after it was over, at the United Service Club and met welcome greetings in all quarters.

This is on the whole the pleasantest of the honors that have come to me since Washington, and has some advantages over that.

"So much." Ever,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.— I return, reaching home Friday or Saturday. Love again.— R.

MRS. HAYES,
Fremont.

October 20, 1888.— Returned from Philadelphia last evening about 7 P. M. Companion William McConway, of Pittsburgh—a man not merely polite but intelligent and interesting—insisted on giving me his section in the sleeper for my upper berth.

October 22. Monday. — W. O. Stoddard is writing the lives of the Presidents for Frederick A. Stokes, successor to White, Stokes, and Allen. I have read his Jackson and Van Buren. He writes with force and judgment. The style is colloquial. But enough is given and done to make the books seem popular and reliable as well. Therefore I will furnish him with means to make the sketch of me a good one.

October 23. Tuesday. — Wrote many letters yesterday; many more today, and yet am fearfully behind.

October 24. Wednesday. — Busy still with correspondence and not near the end! Will [shall] I ever catch up?

Reading Matthew Arnold's "God and the Bible." His pivotal statement is: "Two things about the Christian religion must surely be clear to anybody with eyes in his head. One is that men cannot do without it; the other that they cannot do with it as it is." . . .

October 25. Thursday. — Attended G. A. R. post. A German comrade told of shooting deserters; failure to kill after two squads fired; an officer with a revolver finished the tragedy. In Burnside's corps, 1864.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO,

[October —, 1888.]

MY DEAR SIR:— It gives me special pleasure to accept your kind invitation to attend the meeting of the wardens of the Western penitentiaries to present testimonials of their esteem to Major McClaughry, the warden of the prison at Joliet, on the occasion of his leaving that prison for another field of labor. Indeed, I have so high an appreciation of Major McClaughry that I prefer the privilege of uniting with you in the testimonial instead of being present merely as your guest.

In my attendance on the meetings of the National Prison Association I have had an opportunity to know something of the value of the major's work as a practical manager of convicts, as a wise and intelligent penologist, and as an accomplished and estimable gentleman. Believing, as I do, that the general public

do not fully understand the importance of a prison system and prison administration that shall be at once practical, wise, and humane, I think it an occasion of public importance when deserved honor is manifested in behalf of a man like our friend and associate, Major McClaughry. Unless prevented by some unforeseen circumstances not now anticipated, I shall be present at the proposed meeting of prison wardens at Joliet.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE CHARLES E. FELTON,

SUPERINTENDENT CHICAGO HOUSE OF CORRECTION.

October 28. Sunday.—William T. Crump and his daughter Hattie, came last night. He was my orderly during most of the war, my steward at the White House, the steward also under Garfield and Garfield's devoted nurse during all of his painful weeks after the wound, July 2, until his death September 19. His nervous system was ruined by the labor and anxiety of that time.

He tells many things showing that Garfield during his illness was in full possession of his faculties; would joke but never smiled even when everyone else laughed. "Once Mrs. Garfield was reading items from the morning paper to the President. The death [of] Dean Stanley was read. The President said: 'A letter to Mrs. Dean Stanley should be written.' Then an item that Sitting Bull was starving in the North. Mrs. Garfield said: 'They better let him starve.' The President hated the oatmeal the doctors required him to eat every morning. He said: 'Oh no, send him my oatmeal.'"

Crump got heart disease from his *drowning* on the Kanawha in the spring of 1863. The raft, on which he was carrying headquarters baggage, etc., from the Falls down to Charleston, was caught in a strong current by the rope at the ferry below the Falls and torn to pieces. Crump was saved as he was sinking the last time (the third) by a comrade. He was insensible for some time.

His stories of foraging for headquarters grub are most interesting and curious. His duty was *to get it*—the way was not important. "The end justified the means." Larceny, deception, and force were freely used.

October 29. Monday.—Crump tells me, speaking of President Garfield: "I found him an agreeable, friendly man, of good disposition and temper. I heard him once say to McKinley: 'Old fellow, how long is this worry a-going to last?' McKinley replied: 'Until you put your foot down and stop it.' Garfield replied: 'I would rather be up on the Hill at fifteen hundred dollars a year than here at one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.' Blaine had his own way in 'most all things. Garfield was wrapped up very much in Blaine. When Garfield was shot Blaine was broken down completely. He threw his arms around Garfield and cried. This was in the White House.

"I never saw Garfield very angry but once. Dinner had been announced, Mrs. Garfield and others were in the dining-room and Garfield had been sent for two or more times. Finally Mrs. Garfield sent me to stay until I could bring him down. I found him with MacVeagh, Cameron, and two or three others discussing the nomination of Chandler for a leading place in the Attorney-General's office. MacVeagh, Cameron, and others were urging the withdrawal of Chandler's name. Garfield was saying that it could not be done. McVeagh with an oath brought his fist down on the table saying the name must be withdrawn. Garfield in great wrath brought *his* fist down [saying]: 'By G—d, sir, it shall not be withdrawn!' and Garfield immediately went down to dinner. But he was so angry he did not eat anything."

Crump says a number of the boys of the Twenty-third always claimed that Dr. Joe Webb, the surgeon, was the second man over the slough at the battle of the Opequon. "They said that he got up on the bank and found one of the gunners loading a gun. Dr. Webb seized a spoke of a wheel that had probably been broken and knocked the gunner down and probably killed him. This was told by General Hayes' orderly, Underhill (Nate), Charlie Smith, Loomis, and others. I have often heard them talk it over."

Crump [says], the morning Garfield was shot, he was in exuberant spirits. Going for a month to enjoy himself! Mr. Brown had just returned from a trip to London. That morning Garfield was to go on the train to New York. The announcement was made that in twenty minutes the train would leave. Garfield asked Brown if he had heard any religious stories abroad. Soon he said: "I will tell one. A preacher with a Bible in one hand and a prayer-book in the other, going Sunday to church, saw some boys playing marbles. The preacher said: 'Boys, you should not play marbles on Sunday.' One of the boys replied: 'There is nothing in the Bible against playing marbles.' The preacher said: 'Yes, there is. Can you read?' The boy said, 'yes.' 'Well, if I show it to you, will you go to Sunday-school?' The preacher pointed to a passage, 'Marvel not.' The boy read it and said: 'I give it up. I must go to Sunday-school.'" This was President Garfield's last anecdote.

Before Garfield left the White House he went up into the bedroom. The boys turned handsprings over the bed. Garfield said: "These boys think they can do great things," and then turned a handspring over the bed with more agility than the boys! The boys kissed him, one on one cheek and the other on the other.

October 30. Tuesday. — Crump tells stories of Arthur which need not be repeated. Nothing like it ever before in the Executive Mansion, — liquor, snobbery, and worse. Outbursts of ill temper, caused by drink no doubt, were odd enough sometimes.

Obeying orders, he [Crump] bought a Kennebec salmon — the first caught — for fifty-two dollars, weight twenty-six pounds — two dollars [a pound] etc., etc. But when the outburst was over, he was just, etc., for the most part. No doubt his loss of health and death were due to his excesses.

Today Lucy, accompanied by Mrs. Bristol, left for Boston to attend the Woman's Home Missionary Society meeting, November 1-7. They will stop at the Parker House, Boston. I am sure [they] will have a good time. Lucy's short speech is a good one. About ten minutes — plain and to the point.

SPIEGEL, November 1, 1888. Thursday A. M.

DARLING:—Our friend Mitchell, presiding elder of the Sandusky district, replies to Judge Hagans on the will case. He says the will in question was made in 1875, before the Woman's Home Missionary Society had any existence. This does seem to put a new face on the affair. Keep cool! If this is correct your society will do well to consider before beginning even an amicable suit. But we will, I suppose, hear from Judge Hagans again which may bring up his side. We shall see.

We are getting on nicely. . . . Long drives afternoons.

Please send me newspapers giving the best account of your doings. Kindest to Mrs. Bristol.

Affectionately,

MRS. HAYES,
Boston.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

SPIEGEL, November 3, 1888.

DARLING:—Another lovely morning after a day of clouds and rain yesterday. I go this morning over to Toledo to see the good people in the Triangle, and the trades display of the Republican procession. Tuesday, after voting, I go to Cincinnati on the urgent invitation of the Loyal Legion who move into their new quarters next to Robert Clarke on Fourth Street. I will return in time to meet you as you enter the grove. You will of course stay as long as you and Mrs. Bristol can enjoy yourself [selves]. I hope to hear that you consent to serve another year, but whatever you do will be wisest and best.

We get on nicely. Fannie and Hattie have run the front part of the house beautifully. Crump and his daughter go home today. An interesting visit with them. . . .

All love.—Affectionately,

MRS. HAYES,
Boston.

R.

November 3. Saturday.—Will go to Cincinnati to the meeting of the Loyal Legion November 6, leaving here after voting for Harrison and hoping to hear of his election in Cincinnati.

The change is desirable, if for no other reason than to improve the situation at the White House.

According to Crump, Arthur thought the true social life was to have entertainments ending with drunken men and women too, wound up with sobering off on Apollinaris and brandy! Sensual indulgence was the end and aim of social intercourse. To this he gave his life and by it lost his life. He left the White House a wreck.

CHAPTER XLVII

ELECTION OF HARRISON — HONOR TO WARDEN MC-CLAUGHRY — TEMPERANCE REFORMERS' INTEMPERANCE OF SPEECH — A BOY'S AUDACITY IN AUTOGRAPH-SEEKING — BRYCE'S "AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH" — IMPORTUNITY OF OFFICE-SEEKERS — COMMENDATION OF CLEVELAND — AID FOR DISABLED CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS — DEATH OF MATTHEWS — CENTENNIAL CELEBRATION OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION AS PRESIDENT — 1888-1889

NOVEMBER 6. *Tuesday, 7 A. M.*—Cloudy and just beginning to rain. This on election day encourages the Democrats and depresses the Republicans. I think there is nothing in it. The party which is best satisfied with its ticket, platform, and the general situation, is likely to have the most zeal and activity. The contest seems doubtful, but with the chances in favor of our side.

I leave today to go to Cincinnati to attend the meeting of the Loyal Legion. The returns will come to me there.

Charlotte DeWitt came yesterday morning. She has been a widow more than six years. Is of course lonely, but much interested in her four boys. I will leave her here. We talked over old times and early friends, now gone, until we were in a melting mood. Lucy writes in rather a despondent tone. Meeting and friends agreeable, but she longs for home again.

November 9. Friday.—Went to Cincinnati via Toledo after voting at 9 A. M. Rain fell during the day beginning early. Called a Democratic day for election. I protested that the Republicans were quite as energetic as their opponents, and that the weather would not hurt. It so turned out. I read the "Life of Lincoln" by Stoddard on the cars. Rode in a coupé to my

friend's home, Dr. Davis'. Mrs. Davis absent in Boston with Lucy attending the Woman's Home Missionary Society meeting. The local indications of the election favorable. After tea went to Herron's. Met Mrs. Herron, Maria, Lucy Hayes Herron, looking sweet and lovely as a picture. Mr. Holmes came in. After a time he and Maria went out to see the excited throngs gathered about the places where the returns were displayed.

After chatting an hour longer with Harriet, I left and went to the office of the *Commercial-Gazette*. Met there Halstead and Boynton, both hopeful; and the returns seemed to lean our way. Thence to the Lincoln Club. Admitted by strangers without a ticket on giving my name. With many friends, Mayor Smith, Mack, Noyes, etc., etc., gossipped over the returns. A mass outside, anxious but hopeful, waiting for definite results. It became noised outside among the multitude that I was inside. Calls began—they grew more frequent. The notion, I suspect, prevailed that I hesitated to show myself until a certainty was reached. At any rate, when I appeared finally at the window, my appearance was hailed with a shout from the "sea of upturned faces" that was indeed the shout of victory. I never before saw or heard anything like it.

I soon went home to Dr. Davis', well satisfied that the result was with us. Before going I spoke to the members on the introduction of Governor Noyes in their assembly as follows: "I am rejoiced to meet you. I am grateful for your hearty greeting. I agree with you in—*all things*."

Awake at early daylight, I listened anxiously to hear the cries of the newsboys. I soon recognized, "All about the election of General Harrison." I rose hastily and went out in the rain. Soon got a *Post* and [an] *Enquirer* which confirmed the newsboy's cry. I returned in a grateful frame of mind. "How good, how good!" I murmured to myself. Such is government under our system. The best and decentest election I ever knew. I recall distinctly, boy and man, elections for more than fifty years — from 1836 when I was a schoolboy at Norwalk Seminary. With a good deal of respect for Cleveland and with sympathy for his young wife, I cannot but *specially* rejoice that such good people as General and Mrs. Harrison are to carry their clean

ways and pure lives into the White House. Besides, I do hate Cleveland's course towards the veterans of [the] war.

November 10. Saturday.—Lucy returned last evening with Mrs. Bristol. She had altogether a successful meeting of the society over which she presided. Was disappointed in not seeing General Devens, Mr. Winthrop, and Mrs. Homans. She was delighted with Governor and Mrs. Claflin, Edward Everett Hale, and Mr. Twombly with his lovely flowers.

November 11. Sunday.—Webb came last evening. His first visit since his annual Rocky Mountain hunt, and since the election. He is browned by exposure, healthy and strong. Very happy over the election. Especially so, as his friend Burton pulled through for Congress.

The hunt was very successful; five grizzly bears, a goodly number of elk, black-tailed deer, and antelope.

About eleven last night a party of young people with George Buckland as leader, about fourteen in all, with brooms came singing and hurrahing, "What is the matter with Hayes?" "He's all right"; Harrison ditto, Sherman ditto, etc., etc. They remained and sang war songs for half an hour. All lively and pleasant.

SPIEGEL, November 12, 1888.

MY DEAR GUY:—Glad to hear you are "still on deck" in your *old* home—your *new* home and with *all of your neighbors*.

I am just going away for a few days and have only time to respond, in the same spirit with you, to all advice leading to peace, harmony, and new and better things.

This feeling is general—*almost universal* here. Read the New York *World* [and] two articles in the Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette*—*of late a very radical paper*. (I only find the less significant one of the Cincinnati *Commercial-Gazette*.) But you will see the sentiment. Let us hope, and do what we can in this beneficent work.

Sincerely,

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

November 13. Tuesday.—I go tomorrow to Upper Sandusky where in the afternoon I will speak to the Findlay Conference in behalf of industrial education.

My Twenty-third Regiment comrades have induced me to go to Ashland, where the band and Company G were raised, to speak at the dedication of a soldiers' monument.

November 17. Saturday.—Wednesday I went to Upper Sandusky; the guest of Mr. Harris, banker, an intelligent and wealthy bachelor. Addressed a crowded churchful at the conference of the Findlay District. Rev. A. C. Barnes, presiding elder. In the evening with Mr. Johnson, of Marion, to Marion. There a few hours at the hotel of Richardson and wife. A good time on Brattleboro, etc. Then at 2 A. M. to Ashland. At the Miller Hotel. Mrs. Mary F. Freer gave the soldiers a monument. Reverends Pepper and S— made rattling speeches. I spoke acceptably. A good solid speech by Commander O'Neal.

November 21. Wednesday. Columbus.—Came Monday. With General Mitchell. Laura gone East. Wrote to Sherman for Mitchell.

Tuesday with Ohio State University board. At evening attended reception of President Scott. Talked with Professors Eggers, Derby, Lord,, Knight, Townsend, O'Bannon(?) and wife, the Virginians, and Kellicott. Fine intelligent men. . . . Tonight to Chicago.

November 24. Saturday.—Returned from Chicago this morning. Reached Chicago from Columbus on the Panhandle route. Warden Coffin and daughter were on the train. Talked of prisons, indeterminate sentence, parole system, etc. At Chicago met Rev. Wines, Nicholson, of Detroit, Felton (Charles), Cassidy, [of] Philadelphia, and others.

Dined at Chicago Club with Colonel Corbin. At table were Senator Farwell, General Crook, Mr. S. B. Barker, Robert Lincoln, J. Mason Loomis, General Robert Williams, General E. S. Dalton. Met at the club Marshall Field, Pullman, Colonel Fred Grant.

In the evening addressed a large meeting entirely offhand, but on familiar topics connected with prison reform. Was hand-

somely greeted and much applause was constant as I clinched my points.

[On the] 23rd, with Mr. Wines, the prison officers took the cars to Joliet. They were met by Major McClaughry and went to the great prison. Assembled in the parlor, I acting as spokesman, they presented to the major a beautiful album, made for the purpose [filled with] autograph letters and photographs of the wardens, with those of Mr. Wines and myself. Dined, visited the prison, and about 5:30 P. M. returned to Chicago. On the whole a very gratifying trip.

November 25. Sunday. — Heard the temperance evangelist, Dr. Tracy, morning in Methodist Episcopal church and evening in Presbyterian. Good audiences. A liberal and sympathetic presentation of the subject. "I will arise and go to my Father," the text of the principal discourse. He spoke of "prodigals" and "magdalens" as reclaimable only by a union of human sympathy with the grace of God.

November 27. Tuesday. — Very anxious about our dear grandson Rutherford at Toledo. Very sick since 3 o'clock Sunday morning with "genuine croup." He is a bright, promising little fellow, good-looking and good.

Toledo. P. M. — I took the one o'clock train at Fremont. Fanny came on same train from the East, returning from the Kentucky wedding. I saw her a moment — looking so happy and lovely; told her I was going on account of the critical situation of Rutherford. She was shocked — no time for words! . . . As I approached it [the house] I looked for the crape at the door and was hopeful, as I failed to see it, until I saw Lucy standing at the door to receive me — weeping! "He is very low — we have no hope." I went into the room. Mary was kneeling over him. He was breathing heavily. . . . [Not long after] all was over. A beautiful boy — gone forever! Dear, dear parents. So much affection gathered about him! Mary is to me the perfection of womanhood. Takes the place of my sister Fanny — the dear, dear memory of early life.

November 29, 1888. Thursday. — At Toledo, 9:30 A. M., Rev. Mr. Williamson, in Birchard's library, to an audience of

friends, read a chapter in the Bible and made a ten-minutes touching and consoling talk. . . . In a car furnished by the railroad, a mournful Thanksgiving ride home.

November 30. Friday. — At ten o'clock the friends filled the large library, and in the small parlor were the little fellow and the mourners. Mr. Williamson read from the Scriptures [and] made a quiet talk — consolatory. Singing twice. We drove to the cemetery and left him by the side of our last, little Manning Force, under the beautiful white pine on my lot. . . . Lucy said: "I now feel better about our little Manning. He is no longer *alone!*"

December 1. Saturday. — I have been getting many letters asking me to recommend friends to General Harrison — so many that I must act on the only practicable and proper rule: Send no recommendations unless General Harrison consults me.

December 2. — Walked with Fanny to church. Dr. Tracy, the temperance evangelist, preached. Too much stress on "mint, anise, and cummin," and omitting the weightier matters; or rather an example of

"Compounding for the sins we are inclined to
By damning those we have no mind to."

He was severe — a chronic, a crank — against theatre-going, card-playing, and dancing. Not five per cent of his audience were addicted to either. But covetousness, avarice, envy, hatred and malice, slander and scandal, stingy giving to the church, and all uncharitableness, he let bravely alone. The sins of himself and others before him — he never gave to them even "the cold respect of a passing glance."

In the evening at the Presbyterian church, he did far better. His ranting is of the stage variety — stagy but effective. How to advance the temperance reform is the difficult question. The tendency is to force, to law, to attack as the one solely responsible the liquor seller. The mistake is constantly made of letting off the liquor buyer as not in [any] sense a sharer in the guilt. The liquor people take the opposite view. The man wants to buy. That is *his* affair. "I may innocently sell if he can innocently

buy," is the self-justification of the saloon-keeper. Neither is right. We should punish buying "the soul-destroying dram." Make it as disreputable in public opinion to buy and drink the dram as it is to steal, and the traffic is substantially suppressed. You can not eradicate the traffic by punishing one-half of it and letting the other half go free.

December 4. Tuesday.—Lucy returned last night. The dear sufferers at Toledo bear their loss with the best disposition.

I wrote to Comrade Bickham that I was a G. A. R. man and could not do anything to the disadvantage of the G. A. R. He replies showing the merits of the controversy. He is a U. V. U., a Union Veterans' Union man. But there is a division and controversy it seems. I reply as follows:—

FREMONT, OHIO, December 4, 1888.

MY DEAR COMRADE:—I have no prejudice against any association of comrades of the war. Certainly I prefer that all should go together. I would prefer only one organization. But different societies exist. I am ready to go, when I can do so, wherever the comrades can for *the time being unite*. Your house, if I read your letter aright, is divided on the proposed meeting. I am sorry it is so, for it compels me to postpone my meeting at Findlay. I was at the unveiling of your monument more than thirteen years ago.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

COLONEL G. BICKHAM.

December 5.—The temperance revival goes on. It is said the saloons will be closed hereafter Sunday. So far, good. Our temperance work, as [it] is called, relies too much on the constable. Law can not take the place of education, morality, and religion. Law is no substitute for character. As long as men want drink, they will get it. The young should think and feel that buying is equally a crime with selling. We cannot safely put the sin and condemnation wholly upon the saloon.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 7, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— My friend Mr. Boalt has just told me of the naming of your son after me in honor of the fact that he was born on the day of my inauguration as President almost twelve years ago.

I send to my young namesake a photograph, and wish to express to you my appreciation of your kindness, with the wish that the young fellow will be worthy of his parents and a credit to the name he bears.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.— If the lad will acknowledge the receipt of the photograph, I will send him another, which is a *curiosity*. — H.

MR. JOHN IRONS.

December 8. Saturday.— Reached Oberlin about 2 P. M. [yesterday]. Was met at the station by Mr. C. V. Spear and taken to the residence of Hon. James Monroe, professor of history and political science. After dinner we visited the principal buildings. Among them a number recently built, of stone, which are very creditable. Mr. Spear built the library and museum. He is an enthusiastic supporter of the manual training movement. A small affair not connected with the college but a beginning.

I met President Fairchild and other gentlemen of the faculty,— all cordial. In the evening a great crowd filled the large church and galleries full to suffocation. I spoke [on manual training] more than an hour. Was well received and probably left a good impression for the cause.

December 9. Sunday.— Mr. Mills preached a temperance sermon, so called. He read a list of texts apt as a condemnation of the drink habit, etc., etc. But he failed to see that the man who buys and drinks is *the sinner*. The fashion of denouncing the seller, and sympathizing with the drinker as the victim, the innocent victim— nay, the meritorious victim, has nothing to do with the sin and crime. When in fact he has everything to do with it.

No law which punishes the seller and lets the buyer go free will ever succeed in the long run. It is partial and a compromise of principle.

The true principle is, prohibit the *whole* traffic and make it disgraceful. Punish it as a sin and a crime. The buyer in fact is far more guilty than the seller. This is *radical*. Your attack on the seller alone is a compromise.

The foregoing is part of a talk with Dr. Tracy, of Bryan, Ohio, a temperance lecturer, who has done well here during these last three weeks. He agreed with most of it. Says he is by no means a third-party man.

SPIEGEL, December 9, 1888.

MY DEAR WEBB:— Very busy — “cumbered with many things.” . . . [The] 17th I go to a meeting of the delegates to the New York centennial of the Government in New York at Columbus; also to Dr. Haygood’s meeting of the Freedmen’s Aid and Southern Education Society. Thence to organize at Indianapolis the Indiana Commandery of the Loyal Legion. I must “hustle,” you see, and need the dry-goods you are getting. I wish I had a *FIRST-class* soldier’s soft hat. Never have had one since the war. General Barnett usually excites my envy with his. . . .

Rededication of church next Sunday. Guests — hurry — friends! etc., etc.

Ever,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

WEBB C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 11, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— Your very kind invitation of the 8th instant for Mrs. Hayes and myself is before me. I need not assure you that it would give special pleasure to both Mrs. Hayes and myself to accept and be, while in your city, the guests of yourself and Mrs. Martindale. We have however a prior invitation from the committee of the commandery about to be organized, and I suppose my duty is therefore to go to the headquarters established at the Bates House.

It is not decided yet whether Mrs. Hayes can go. She enjoys soldier occasions and would like to come, but her other engagements and her growing aversion to travel and other circumstances are very likely to prevent her from attending.

Please explain the situation to Mrs. Martindale. Our church, burned last February, is to be rededicated next Sunday and Mrs. Hayes finds her hands full and more. We buried here our oldest grandson on the first of the month, and Mrs. Hayes is not in a frame of mind suited to the occasion in your city. We are greatly gratified by your courtesy and would under other circumstances gladly avail ourselves of the opportunity it offers.

Please present our kindest regards to Mrs. Martindale and your daughter.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

JUDGE E. B. MARTINDALE,
Indianapolis.

December 15. Saturday. — Rev. Dr. J. W. Hamilton, of Somerville, came with Rev. Mr. Wykes to take part in the dedication of our rebuilt church. The new structure is finer than the old one and we have added a good parsonage. Our total debt as yet unprovided for is in round numbers six thousand dollars. We *must* raise three thousand dollars to clear the church; as much more as we can on the parsonage.

December 16. Sunday. — Hamilton preached a good sermon. The day was rainy and discouraging. The pastor is a little too self-conceited and talks too much. Many do not want him to succeed. Hamilton was patient and persistent and finally raised over two thousand three hundred dollars in the forenoon. At the evening service, all was in better condition; better weather, a larger and better-disposed audience. He raised the subscription easily to three thousand five hundred dollars.

December 17. Monday. — At Columbus, attended in Wesley Chapel the discussions and papers of the Freedmen's Aid Society.

In the evening, I presided; made a short prefatory talk. As chairman, introduced Rev. Dr. Haygood. He made a wonderful

talk. It was humorous, pithy, pathetic, and convincing. Paid me a high tribute for my course as President.

December 18. Tuesday. — Talked with Gray on the selection of president for Delaware. Dr. King, of New York, or Gobing, of Kansas, the best man now before us.

Met with commissioners of Ohio (at [the] governor's office) to the centennial of the inauguration of Washington. Chief Justice Owens, Herron, Herrick, Captain Bushnell, Firestone, and self. I chosen president. Firestone, secretary. May have to go to New York January 8.

COLUMBUS, December 18, 1888.

MY DARLING:— All goes well. Dr. Haygood made a wonderfully fine talk last [night] — nearly two hours, intensely interesting. He gave me the finest tribute I ever had — “*the final verdict of history on my Administration.*”

Laura will be home tonight. She staid over one steamer in Bermuda.

I go to Indianapolis this afternoon. Was appointed to go to New York [the] 8th [of] January as commissioner of centennial. Herron and the rest here. I made chairman as usual. I wish you could always be with me. A host of people inquire for you *in earnest.*

Ever your

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. HAYES,
Fremont.

December 21, 1888. — Tuesday evening, 18th, with General Wright to Indianapolis. Met at Indianapolis by Major Calkins and other Companions about 11:30 P. M. Taken to the New Denison House. Met there Judge E. B. Martindale and Rutherford. [The] 19th spent according to “the slate” [Loyal Legion]. Receptions and banquet. Called with others on General and Mrs. Harrison. Both very cordial. *Very.* The general invited me to call next day at 10 A. M. for “a full talk.”

SPIEGEL, December 21, 1888.

MY DEAR SIR:— Your good letter I find very interesting. My “prophetic soul” had already divined the situation you deplore. Who can be wise and be an anxious seeker after the great office? Try to smother your vexation and *hold on*. The chapter of accidents may turn in our favor. When I read that a firm man, of cool temperament, loses his head in such a race, it recalls with some satisfaction my own experience twelve years ago.

Let Mrs. Smith have a time in W——. It is good every way. Give her our very best wishes and believe me

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
New York.

December 23. Sunday.—As the grandfather’s clock in the hall was slowly striking five P. M. in its clear tone, Rev. Dr. D. D. Mather was going through the ceremony of baptism [of Sherman Otis Hayes] in the red parlor. Present all of the family except Webb.

December 30.—Our wedding day. Thirty-six years ago we married! Two years Birchard and Mary married. Both happy occasions to be recalled.

December 31. Monday.—Yesterday with Mary and Birchard here and Scott, Rutherford, and Fanny, we spent our wedding day very happily.

In the evening the Presbyterians and their pastor were invited to be the guests in our new Methodist Episcopal church. Mr. Barnes preached one of his great sermons. The point urged was, sin brings misery and failure, while righteousness makes for happiness and success in this life and in the life to come.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 31, 1888.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— Recalling your interest in the details of household affairs at Washington, I have suggested to my son

Webb, whose business takes him occasionally to your city, that he call on you, as he is thoroughly posted on the whole matter—much more so than I am.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GENERAL BENJAMIN HARRISON,
Indianapolis.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 31, 1888.

MY DEAR WEBB:—The *Leader* editorial is in good form. General H— was not however “a charter member.” Study accuracy.

This unsigned letter puzzles me. It is from a *Herrick*. But I can't recall his *initials*. Give them with *comments*.

I hope you are coming tonight. Unless you care to see General H— specially, I would drop it. No harm either way. If you wish will send you a note of introduction.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

WEBB C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

January 1, 1889. Tuesday.—Letters—letters! More than two hundred last month to be replied to.

A pleasant day with Birchard and Mary. In the evening Scott had a dancing party of his young friends (sixteen), a feast and happy time. At 4:30 P. M. Lucy and I with Patterson and the team took our pastor Mr. Mills out to Scott Township—ten miles or more to a home mission meeting, in which Mrs. Inman, Mrs. Gossard, and others led. A fine supper at Henry Ludwig's. Promised their son, A. C. Ludwig, and daughter one each of “Robinson Crusoe,” “Swiss Family Robinson,” “Little Lord Fauntleroy,” or “Prince and Pauper”; that is, I promised myself to give these presents. After supper we drove in the dark over to the church (Methodist Episcopal) south of Greensburg where an audience packed it full. They were having recitations, songs, etc. Rev. Mr. Mills delivered an excellent home missions ad-

dress of thirty or forty minutes. After this I spoke with good emphasis a few minutes. Altogether a successful meeting. Drove home by eleven P. M. Found Scott's dancing party still on and merry.

January 2. Wednesday. — Learned at Greensburg of the new gas well at Gibsonburg; could see its light six miles off north from Mr. Ludwig's door. Said to be a three-million gusher.

Governor Fish wrote well and with discrimination of Governor Aiken: "The kind gentleness of his intercourse was an inseparable part of his nature, and the happiness of others was with him an object of life, and formed a large part of his own happiness. The pleasure of others was his enjoyment."

Today our holiday children all leave us, Mary, Birchard, Sherman, Scott, and the nurse. Tomorrow I go with Fanny to New York to attend a special meeting of the Slater board and a meeting of the commissioners of States and the general committee of the New York celebration of the centennial of the inauguration of Washington.

January 5, 1889. Saturday. Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York. — Our meeting of the Slater board was short but interesting. I read a brief paper as to the death of Dr. Boyce which was adopted as the sentiment of the board for record and transmission to the family.

Bishop Henry C. Potter was chosen in place of Rev. Dr. Phillips Brooks and Chief Justice Fuller in place of Chief Justice Waite. The secretary was directed to correspond with Professor Broadus [of Louisville] as to taking the place of Rev. Dr. Boyce. . . .

January 6. Sunday. — Dined last evening with Mr. William E. Dodge. Met Mrs. Dodge, Grace (Miss Dodge), Mr. and Mrs. Russell, and Mr. C. L. Brace. A pleasant evening. Talk of reforms, politics, Bryce's new work, and Miss Grace was hearty and interesting touching her democratic (in the best sense) and charities work. She was much liked by Fanny as well as myself. Received her book. Must cultivate her.

Received invitations from Mrs. Reid, Mr. Jesup, and Mr. and Mrs. H. C. Bowen. Today we dine with Mead.

In the evening called on the Howells [family]. Mr. Howells and Winifred ("Pillar") gone to a Russian family's Christmas. A good talk with Elinor. She looks well and her conversation was natural and like old times.

January 7. Monday. — Governor Bullock called. Must try to have a full talk with him.

We called at General Sherman's. Did not get an interview with him but had a friendly call with the girls and Mrs. Moulton.

In the evening dined with Mr. and Mrs. Jesup and then with them to the Trade Schools of Colonel R. T. Auchmuty uptown.

January 9. Wednesday. — Yesterday called at the office of the *Independent*. Met Mr. Bowen, Mr. Ward, and the other editors. Afternoon to the meeting of the Centennial Commission in the City Hall. Met Mr. Clarence Bowen, "Commodore" Gerry, Hamilton, *et al.*

Evening dined with Mr. H. C. Bowen, 90 Willow Street, Brooklyn. Mr. Storrs, Strauchan, and a host at the Tuesday evening reading (Greek drama) and music. *Back at midnight.*

There is one unquestioned way to close up the saloon. Destroy the demand for all intoxicating drink. This can only be done by persuasion, by example, by public sentiment, and by individual judgment and conscience.

January 12, 1889. Saturday. — With Fanny returned from New York.

Today found [a letter from] John Wood, of Philadelphia, secretary of a Peace Arbitration Society. Wrote for him a letter [to the] Emperor of Germany. "Thanks and congratulations" on his peace address.

January 13. — A happy day. Correspondence. Lucy read aloud to the family "Little Lord Fauntleroy," or rather she read selections from the book and read them beautifully. All of us had read the book, *of course*.

I read, or finished, Mr. Howells' last book, "Annie Kilburn." It opens the democratic side of the coming questions. I do not

find a ready word for the doctrine of true equality of rights. Its foes call it nihilism, communism, socialism, and the like. Howells would perhaps call it justice. It is the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence, and of the Sermon on the Mount. But what is a proper and *favorable* word or phrase to designate it?

January 14. Monday.—Wrote a host of letters today in reply to patriots and friends anxious to serve their country.

FREMONT, OHIO, January 14, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have the pleasure to inform you of your election as a member of the board of trustees of the John F. Slater Education Fund in the place of Chief Justice Waite, deceased. By this mail I send you two pamphlets showing the nature of the trust.

Meetings are held annually, usually at New York. Chief Justice Waite found it practicable to attend the meetings, and to take an active interest in the work from the beginning, except when absent by reason of sickness.

It is the unanimous wish of the members of the board that you accept the appointment. If in doubt about it, please delay your decision until President Gilman or Senator Colquitt can call on you at Washington in regard to it.

The next meeting will be in May 1889.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MELVILLE W. FULLER,
CHIEF JUSTICE, *Washington*.

January 20. Sunday.—Replied yesterday to about twenty-five letters.

A good sermon from Mr. Mills — one of his best. He is carrying on a series of meetings — revival meetings. Serious interest manifested but no startling facts. He spoke of his own conversion as occurring two years after he became a church member.

Read fifty pages in Bryce's "American Commonwealth." A well-considered view of our institutions; nothing so far specially salient.

January 21. Monday.—Fanny at 7.30 A. M. via Fostoria to Columbus, as the guest of our life-long friend Mrs. Belle Carter. She was a popular, fashionable belle in her youth, forty years ago, and has been a favorite lady in society ever since. She married rather late Dr. Carter, a widower with grown daughters, and while he lived was a beautiful example of a wife and stepmother. Now, and for eight years past, a widow of admirable life. I am glad to have my daughter with so charming and capable a mentor. She is fond of and attracts young people. She keeps herself young and retains her fine manners and looks.

January 22. Tuesday.—All sorts of droll requests reach me. I have this morning a letter as follows, in a boyish handwriting:—

PITTSFIELD, ILL., Dec. 28.

To the person to whom this letter is addressed:

DEAR SIR, MADAM, ETC.:—I enclose you a portion of my autograph book and would be very much obliged if you would sign your name on one page and then addressing an envelope to the next person after you on the opposite page, enclosing this letter and the book. If you will, you will greatly oblige

Your obedient servant,

OLIVER BARRETT.

On the opposite page is written [with addresses]:—O. W. Holmes, Oliver Optic, E. E. Hale, E. Eggleston, S. L. Clemens, Charles Dudley Warner, Mrs. Harriet Beecher Stowe, L. P. Morton, Gen. W. T. Sherman, Rev. Mr. Howard Crosby, Rev. Mr. T. DeWitt Talmage, George W. Curtis, Rev. Theo. Cuyler, Mr. and Mrs. R. B. Hayes, Miss Frances E. Willard.

The strange result makes it all interesting. All of the list have responded to the lad's request favorably. Mark Twain grumbled of course in characteristic phrase, but General Sherman, O. W. Holmes, and all came down handsomely; E. E. Hale and Dudley Warner in the true spirit.

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Doctor Hale writes:—“I am glad to do what you wish”; and sends on with the note:—

“DEAR EGGLESTON:—The above is forwarded by dear Doctor Holmes to me. I now forward to you. Please pass it on, till the trick shall come ‘higher-nigher.’”

Edward Eggleston forwards with the words:—“DEAR CLEMENS:—Pass the thing along. I hope it’ll get back to him safely. —E: EGGLESTON.”

Mark Twain signs “Truly yours,” and on the envelope in pencil writes:—“Pass the damned piece of impudence to Warner.”

Chas. Dudley Warner signs “Yours sincerely,” and on the envelope:—“Passed on in an unruffled spirit to Mrs. Stowe. C. D. W.”

Mrs. Stowe passed it on to Levi P. Morton, writing:
“DEAR SIR:—Please pass this little boy’s book along.—H. BEECHER STOWE.”

It was “passed by Mr. Morton to General Sherman”; by him “to Rev. Mr. Talmage”; “by T. De W. Talmage to Rev. Dr. Cuyler”; by Dr. Cuyler to George William Curtis, with the note: “I hope you will add a name that all men honor”; by Mr. Curtis to Dr. Crosby with the phrase, “I follow my leader”; and by Dr. Crosby to me with the injunction, “Keep up the boy’s ball.” We sign today “with best wishes” and send on, adding:

“Passed by Mr. and Mrs. Hayes to Miss Frances E. Willard, with kindest regards.

“The good thing about this is that such busy persons as have here given time to make a boy happy seem to have made themselves happy in doing it. You will, I am sure go and do likewise.—R. B. H.”

January 23, 1889.—Letter writing. Received from President elect Harrison a letter asking the name of a Southern-born man in the Union army for Secretary of War. Replied: “Goff, of West Virginia, or Goodloe, of Kentucky. Goff will probably be cheated out of his governorship before March 4. He is able, agreeable, and true.” His appointment will cover several points. A protest again fraud in elections, etc., etc. Goodloe intelligent, bold, and well equipped.

Received from Judge Martindale letter of Governor Morton, published May 24, 1877, on President Hayes' Southern policy. Will republish in the [Fremont] *Journal*. Also a fine photograph taken at Indianapolis December 19, 1888 and one by same artist of General Harrison.

January 24. Thursday. — Replied to a happy letter from Fanny, complimenting Mrs. Carter as mistress of "the most useful of the useful arts and the finest of the fine arts — the art peculiar to women — the art of making homes happy."

In the evening at the G. A. R.

I received a letter from Colonel Crook. He says: "From all that I can learn, your kind words in my behalf to General Harrison will be of great use to me." I hope this is so.

January 25. Friday. — I am getting many letters asking aid to get appointments from General Harrison. I reply to one this morning which shows the situation.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 25, 1889.

MY DEAR COMRADE: — Your letter came duly, and I meant to reply at once. But absence from home the greater part of the time for six weeks past has postponed it. Indeed, I hoped to meet you when East, the 8th of this month. But briefly and frankly I am committed for Gibson [for Commissioner of Pensions]. He is my friend of forty years' standing. We are neighbors. He is one of God's noblemen.

Now this: After him, I am for you. But this must not hurt him. Your claims, I recognize fully. I would like to see a man who carried a musket for forty-three cents a day in that high place. No man suffered or sacrificed more than you did. You are honest, able, sympathetic, and "know how it is yourself." Need I say more? If Gibson can't have it, I am for you.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

COMRADE JAMES TANNER.

The letters from all sorts of people who are anxious to serve their country come swarming. I acknowledge most of them briefly.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 28, 1889.

GENTLEMEN:—The completion of the new building of the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce is a notable event. The whole people of Cincinnati are to be congratulated on their merchants' new home. It commands the admiration of all who see it. Cincinnati is fortunate. Her list of objects of interest and admirable structures is by no means a short one. But the new monument to the great promoter of modern civilization — this monument to commerce — will long stand, if not at the head, at least very high in the list.

I regret extremely that I cannot be present at the dedication of the building.

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 29, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—I agree with you that it is very desirable that the Commissioner of Education should be a man of mark and of liberal views. Mr. Butler, it strikes me, would be altogether a fit appointment. The office is one of the attractive places. Geography and other considerations will have weight. It may be easier to get the post for a Chicago man than for a New Yorker. You see the point. A *list* from different parts of the country may be well. But, in short, substantially I am with you and will aid.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. CHARLES H. HAM.

January 31, 1889.—Am still reading Bryce's "American Commonwealth." Bryce is evidently warped by his free trade and other English prejudices in favor of the Democratic opinions of political events. For example, he says that Cleveland *gained* by his numerous vetoes. In fact they gave offense to the soldiers

and their friends, and contributed largely to his defeat in the election. He says the general opinion is now that the Electoral Commission erred in their decision of the questions which determined the result of the election of 1876. This is a decided mistake. The general judgment is that they decided rightly. Indeed, few people would now hold otherwise. Its guiding principle is that the *States decide* all questions as to their vote at the election. The decision of the proper State authorities must stand as to the vote of the State.

My wish for old age — its first symptoms now appearing:

“A quiet nook, and a pleasant book,
When the toils of the day are done.”

February 2. Saturday. — I get daily letters asking aid to get appointments from the President. Many are from old friends, army comrades, and who are known to me to be fit to fill the places they want. This much I can with some labor do and say, viz., state their qualifications and merits, and commend them to the favorable attention of the powers that be. But they want more in many instances. They say: “You can secure this for me if you will request President Harrison to make the appointment.” A gentleman appointed by me ten or twelve years ago consul in Nova Scotia wants me to do this for him. He is almost a total stranger to me. But I am sure he is a good officer, and that he may properly be retained. He has written in a petulant way, complaining that I do not urge his appointment, etc., etc. I reply as follows:—

FREMONT, OHIO, February 2, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR: — I have your letter of the 29th ultimo. I want to aid you, as far as I properly can, believing you to be a meritorious officer.

I am asked by a host of others to request the President to appoint them. They say, as you do, without a moment’s thought: “*This you can easily secure me.*” Many of those who ask this are old friends, army comrades, and persons known to me to be worthy. To grant their demand would be to treat with disrespect the President, and to put myself in the absurd attitude of assuming the appointing power of the Executive!

All I do is to give a testimonial as to the fitness of the applicant, and to recommend his appointment.

When you make up your papers, if you will send me one, I will endorse it favorably, and return it to you for presentation at the proper time to the proper Department, or if you prefer, to the President.

I return the papers as requested.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GEORGE C. TANNER.

February 3, 1889. Sunday. — A full church. Six new members joined on probation — five men, one woman; well dressed, good-looking young folks; twenty to thirty, all of them. Mr. and Mrs. Dudrow, fine young people, dined with us, and our cousin Lucy Keeler. An interesting afternoon.

In the evening Webb came, *en route* home from a business trip to St. Paul, Chicago, and Toledo. He met at St. Paul our friends Governor Ramsay and Governor Sibley. General Sibley failing with age. He recalled Mrs. Hayes saying, ten years ago when the ladies were losing hats and locks of artificial hair in a wild prairie wind on Red River: "Well, if my hair does fly so as to make a Potawatomie of me, there is no danger of my losing it!"

Governor Ramsay says: "The President mustn't be too unwilling to consult Senators. He can keep his independence, but he must not seem to snub his associates in the Government."

At Chicago he [Webb] saw much of Crook, and the friends. General Crook thinks Sheridan's best work was in the final Appomattox campaign. "The Sheridan Valley campaign was not, if closely scanned, the great work of Sheridan." No doubt Crook himself gave the points — the flank attacks — which won Opequon and Fisher's Hill.

Is my friend on his staff addicted to gaming? He spends freely. Too freely? is the question.

February 4. Monday. — Charles L Webster, the publisher of the books of General Grant, Sheridan, and McClellan, was on the train with Webb on his western tour. He gave interesting

particulars of his experiences with the generals and with the Pope.

February 5. Tuesday.—Mr. William O. Stoddard is writing for the “Lives of the Presidents” my biography. I have this morning written to him this letter:—

FREMONT, OHIO, February 5, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—The message of Governor Hill has started again the discussion as to what is to become of ex-Presidents. Would it not be well, if you have not [done so], to give a chapter to that topic? Governor Hill suggests life Senatorships for the ex-Presidents. This, as I see it, is wholly inadmissible. The Senate is already burdened with the great inequality between such States as Delaware, Florida, Nevada, on the one side, and New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, on the other. Besides there is a new peril. The Senate is becoming the rich man’s place. Now, add to this life members, and you have a condition so inconsistent with the principles of popular government that the abolition or radical change of the Senate would soon come. Just think of a Senate, when the Rebellion was on, with a list of life members like this, viz., Buchanan, Fillmore, Pierce, Tyler, and Van Buren! Of course, I mean no reflection on these eminent men. But the possible extent of the evil is indicated. New Hampshire with three Senators, New York with four, Pennsylvania with three, Virginia with three, and the excess above other States for life! Would it not cause discontent?

On the other hand, let the President when he leaves his office take a manly view of the situation. Let him become a citizen again. It is stated that Mr. Cleveland will return to the practice of his profession. I hope he will. It will be a noble answer to the question. He is only six or seven years out of his law office and can return to it.

I should have done so if I could. But I was twenty years out of practice. Leaving for the war in 1861 and an ex-President in 1881, it would have been an up-hill business [for me] to return to the law. But I would like to see my short speech to my neighbors when they welcomed me home in 1881 set out in full, and then a short and unobtrusive showing of what has been

done to carry it out in practice. Indeed, I am quite as content with what I have succeeded in doing as an ex-President as with any other part of my life. . . .

Too much of this. In haste, as you see.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. WILLIAM O. STODDARD,

Hampstead, Long Island, New York.

February 6. Wednesday. — Rev. Dr. Spencer, of Philadelphia, agent of the Methodist Episcopal Church Extension Society, preached, exhorted, and sang last evening at the church. Effectively done. *Mem.*:— On such occasions, one man must have charge, not merely lead. The volunteer interruptions chill the feelings — a shower-bath on the rising warmth.

President Merrick writes me a letter exhorting me for the sake of the example to “make a public profession of faith in Christ.” He is a noble, charitable, true Christian in the best sense. He enclosed [an account of] the course taken by former Senator and Attorney-General Williams in Portland, Oregon. The distinguished gentleman is a convert, in the usual sense.

February 7. Thursday. — Last evening I received a letter from the chairman on literary exercises for the New York centennial of Washington’s inauguration, asking me to respond to the toast “The President.” I accept. I may allude to the failure of the device for selecting the President by means of Electoral Colleges in the several States, and turn [to say] but in other respects their plan [that of the founders] has fully and exactly fulfilled the anticipations of the wise and far-seeing founders. It [the system] provided for the perils of the first years, Washington; and for the appalling dangers of the turning-point of our destiny, Lincoln. It provides motives that enable the people’s will to govern at all times. If there is failure it is due to the people themselves.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 7, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am in receipt of your favor of the 4th instant in which I am honored with an invitation to respond to

the toast "The President" at the banquet in the Metropolitan Opera House, April 30 next. Undertaking the duty assigned, it will be a satisfaction to know about what time in the speaking my ten minutes will be in order. In accepting, I wish it distinctly understood that if, for any reason, even at the last moment, it seems desirable to shorten the program it will be entirely agreeable to me to be one of those to be dropped out.

Very sincerely yours,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE ELBRIDGE GERRY,
CHAIRMAN, *New York.*

February 8. Friday. — Have at last got rid of correspondence — that is caught up with it, and gave a couple of hours to my old notes for a manual training speech or talk to the Allegheny County Teachers' Association at Pittsburgh, Friday next, 15th.

February 10. Sunday. — General Mitchell spent the day. He came to present a [most promising] project for a speculation. . . . But it is like going into business and I declined.

General Mitchell's chance of the pension office for Ohio seems good. Will write to the President at the proper time.

February 19. Tuesday. — The trip to Columbus [last Wednesday] to meet the trustees of the Ohio State University was caused by the burning of the chemical laboratory building — not by the action of president and faculty in the case of students absent from prayers. Loss some forty thousand dollars. We asked for seventy-five thousand dollars to rebuild; five thousand dollars for immediate use was already voted by the General Assembly.

I promised Colonel [Potter] and Lieutenant Kilbourn to aid in restoring the boys, if they kept quiet and behaved well about it for the next three to six weeks. The president was perhaps rather severe, and somewhat hasty.

Called on Mrs. Carter at Columbus to thank her for her kind hospitality to Fanny. Mrs. Carter was not at home. But the servant, with a beaming face, said: "Your daughter is so sweet.

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No lady ever visited here who was so nice—so lovely," etc.! Very pleasant sounds in a father's ears. . . .

Thursday night, after an hour's talk with Mr. Green of the great wholesale dry-goods Columbus house, took cars to Pittsburgh in the night. At Monongahela House 7 A. M. in Pittsburgh. [The] forenoon with Mr. Luckey and Mr. M. A. Newell, Superintendent of Instruction in Maryland, visited the Grant School. Surely it is all most gratifying—as great an advance on my day as the railroad and steamboat are on the pack horse and flatboat of pioneer days.

Afternoon, with Lucy Cook McCandless drove to the suburbs of Pittsburgh out Fifth Avenue.

Evening, at the First Presbyterian Church, to a crowded house, [I] spoke fifty minutes on manual training. Omitted my best witness and point—Canon Farrar on Christ "The Carpenter"! But fairly well.

Saturday in the rain to Cleveland. A happy visit with Mrs. (widow) Linus Austin and Mattie Avery, both lonely without him.

Monday met with trustees of Garfield Memorial Association at Mr. J. H. Wade's office. I presided. Resolved to dedicate during 1889 and chose General Cox, on my motion, orator of the day. A happy call at General Leggett's. Home on late train.

February 21, 1889.—To Findlay to attend Washington's birthday celebration by the soldiers of the G. A. R. Stopped at the Central House. Four [five] comrades of the old Twenty-third were on hand to welcome me. They became my body-guard and for two days looked after me as careful and considerate friends. "Auld Lang Syne" in a most gratifying sort! Names of the comrades: Thomas W. Quine, Company E; F. M. Drake, Company H; James Finley, G; Aaron Koplin, F; Melville Figley, G.

In the evening spoke at Stoker Post of the G. A. R. Gave my "delusion" at Buford's Gap on retreat of Hunter from Lynchburg.

February 22. Friday.—A. M. Rode over the new parts of the town of Findlay.—Said now to have over twenty thousand

people. Factories in the outskirts widely separated. Town six miles long north and south, and four wide east and west! Several street railway lines. Rawness on all sides. Thirty-five hundred new houses claimed for the last year; already said to be eleven hundred for the current year.

P. M. Two thousand of the school children in line in the streets; all happy and warmly clad. The crowds in the wigwam and the noise of the young kids prevented myself, first, and Gibson, afterwards, from being heard. I was more fortunate even than General Gibson.

Evening, Commander O'Neal and I talked to a frost-bitten audience in the wigwam.

Think of this gentleman, this fair-minded, patriotic man, wounded and a prisoner, and *for six months in prison at Danville, Virginia, absolutely naked!*

I gave a sketch of the Valley campaign — Cedar Creek. Well received.

February 23. Saturday. — Returned after speaking last night and reached home after 11 P. M.

This afternoon Webb came. He has, with the president of his company, Mr. Lawrence, been in Chicago almost a week attending the convention of the electrical people. His connection with the National Carbon Company at Cleveland interests him in this conference.

February 24. Sunday. — A week ago, at Mrs. Austin's, I took up Hawthorne's "Notes." Interested so much I ordered them, six volumes, from Robert Clarke and Company, Cincinnati, and since returning from Findlay have snatched an hour or two from my correspondence to read these delightful sketches and jottings. They seem to have been his collection of the raw materials for his charming stories. He has [a] sound head, and is an original thinker, with a power of clean-cut statement. His clearness and precision are notable.

February 25. Monday. — Writing letters [and] scrapbooking military items, especially the Dublin Raid and Cloyd's Mountain by Arthur.

February 26 Tuesday.—Called on by office-seekers and a host of letters to reply to.

Private

FREMONT, OHIO, February 26, 1889.

MY DEAR SENATOR:—Gibson for Commissioner of Pensions will please more Ohio people than anything else I can think of. All agree that the time has come to recognize the work he has done for the country, for the party, and for all of us who have been honored by Ohio during the last thirty years. This is one of the things near my heart.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 26, 1889.

MY DEAR GENERAL:—I have just read in the New York Tribune a communication from Findlay, Ohio, representing that I gave your opinion on the subject of pensions as expressed by you in conversation with me at Indianapolis. *In fact I did nothing of the sort.* The opinions expressed are *my* opinions; but you said, as I recall our conversation, nothing on the subject of pensions, and if you had, I most certainly would not have repeated it.

With all good wishes.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GENERAL BENJAMIN HARRISON,
Washington, D. C.

February 27.—Read in the last volume of the "Cyclopædia of Biography" the titles Zachary Taylor, Tilden, etc. Jefferson Davis is given as the writer of Taylor. It is well done. I read also Jeff Davis' biography. Fairly well. The book [cyclopædia] is a mine of history and biography and is in the main excellent. It is indexed fully and well.

February 28. Thursday.—Foggy; snow still lingers. The last day of winter as we usually think of it. But March is also a winter month. Our first two winter months, December and January, were much milder than usual—unprecedentedly so. But February has been severely cold, probably colder than the average. Almost no good sleighing; perhaps on eight or ten days sleighs were used but chiefly on the paved streets and stone roads.

Lucy will go to Cleveland tomorrow. We are to be in Delaware March 7 at President McCosh's lecture. In Cincinnati I am to attend Loyal Legion [on the] 6th.

I wrote today the following letter to the President in behalf of Captain Reed, who sent to Lucy the dispatch after Cedar Creek that the report of my death was a mistake.

Private

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, March 5, 1889.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:—This will introduce to you my comrade and friend Captain Thomas B. Reed, of Fairmont, West Virginia. He wants at the proper time to be reappointed postmaster. He has every qualification—experience, efficiency, character, Republicanism, service as a soldier, and the support of the community. *You can trust him.*

Besides, he rendered me the greatest possible service in the war. The recollection of it simply *compels* me to ask your favorable consideration of his claims and merits.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

TO PRESIDENT HARRISON,
Washington.

March 1. Friday.—Last evening attended the meeting of the G. A. R. post. Good feeling. Talked with a comrade, not seen before. He was a Swiss—brought to America when he was six or seven years old. Was happy as he said: "We will be in power again in a few days and we will keep it." A plain, rough laboring man—patriotic in his talk. Another comrade attracted me by his extraordinary stature. I did not recollect

seeing him before. I soon got on easy terms with him. He said that in his stockings he had been six feet six, that he was not quite so tall now. He was born in this county, but his father came from Germany. He said: "My father always said that you made a Republican of him. When he was to cast his first vote after naturalization in 1848, his friends and neighbors, Germans, were Democrats. But happening to be in Buckland's office, you talked to him in favor of General Taylor, and gave him a German newspaper. He read it and decided to vote for Taylor, and had never since voted the Democratic ticket."

I was called on to talk. Did so. Told the incident of Howell Cobb trying to persuade the starving and dying prisoners in Andersonville to *work* in the shops of the Confederacy — with the promise of good pay, two dollars and fifty cents per day, one-half gold, one-half in Confederate notes, and good shelter, food, and clothing. But the prisoners knew this would add to the muskets in the Rebel ranks and *not a man yielded* to escape death and suffering. The applause was hearty.

March 2. Saturday. — Last evening attended a reception of the Rebecca I. O. O. F.; made a short talk. Described the inaugural proceedings, decoration of the city, flags, etc.; processions, flowers, music, ball, crowds. The pleasure and splendor of the affair all depends on the weather. With fine weather it is notably brilliant; with bad weather it is a notable failure.

Attended to arranging papers. For a time will collect:—
1. All war talks — history, biography, and incidents. 2. All matter relating to education, especially in the South, and on manual training. 3. All on prison reform and charities.

Does Rawle teach the doctrine of secession? Was this doctrine taught at West Point? I do not find these questions answered in Jefferson Davis' book. He is quite full in his presentation of the State-sovereignty doctrine.

March 4. Monday. — Inauguration day! Bright and cheerful. Perfect day here. Hope for same at Washington.

The President and Mrs. Cleveland have in their personal conduct, so far as I know, behaved with discretion, modesty, good nature, and good sense, with possibly one exception. For them

it is no doubt well to leave the high place now. Those who are in such a place cannot escape its unfortunate influence on habits, disposition, and character. In that envied position of power and distinction, they are deferred to, flattered, and supported under all circumstances whether right or wrong, or wise or foolish, by shrewd and designing men and women who surround them. Human nature can't stand this long.

If the President and his wife are to return to private life at all, it is better to do it at the end of four years. A longer life in the artificial hothouse atmosphere of the high station would leave an impress which would color unfavorably all of their later years. Now Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland can escape the tendencies, and in due time become again good and, I hope, happy citizens.

March 5.—The weather at Washington was unfavorable, but the enthusiasm of the great multitude was genuine and carried the ceremonial through successfully. The inaugural address is conservative and altogether admirable.

CINCINNATI, March 5, 1889.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT:—I left home in Fremont this morning, and on the way down read your inaugural address, first hurriedly, and then with care. Some paragraphs I read several times. I congratulate you, and the party, and the country upon it. It is throughout in substance and style altogether admirable. Excuse me for alluding to its style. Jefferson and Lincoln, by a long distance, excel all others in their inaugural addresses. Yours will take rank with theirs. "It is all golden."

I know you have no time to reply. Do not.

The Cabinet is excellent, and I specially rejoice that you have Noble with you. I should have named him to you if I had not been confined to *native* Southerners.

Mrs. Hayes, if she were with me, would join in kindest regards to Mrs. Harrison and yourself.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

PRESIDENT HARRISON.

Cincinnati, March 6. 1889. — I reached here about 7 P. M. last evening. On the way down from Toledo read the charming message of the new President. I wrote to him this morning congratulating him on it — substance and style.

Called on General Cox. He said he was so averse to making a second address on Garfield because his speech at Milwaukee, at the reunion of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, was a formal affair and had been published not merely by the press but in pamphlet form and widely circulated. It was in his view bad taste to deliver it again. He concluded by saying, "You must consider this final." I refused to so consider it. I urged that justice to Garfield demanded of him the sacrifice of his feelings; that Garfield had suffered in two ways by the injudicious praise of those who knew him only in a general way. They had attributed to him powers and qualities which did not belong to him, and which all who knew him well thoroughly understood were not the truth about him. Others, his enemies, took advantage of these mistakes and the result is a belittling of his character and powers. He seemed, towards the close of a rather protracted conversation, to yield and promised to take it into consideration. The 19th of September was his decided preference as to date.

Saw Captain Hunter and Robert Clarke. Heard from Clarke that Judge Matthews is probably not to recover. He has been confined to his bed several weeks; can't endure his weakness and weariness; wishes for the end to come. Spent the forenoon — the rest of it — with my charming friend Mrs. Herron. Mr. Herron returned from Washington before dinner. Remained to dinner and an hour after. Will appears well. Lucy better and finer every time I see her.

In the evening at the banquet of the Loyal Legion made a talk; told of Captain Reed's thoughtful "saving from a shock" my wife when I was reported killed at Cedar Creek. Also a talk about the blunder of Sheridan in his book, where he speaks of the officers of Crook's corps and color-bearers who rose seemingly out of the ground, the men having gone to the rear panic-stricken. I succeeded in a rough, humorous vein in get-

ting hold of the audience and had a beautiful time of it. Noyes told the story of his loss of his leg in fine style — with pathos, humor, and eloquence. Others spoke well. A most happy time.

March 8 [7]. Thursday. — At 8:30 A. M. to Delaware. At 2:30 met Lucy on train from Cleveland. A happy meeting. She had "a lovely" time with Cleveland friends. Called on Dr. and Mrs. McCosh, of Princeton — for twenty years as an able and successful president of that famous old Presbyterian college. A happy tea and reception at Professor Williams'.

March 8. — Called on Carrie Williams Little, [and] on Judge Jones who is in a critical condition — in bed for two weeks. His clear head is now confused. He hardly knew how to talk. Such grand and interesting conversation — so attractive to all who knew him. I got the impression that he would pull through this trouble. My saying so seemed most agreeable to his wife — Mrs. Harriet Williams Jones. . . . Home at 5 P. M.

March 9. Saturday. — Wrote a host of letters — chiefly to friends anxious to serve their country! Signed about seventy diplomas for newly elected members of the Loyal Legion. Attended *I. O. O. F. in the evening.* Prepared some ideas for speeches.

March 11. Monday. — Considered briefly my ten-minutes' talk at the G. A. R. welcome to Commander O'Neal tomorrow evening. Will consider the merits of the organization — historical, educational, patriotic, social, and benevolent and just. The latter are to be looked after.

March 12. Tuesday. — Commander O'Neal arrived on time via Lake Shore from Ashtabula. I drove to breakfast with him. . . . We talked of what is due to the soldier. After dinner called on General Buckland at his office and on Judge Dickinson at the probate court. Also called on Captain Anthony Young.

In the afternoon promptly the posts marched up [to Spiegel Grove], about one hundred strong, then the Sons of Veterans and a number of friends with ladies. Perhaps two hundred in

all. A successful and happy time. Lucy was in her best estate, making all happy. . . .

In the evening a crowded audience greeted us all at the opera house. Commander O'Neal with cogent arguments and solid facts, with pathetic and thrilling scenes, urged the duty of a more liberal policy on the subject of pensions.

I spoke briefly — a jolly talk, with a serious sentence or two ditto to O'Neal.

Captain Dowling, candidate for commander, also spoke in same vein. "The raid on the Treasury" is fairly on. I must make a heading of the line, "A Raid on the Treasury"—"Justice to the Soldier — No Repudiation of the Nation's Obligations to her Defenders."

March 13. Wednesday. — With Mr. O'Neal to the station. Bid good-bye to Captain and Mrs. Dowling and the judge about 9 A. M. after a successful meeting.

Correspondence the forenoon. In the afternoon a visit from McSheehy, just from Washington. He gave the situation there fairly well. A rabble of unwonted dimensions after office.

The President makes a mistake in turning the appointments over to the Senators and Representatives. They will use it [them] to pay debts. It is a return to the spoils system.

In the afternoon met at the Ball House a number of men from Bowling Green and Gibsonburg with a party of railroad men touching a new railroad from Fremont west to Gibsonburg, Bowling Green, Napoleon, and the State line. After much talk, result — resolutions to organize a corporation for the purpose. Appointed a committee to carry out the resolution.

March 14. Thursday. — Correspondence and a few minutes given to the talk on Parnell and Ireland next Monday evening occupied the forenoon. . . .

Lucy received her invitation to dance in first quadrille at the Washington inauguration ball in New York, April 29. Will of course not be present; not opposed to balls or dancing; but other circumstances will prevent. Will acknowledge and decline the honor today.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 15, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—In the absence of Mrs. Hayes, I have the honor to acknowledge your kind favor received yesterday, in which she is honored with an invitation to take part in the opening quadrille of the centennial ball.

I regret that at this time it seems probable that circumstances will prevent her from being in New York at the centennial celebration of the inauguration of Washington, and that therefore she must decline your polite invitation, which she highly appreciates.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. WARD McALLISTER,
MANAGER, *New York*.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 15, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you for the privilege of uniting with the New York Citizens' Committee in their patriotic and charitable work in behalf of the disabled and destitute soldiers of the late Confederacy.

The time is plainly drawing near (if it has not already come) when justice to its defenders will require the National Government to expend much larger sums than have heretofore been appropriated for the support of the men who saved it. The sacred obligation to the Union soldiers must not — will not be forgotten nor neglected, especially by those who have shared in fullest measure the prosperity which has come from the services and sacrifices of those who stood by the Government when it was imperilled.

But those who fought against the Nation cannot and do not look to it for relief. Their disabled and destitute comrades are left to the generosity and benefactions of their more fortunate fellow citizens who wisely forecast the inspiring future of our country. Confederate soldiers and their descendants are to share with us and our descendants the destiny of America. Whatever, therefore, we their fellow citizens can do to remove burdens from their shoulders and to brighten their lives is surely in the pathway of humanity and patriotism.

With my contribution to the enterprise, I beg you to accept also my best wishes for its success.

I remain sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. OLIVER DOWNING,
SECRETARY, *New York.*

March 16. Saturday. — In the evening Lucy came from Toledo and Webb with the architect, Mr. Barnum, from Cleveland. A happy time. Webb and Mr. Barnum went over with Lucy the proposed addition and change of the rear of our house. The change is intended to get rid of our little frame kitchen, to enlarge the dining-room, to add chambers, and to improve the general appearance by putting a two-story brick structure in the place of what we now have which shall cost four thousand dollars to six thousand dollars.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, March 16, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR: — Justice to Mr. Waggoner — the best officer we have had in this revenue district — seems to require another solid effort to restore him to the collectorship from which he was improperly removed.

If there is a reasonable prospect of success I venture to urge you to push it to a favorable determination.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

March 17. — Sunday. — This being a lucky day — St. Patrick's Day and Sunday, — I decided, if brick and other needed things can be had, to build the new kitchen and dining-room. The architects are Coburn and Barnum of Cleveland, and J. Stierwalt will be the builder. Cost from four to six thousand dollars.

March 18. — Made contract for the addition to the house with Stierwalt. He is to superintend and build it; three dollars per day for time employed by him and twenty-five cents profit on each carpenter — his regular hand.

Correspondence and a little attention to the Irish question for tonight's Saint Patrick's speech.

Spoke first after the banquet. Well received. A sober talk of twenty or thirty minutes.

March 19. Tuesday. — Morning train to Toledo. . . . Spent the afternoon with [Clark] Waggoner, an hour or two of it. He has full scrapbooks of all matters for some years. An interesting talk. Some chance of his restoration to his office of collector of internal revenue. He was the best we have had and was unfairly and improperly turned out in Arthur's time.

An hour in the morning with Lee. He thinks we should have an aggressive man — a speaker and strong — for governor. Does he have his own eye on the place?

March 22. Friday. — Letters. Received one from Rev. Dr. Hatfield criticizing mine to the secretary of the Texas Home. I reply as follows:—

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 22, 1889.

MY FRIEND:— Your letter of the 18th, I must believe, was written in the friendliest spirit but without reflection. In any event I do not argue. Logic is for controversy. It has little to do with opinions. Let me ask you to think of some facts. Eighteen Republican members of the next House are from the late Rebel regions. But for the votes of Rebels President Harrison would find the next House against him by from fifteen to thirty majority.

The old Mason and Dixon's line, politically considered, now runs coincident with the southern line of North Carolina and Tennessee.

Many of the most decided and reliable Republicans to be found anywhere fought in the Rebel army. The number of such is today greater than ever before, and with a little political

sense in our leadership, *which we are sure to have*, it will steadily grow.

With a small percent of late Rebel votes at any poll — “old soldiers handy with the pistol” — the votes of negroes will be cast, and counted as cast. *Without* such support the prospect of the colored vote is dim enough. Calmly think of these facts.

Again, Jefferson, Calhoun, and *the instructors at West Point* taught that the State was sovereign and that the Federal Government had only limited powers; that allegiance was due to the State. Is it wise (not to say charitable) to attribute to all who followed such instruction guilt of the quality of that of Judas Iscariot?

But the essential idea of my letter does not seem to have attracted your attention. The rich, the well-to-do, and those who depend mainly on them, are strangely blind, as a class, to what is due — in short, to justice to the Union soldier. Bonds for money lent the Government in paper, worth thirty-five to sixty-five cents on the dollar, are paid in gold at their face, with gold interest at highly remunerative rates. *That* national obligation, I with you and the rich people insisted upon, because it was just. But the men paid twenty to thirty cents a day for life and uncounted sacrifices are said to make a “raid on the Treasury,” if they ask that promises be kept. *Hence my letter.*

My brother, the question of our day is, Shall a plutocracy own the earth, and all who work with their hands be left in ignorance and vice by reason of poverty? Don’t worry about the Rebels of the South. The real enemy of human souls sits in your costliest church. The anarchist is the offspring of European despotism and aristocracy. Plutocracy, unchecked, will have the same progeny here.

You have a power of statement that always filled me with admiration and delight. Of all places, the pulpit should be the home of truth. The model sermon is the Sermon on the Mount.

In all good feeling and in all earnestness,

Your friend, sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

REV. R. M. HATFIELD D. D.,

Evanston, Illinois.

March 23. Saturday.—Last evening Mr. Keeler by telephone told us of the death of Justice Stanley Matthews in Washington yesterday morning. He has been seriously ill many months, and I have not hoped with any confidence for his recovery since early last winter.

I became acquainted with him at Kenyon College more than, or perhaps about, forty [fifty] years ago. Although he was almost two years younger than I was, he was two years in advance of me in college. He graduated in 1840 and I in 1842. We have been well acquainted ever since; during a large part of the time intimately. Our friendship was an understood thing between us for years without intimate intercourse.

In college he fell under the displeasure of the faculty and was not likely to graduate. It was a case for apology and regret. On the campus, it was the subject of discussion. Others urged him to show independence—not to make an apology. This seemed the drift of all minds and he yielded to it, or rather, seemed about to do so. I interposed firmly and decidedly. "No, Matthews, the thing you ought to do is to apologize. It is right. For the sake of your parents, for your own sake, you ought to do it. I would do it, if I were in your place." This turned the scale. The apology was made; he graduated; and during his whole life was extremely grateful to me, alluding to the incident very often as the turning-point in his career.

We went into the war together in the same regiment, the gallant old Twenty-third. After 1860 we were together in politics. I appointed him judge of the Supreme Court—although not confirmed on my appointment. I held Garfield to it and secured his confirmation, which was by a single vote. I supported him for Senator in 1877 and contributed to, if I did not control, the result.

He was an example of great precocity. At sixteen he could write and speak with the solid ability of mature manhood. He was easily a fine scholar in all his studies; was noted for the accuracy and felicity of his translations. His opinions and arguments in law cases were models of forensic force and clearness. I regarded his argument before the Electoral Commission as the great argument, and as controlling in the case.

After graduating he went to Tennessee. There practiced law and married. About 1845 or 1846 he returned to Ohio. He immediately came *here* [Fremont] to be examined, and was here admitted to the bar. I was on the committee of examination. We were then young lawyers, just beginning. We conversed freely and confidentially as to our plans and hopes. He was somewhat discouraged. When I went to Cincinnati in 1849 he was just entering on a successful career in his profession; was elected a judge of common pleas at the first election under the new constitution, and showed a signal ability; so much ability that the lawyer of the most lucrative practice of any lawyer in the city, Mr. Vachel Worthington, offered him a partnership. This was accepted and he became at once a leader at the bar. He was a Democrat, having been a Liberty party abolitionist. His associations were with a circle of fast men for some years. He was elected a [state] Senator. His talents took him to the front. Just in time, he became interested in a revival of religion; took part in a business men's prayer-meeting at noon in the old First Church and joined the Presbyterian Church.

The most affecting funeral I recall was about this time, when three of his sons, fine, promising little fellows who had died of yellow [?] fever, were buried at one time!

He became a Douglas Democrat 1858-9-60. We became more intimate, and, as referred to above, arranged to go together into the war. In 1875-6 we were together in politics, and became confidentially intimate.

He was able, conscientious, firm, and just. Throughout the contest of 1876-7 and 8, he was fully advised of all movements in which I was a party. In the Senate a short time, he did not show political wisdom. The failure was not merely in party tactics, but on grave questions like the currency. On all legal and constitutional questions, however, he exhibited great power. One short speech in a late night session was pronounced by great odds the finest and grandest of anything done during his service in the Senate. Vice-President Wheeler said he never heard its equal.

March 24. Sunday.—Yesterday afternoon a meeting of the Sandusky County Bar Association was held in the probate court,

Judge Dickinson. General Buckland presided; Meek, secretary. I gave a talk on Judge Matthews. No one present except me knew that Matthews was examined and admitted to practice in this county in August 1845. I was one of the committee. I spoke of it, of his wonderful precocity. His career. His confirmation and his marked ability on the bench.

March 25. Monday.—I go this morning to act as pall-bearer at the funeral of my friend Judge Matthews. I find a letter of his in which he alludes to our college friendship, professional intercourse, the closer comradeship of the war, and our intimate association in the electoral contest of 1876-7, in hearty terms.

Paul, his youngest son, dispatched me yesterday twice on the subject of the funeral and expressed the gratification of the family that I could act.

This will be the closing scene at Glendale. I recall the pathetic funeral of his three boys who died of scarlet [?] fever; the departure for the war, when I spent a night at Glendale and was assured by his mother and wife of their special satisfaction, and the comfort it gave them, that I could be with Stanley; and then the funeral of his first wife! This is the fourth and last!

Guy M. Bryan, of Texas, is the only college or school friend left who remains among those who were at school with me and who also has been a friend in manhood.

SPIEGEL, March 25, 1889.

MY DEAR GUY:—You are the last! I go today to attend as pall-bearer the funeral of our college friend, Judge Matthews!

I thought of you when I got the request to write a note in behalf of the Confederate Home at Austin. The request chimed with my feelings; but if it had not, recollections of you and of Texas and Texas friends of 1848-9 would have conquered.

The Charleston *News* questions Stewart. I hope he is all he should be. God bless you!

Hastily. As ever,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

March 28. Thursday.—Returned last evening from attending the funeral of my friend for fifty years, Stanley Matthews. Last Monday reached Cincinnati about 7 P. M. [Spent night at] my friend Herron's. . . . Tuesday, until 9:30 A. M., with Mrs. Herron. Read enough in [book of] ex-Secretary of the Treasury Hugh McCulloch, to see that it was intelligent, fair, and well worth a place in all American libraries. [Then] to the Hamilton and Dayton station and met there the funeral party—Judges Harlan, Lamar, Gray, and —, with the family. Met Judges Barr, Sage, Jackson on train to Spring Grove. There a brief service in the chapel—respectful, suitable, and nothing overdone. I walked on the right of Judge Harlan into the chapel with the honorary pall-bearers, we at their head. Greatly gratified by the good things said of Matthews by Harlan. "A great judge, a heavy loss to the court; a rapid worker; accurate and skilful; wise and able; growing all of the time."

Arranged with Judge Harlan that he should see the President in two or three cases.

Dined, or lunched, at Glendale with the family. Greeted as an old friend—as "Uncle Rud" by Jane (affianced to Judge Gray)—[by] Mrs. Matthews the widow, Eva, Mrs. Cleveland (Grace), and the young fellows, Mortimer and Paul. Very glad I attended.

Just caught [afternoon] train at Little Miami depot—the Panhandle. On board with members of the Legislature, Captain Clark and another member. Talked war, oratory, and anecdotes all of the way to Columbus. . . .

Reached Laura's about 9 P. M. . . . Talked with the general as to his "seeking" the pension agency.

Called on Captain Cope; agrees with me as to President Scott's insufficiency. His indiscreet, not to say unjust, dealing with the boys, Kilbourn and Potter; too great severity.

About 11:15 A. M. [yesterday] Bee Line to Wellington. A fine talk with Dr. Townshend, professor [at] Normal School; [with] two soldiers. At Wellington, a happy meeting with my friend Warner. Thence home on the Wheeling. On train met young Gardiner and wife lately home from Hot Springs and two young Norwalk men.

Home at 5:30 P. M. All well. The work on the building goes on in lively fashion.

Now for my three speeches — Loyal Legion banquet April 9; G. A. R. April 24; New York Centennial, 29th.

March 29. Friday. — I have been fortunate in my friends. They have been the blessing and comfort of my life. Their loss has been the cause of my greatest suffering and sadness. Some ladies. Beginning with my sister Fanny.

Many of the dearest have become army friends. And the experiences of war added largely to their number. Indeed, if the war had brought no other happiness, no other good to me, it would have been a blessed event by reason of the list of valued friends that it gave me. And of these death has begun to claim its own. General Comly died in 1887, and now Stanley Matthews has gone.

March 30, 1889. Saturday. — We may say of Matthews what was said of Shakespeare in the 1623 edition of his works: — “His mind and hand went together. What he thought he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.”

FREMONT, OHIO, March 31, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR: — I venture to suggest for appointment to the Supreme Court in the place of Justice Matthews, John N. Jewett, of Chicago. I believe he possesses the requisite character, qualifications, and reputation. His residence in the State of the Chief Justice ought not to stand in the way. A similar case in Ohio, with repeated appointments for more than a quarter of a century, without serious complaint, furnishes a sufficient reply to this objection. Besides, the great Republican State of Illinois should not be shut off by a Democratic appointment.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[THE PRESIDENT (?)].

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 2, 1889.

TO THE FAMILY OF STANLEY MATTHEWS,
LATE ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES SUPREME
COURT.

Mr. Justice Matthews began his illustrious professional career in Ohio with his admission to the bar in this town. The lawyers here have always regarded him with peculiar interest and were among his warmest admirers and friends. They assembled promptly upon receiving the melancholy tidings of his death and adopted the sentiments set forth in their proceedings, which I now have the honor to transmit. I beg also to present my personal assurances of sympathy and regard.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 4, 1889.

MY DEAR H—:—No, I had not read the suggestion of the governorship. My thought was for you the *senatorship* against *Payne*. At any rate, let us have a fight on, which has a bone in it. The *buying* of places in the Senate! The government by corruption is the evil. I do not want [to] be or even to seem too good.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[*Unidentified.*]

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 6, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have the honor to accept with pleasure the invitation of the Committee on the Centennial Celebration of the Inauguration of George Washington as President of the United States, to attend the celebration in New York April 29 and 30 and May 1, 1889.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

CLARENCE W. BOWEN,
SECRETARY, *New York*.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 13, 1888 [1889].

MY DEAR SIR:—I have your kind note about the toasts, etc. Do not be at any trouble about it. If I am to respond, the toast will be, as I understand, "*The Presidency*." If this is correct, it is all I care to know on the subject.

Mrs. Hayes and my daughter, Miss Fanny, will be in New York, it is now confidently expected. Of course, I would like to have them attend at such part of the entertainment as ladies attend, if it is practicable. Please advise me. Of course I will pay for tickets which are sold.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[CLARENCE W. BOWEN,
SECRETARY, *New York.*]

April 14, 1889.—Monday, 8th, I reached Delaware about 3:30 P. M. and attended meeting of committee on presidency. Dr. Bashford lectured in William Street Church to a fine audience on the way Oregon was saved by Lee and Whitman, the missionaries, to the Union. Interesting but by no means great. He is young, ambitious, good-tempered. He is [a] third-party prohibitionist and a free-trader,—as we heard objected to him on all sides. He will hardly be selected. With high qualities, he would do. But an ordinary man with these political objections!

Tuesday, 9th, to Cincinnati. Attended at Legion headquarters with General Brinkerhoff.

[The] 10th, Wednesday, Congress met of the Legion. Sixth quadrennial. Called to order and entered on the business, which was the revision of the constitution. Committee's report taken up in committee of the whole. Active men, Senator Manderson, chairman of committee, Colonel Nicholson, General Cochran, Major Lambert, the members from Missouri, Kansas, Illinois, etc., etc. A full body except Oregon. About fifty members.

In the evening a glorious banquet. Well served, good singing, excellent speaking. The best were Major Lambert, General Manderson, [and] "Cash" Goodloe, with his splendid Kentucky brag.



PRESIDENTS OF THE OHIO STATE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

FRANCIS C. SESSIONS
G. FREDERICK WRIGHT

ALLEN G. THURMAN
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

ROELIFF BRINKERHOFF
JAMES E. CAMPBELL

I delivered the talk on Matthews. Well received. Had a wretched *bad cold* — caught, how? In the heat of the banquet a window open behind me let a draught on the back of my head. Said General McCook (Alex McD.): "A man with a draught on the back of his head sees his coffin in front of his face."

The presence of General Crook and many West Virginia Army men carried us through. The Eastern men were most agreeable. A fine meeting. Stayed one night with Lucy at Mrs. Herron's. Friday noon left [for home].

April 17. — Lucy returned last evening after more than a week's absence visiting Cleveland and Cincinnati. "No place like home" expressed her feelings as she came into the hall.

I must now, until I am ready for the Centennial [at New York] and the G. A. R. at Dayton, pay no more attention as a rule to office-seekers' letters.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 19, 1889.

SIR: — Dr. Ireland, the author of the great work entitled "The Republic," has applied, or will apply, for some such place as Indian inspector, superintendent of Yellowstone Park, or of Indian schools, and it will specially gratify me if the doctor can be appointed. I need not say that I regard him as altogether competent and worthy.

Respectfully,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

THE PRESIDENT,
Washington, D. C.

April 20. Saturday. — My little ten-minute speech [for the New York celebration] is printed; modest, unambitious, and fairly suited to the occasion.

April 22. Monday. — I go to Columbus this morning; thence to Dayton. A meeting at Columbus of the university board and at Dayton of G. A. R., Department of Ohio. Home Thursday, and to New York centennial with Lucy Friday. — A busy week.

April 27. Saturday. New York.—With Lucy and Fanny left home yesterday 11:30 A. M. train over to Cleveland. Companion Judge Slagel, of Pittsburgh, and daughter, so far. Fan left with Webb to come on tomorrow. *En route* with Lucy met former president of the Senate, 1876-1, Perry, of Michigan, Governor Luce, ditto, and others. A happy ride. Left Lucy at Mrs. J. O. Moss', 18 West Forty-ninth Street. Came to Fifth [Avenue Hotel]; found Colonel Corbin in my room as expected, [also] his daughter and Miss Phillips, both fine-looking girls, from Farmington. A letter from ex-President Cleveland excusing himself from Monday's work by reason of a cold. Met Dawes at table. Called on by Cincinnati men to attend a banquet of the Society of the Cincinnati and to respond to a toast—"The United States"; and my speech will be little more than "God bless the United States!" The United States is a blessing to the people who dwell within its limits—to the people of this continent—to the people of the whole globe, and therefore my speech is simply, "God bless the United States."

May 3, 1889. New York.—The Centennial wound up in glory. Our visit has been a good one. My banquet speech was well received. We like Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland. Harrison has done well. He is a graceful orator. Probably no President has equalled him in handsome speaking. We dined, Lucy, Fanny, and I, with the Harrisons, Vice-President Morton and Mrs. Morton, at Colonel Shepard's No. 2 Fifty-second Street, just out of Fifth Avenue. A most agreeable dinner. Crosby, Bateman, and wife. The Harrison family are Mrs. Harrison, Mrs. McKee, Russell Harrison and wife. Mr. and Mrs. Loring present.

May 4. Saturday.—Last evening attended a semi-political symposium at Colonel Shepard's. Southern governors and three officers of the New York Southern Society, with the interesting purpose to talk up the Southern situation and other problems now requiring solution, gave interest to the unusual meeting.

There were present, our host, Colonel Shepard; on his right, at the large square table (perhaps sixteen feet square), were General Gordon, on his left, General Buckner (governors respectively of Georgia and Kentucky); next, on Gordon's right, my-

self; on Buckner's left, Mr. Senator Evarts. This was the head of the table. On the right side Mr. St. John, John C. Calhoun (grandson of the great statesman), Mr. —, and Judge Davis. On the square opposite Colonel Shepard, Chauncey Depew was at the center, General Butterfield on his left, General Howard on his right. On the fourth side were Russell Harrison, Mr. Plummer, Mr. —, and Mr. —.

It was a notable assembly. The dining-room stately and elegant. After dinner, beginning about 7 P. M. and ending about 9:30 P. M., Colonel Shepard rose and spoke of the Southern problem, without defining it, and called on Governor Gordon. He spoke in a friendly spirit, fluently and at times eloquently. The importance and rights of the States were dwelt upon, and he closed with decided devotion to the perpetuity and supremacy of the Union.

Next Governor Buckner spoke of the gravity of the negro problem — too large to be discussed fully in an after-dinner speech. But [he] alluded to the Anglo-Saxon race in the usual way of our Southern friends and then touched handsomely the question of increasing wealth on the eastern border of the Union. "The centre of population is steadily moving west and the centre of wealth is moving east." Wealth gets in fewer hands, etc., etc. Then an anti-tariff speech as the main cause of this. Devotion to [the] Union and the general Government.

Mr. Shepard in one of his talks of introduction alluded to the inequality of representation in the Senate, and suggested a change in the future as to small States coming in hereafter. Next he introduced me with high compliments. When he closed, and the toast in my behalf had been drunk, as in all cases, by the company standing, Governor Gordon rose and said he wanted to say a few words touching my Presidency. He said:—"I opposed as a party man, in full sympathy with my party, the election of Mr. Hayes in the canvass, and in all the exciting events of the contest over the result I was for Mr. Tilden and thought he was elected. But I want to say in this more public way, what I have always said privately, that I came to know Mr. Hayes intimately during his Presidency, and I believe no man ever sat in the Presidential chair with higher, nobler, more single-

minded purposes towards all sections of the country and towards all his countrymen than Mr. Hayes." This and a few sentences more in the same strain. It was well received by the company.

I expressed my appreciation of his kind words in a single sentence. Then I spoke of the few things we must accept as settled — negro suffrage and the senate representation [of the States] — an equal representation of them, great and small. I spoke of [the] desirability of holding the Constitution as it is, etc., etc. Then of the remedies for evils — education and an increasing regard for the whole Union by the whole people, — "One country, one Constitution, one destiny." Well received.

May 8. Wednesday. — Home again! Lucy and I left New York at 6 P. M. Monday evening after a most delightful visit of more than a week. Mr. and Mrs. Moss crowned its pleasures by their friendly and attractive hospitalities. With Mr. Moss I traversed on Sunday and Monday, 4th and 5th, the Central Park and the new parks north of it — "Morning[side]" and "Riverside" — and the boulevard and great streets, Seventh Avenue, St. Nicholas, etc., etc. Nothing could be more inspiring in the way of city growth and material prosperity. A few years will see the part of New York north of Central Park the finest city the world ever had. All buildings, large and costly. The ground is too valuable for poor buildings. Almost no poor buildings will be there.

May 9. Thursday. — Busy all day yesterday with correspondence. The editor of [the] New York *Evening Post* wants my notes to print [of] what I said of John Bright. It was not in my printed slips used when I spoke at the banquet.

At Mr. Moss' we met several agreeable people. I would like to recall Mr. and Mrs. Cyrus Clark, who live on the Riverside in the Brockholst Livingston place; Judge and Mrs. Hawes; Mr. and Mrs. Flagler and their daughter; Mr. and Mrs. Ewart; Mrs. Brice; Mr. Varnum.

The growth of New York grows on me as the salient fact about it.

I am to speak Memorial Day at Sandusky. Let me in an offhand speech give them: — 1. Lincoln by "Gath," by *Punch*,

and his Gettysburg speech. 2. *For ideas of the war* ("ideas rule the world"), let me give the speech at Indianapolis, December 19, 1888.

May 15. Wednesday.—While we were at breakfast this morning, a carpenter [William Seward] at work on our addition—8:30 A. M.—fell by the scaffolding from the top of the gable, perhaps thirty feet, to the ground, south side of the house near the two oaks. One of the oaks broke the fall as he fell into it. His leg and perhaps an arm were broken. . . . I told him and his wife we would take care of him here. But the doctors and all thought it best to remove him to his home at once. This was done by men carrying him on a lounge. . . . Dr. John Rice, a skilful surgeon, made light of the wounds. He told me afterwards: "The man is seriously hurt but I make it as easy for him as I can. There is much in faith cure in many cases. Let the nervous system be agitated and the dangers are all increased. The use of opium is to set at rest the nerves."

"Accidents are hereditary," said Dr. John B. Rice. "His father was nearly killed by an accident. Don't you see the old man looks like Secretary Seward?" "But this man is a German."—"I know, but it is the same stock."

May 21. Tuesday.—Attended the funeral of Major S. A. J. Snyder, the gallant and unfortunate hero of the Seventy-second. A cold raw afternoon. The fife was mournful. After the firing over the grave and the march begins we should omit the lively music. Let it for the sake of friends be slow and sweet and mournful.

May 24. Friday.—Worked in grove trimming trees, mowing grass, and the like. In the evening at the council chamber made a short speech in behalf of the Fremont and Tiffin Railroad. It now looks as if it would be built.

May 25. Saturday.—Worked at mowing, trimming trees, and the like. What a pleasure I find in improving my place! The house annex grows apace and is very satisfactory.

June 1. Saturday.—Returned yesterday P. M. with Lucy from Decoration Day at Sandusky. A most agreeable host and hostess at Sandusky—Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Hoover.

June 3. Monday. — Yesterday at church A. M. In the afternoon with Eugene Rawson Post and the Sons of Veterans to complete at the cemetery the Memorial Day ceremonies interrupted by the rain-storm the 30th. Volleys were fired and the ritual read by Commander Green and the prayer by Comrade Taylor.

The rain-storm burst a reservoir [last Saturday] near Johnstown [Pennsylvania], and the most appalling accident ever in the United States was the result. A town ruined of perhaps twenty thousand people with a loss of life reported from eight hundred to ten thousand! No reliable data, however. A dam one hundred and ten feet high; a pool of three miles long and one half mile wide, two hundred feet higher than the town, three miles distant in a valley.

June 4. Tuesday. — I go to Columbus via Fostoria to attend a meeting on the presidency of Wesleyan. Dr. Bashford is the probable candidate of our choice. The qualifications of character, attainments, and talents, he seems to possess. He votes the third-party ticket. If he is a third-party partisan politician, he ought not to be selected. No politician ought to be chosen. It is hard for a third-party man not to be a bigot and a partisan.

Fifty-five years ago we, Mother, Uncle, and Fanny — this day fifty-five years gone — started in the old-fashioned stage-coach from Delaware for this place, then Lower Sandusky! All the dear ones of that day have gone.

June 6. Thursday. — The trip to Columbus was altogether successful. . . .

The great horror at Johnstown on all minds and tongues. Ohio, with Governor Foraker's promptitude, first to furnish aid.

June 8. — Fanny surprised us by returning last evening. She looks well and has had a most agreeable month since we parted with her in New York. She has visited schoolmates — Miss Derr, at Wilkes-Barre, Miss Bulkley, at Hartford, Miss —, at Holyoke, and school friends at Farmington.

Rev. Dr. Broadus, of Louisville, has accepted the place of trustee of the John F. Slater Fund.

CHAPTER XLVIII

DEATH OF LUCY WEBB HAYES—HER CHARACTER, CAREER,
AND GRACES OF LIFE—MONTHS OF ANGUISHED
MOURNING—CONSOLATORY VISIT OF MRS. HARRIET
COLLINS HERRON—REREADING EMERSON—VISIT TO
LAKE MOHONK AND NEW ENGLAND—1889

JUNE 22. Saturday.—Returned, from attending committee and board meeting of Ohio State University at Columbus, with Laura yesterday afternoon, reaching home about 5:30 P. M.

Rutherford met us. He looked as if something awful was on his mind. We got into the carriage, when he said: "I have very bad news for you," and with sobs he told us that Lucy had an attack of paralysis about 4 o'clock P. M.—fifteen minutes before four was the exact time.

She was sitting in our room, first floor, in the bay, with Ella sewing. Ella noticed that Lucy had difficulty with her fingers trying to thread a needle; went over to her. Lucy could not speak. She was sitting in the large low chair that stands near the southeast window. She did not fall out of it at all, but sank back in it, and seemed to realize what had happened to her; was depressed and in tears. Fanny and Miss Haynes and Miss Lucy Keeler were playing tennis just outside of the room; were called in. Sophie Fletcher, the cook, came also. Lucy Keeler drove rapidly for Dr. Rice and he was soon present. He spoke with encouragement and confidence to Lucy. She was perfectly conscious but not able to speak. She was still in the chair. He had her placed in the bed. When Laura and I reached her bedside, she seemed to know us. In her old manner she pressed my hand, and tried to smile, or smiled!

The report of the attack published in the newspapers this morning has brought many dispatches from friends and acquaintances in all parts of the country—from Comrade John Eaton, Boston, to Tom Ballinger, Galveston. Sympathy and inquiry.

June 23. Sunday.—Lucy is apparently more difficult to arouse. Her face and eyes looked natural, almost with their old beauty, when Dr. Rice tried to awaken her so she could swallow medicine. I think she failed to swallow it. But she had life in her eyes and face. Now I fear, alas! I have seen her eyes for the last time. Those glorious eyes! are they gone—forever? She still grasps my hand, I think intelligently and with the old affection. This at 7 A. M.

[At] 7:20 A. M., Lucy opened her eyes and with a conscious grasp, as she looked in mine affectionately, responded to my inquiry, "Do you hear me, darling?" But her eyelids do not open as they did last night! . . .

[At] 8 A. M. Dr. Hilbush calls. He thinks the indications rather less favorable than yesterday. . . . She is weaker and more disposed to sleep. She now looks natural and rests quietly.

June 24. Monday, 4:40 A. M.—The end is now inevitable. . . . I can't realize it, but I think of her as gone. Dear, darling Lucy! When I saw and heard her last in full life, she was gathering flowers for me to carry to Mary, last Monday. When she found I would be too late for my train to Toledo if I waited longer, with her cheerful voice she said: "Oh, well, it makes no difference. I can send them (or I will send them) by express at noon." This she did, and Mary got them. I was barely in time for the train—not a moment to lose. A characteristic act. It was like her. For me the last—oh, the last! . . .

At 4 P. M., *Now*, more than three days since the attack, finds her much in the same condition she has been since the first day. We wait.

Letters and dispatches come from all quarters—full of words that sustain and encourage.

FREMONT, OHIO, June 24, 1889.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS:—Lucy is no better this morning at 6 A. M. . . . She is unconscious and her breathing is harder. We know we have your prayers and sympathies.

She has had a decided feeling for some weeks that this danger was near her.

With all love for you and the doctor,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. E. G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

June 24-25, 1889. — It is past midnight, almost one o'clock. We do not expect Lucy to see the light of another day. All of our children, Birchard, Webb, Rutherford, Fanny, and Scott, are waiting for the inevitable close. With us are our dear young friends — our darling daughter Mary, wife of Birchard [and] our cousin and much loved adopted niece has come from Mississippi to be with us, Adda Cook Huntington. Lucy Elliot Keeler, so near and dear to both of us, and, more fortunate than could be hoped, the eldest child — the representative of my never to be forgotten sister Fanny — Laura Platt Mitchell, so beloved by both Lucy and myself that no sacred circle could be complete in my home without her; and with [us, also] the favorite aunt of our dear Mary, Mrs. Miller, a precious addition to our company of relatives and friends. The doctors too, Dr. John B. Rice and Dr. Hilbush, so attentive and thoughtful and devoted, and uniting with these lovable traits such skill and knowledge and judgment in their high profession that we have the best assurance that all will be done and has been done that man can do to save the dear one, and to smooth her way into the unknown if that is to be; and with them the good nurses, Mrs. Dilenschneider and Miss Woolsey, whose sterling excellence has in these few anxious days made them esteemed friends for life.

And Lucy herself is so sweet and lovely, as she lies unconsciously breathing away her precious life, that I feel a strange gratitude and happiness as I meditate on all the circumstances of this solemn transition we are waiting for. Would I change it? Oh, yes, how gladly would we all welcome the least indication of the restoration of the darling head of the home circle. But we cannot, we must not, repine. Lucy Hayes is approaching the beautiful and happy ending of a beautiful, honored, and happy

life. She has been wonderfully fortunate and wonderfully honored. Without pain, without the usual suffering, she has been permitted to come to the gates of the great change which leads to the life where pain and suffering are unknown.

Just as she was reaching the period when the infirmities and sufferings of mortal life are greatest, she is permitted to go beyond them all. Whatever life can give to the most fortunate, she has enjoyed to the full. How wise and just this is! If ever a man or woman found exquisite happiness in imparting happiness to others, the dear companion of my life, my Lucy, is that woman. Should I not be full of joy and gratitude for the good fortune which gave me her? Few men in this most important relation of life have been so blessed as I have been. From early mature manhood to the threshold of old age I have enjoyed her society in the most intimate of all relations. How all of my friends love her! My comrades of the war almost worship her.

Often I have said our last days together have been our best days. Who knows what the future might have brought to her? It is indeed hard — hard indeed — to part with her, but could I or should I call her back? Rather let me try to realize the truth of the great mystery. “The Lord hath given, [gave, and] the Lord hath taken away; blessed be the name of the Lord.”

June 25. Tuesday. — Lucy died without pain this morning at 6:30. All were present. I held her hand and gazed upon her fine face to the last; when, kissing her good-bye as she left the earth, I joined the dear daughter and the others children in walking on the porch in the bracing air of the lovely morning.

June 26, 1889. — . . . I notice in the newspapers the phrase, “the beautiful home in Spiegel Grove.” Yes, is is, in its own plain, homelike, and sensible way, a beautiful home, but I now begin to realize that *the soul* has left it. I could not bear it if I was not able to employ myself in doing things that seem to be useful in the present emergency, or in contriving what will perpetuate and do honor to the dear one lost. I am greatly consoled by the fact that she was relieved from all the pains, and all dread of death. The letters and expressions of sympathy from all quarters and all sorts of people do help. The comments

and editorials of the press, where they show a true appreciation of her, are very gratifying. She had a genuine hatred of praise for qualities which she felt she did not possess. Hence her often repeated injunction: "Don't let any sermon be preached over me. Such indiscriminate and false eulogiums as I sometimes hear disgust me. Let me have only simple ceremonies with hymns and music."

June 27. Thursday.—I do not, of course, sleep well, but on the whole am in bodily health. The letters of kindness and sympathy and the articles in the newspapers do bring consolation; do aid in softening the blow. They show that our dear one is known and loved as she would wish to be.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, June 27, 1889.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I have not written letters since the end came. One to Mrs. Herron, of Cincinnati, and now this note to you. Your hand and face would give me and all of us great comfort, but you ought not to come. I have long felt anxious about your health. Do take better care of yourself.

The loss I cannot speak of. There are many consolations. She died without suffering. She is relieved from many things which age was beginning to bring to her. Forty years and more since we met. All that life can do was hers—from first love to the grandmother's joy. The letters of friends and the words of the press show how well she and her work are understood and valued. This *does* console and strengthen. I enjoy while I weep the kind things said. I wish I could see them all. But you will excuse me for a short note. I love you and believe in you. I grieve with you that your dear wife is ill. We all feel the deepest solicitude for you and yours.

Ever your friend.—Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
New York.

June 29. Saturday.—Everything belonging to the funeral services yesterday was very satisfactory—more than that. The

whole affair was most gratifying and consoling. My darling who was very sensitive about the details of funerals, would, I am sure, if she could speak approve all that was done, or, at least, would find as little to wish otherwise as in any case. I and the family and all near friends were indeed grateful that our dear one should be laid away with such touching and beautiful ceremonies and surroundings. I cannot hope writing rapidly [to] enumerate all of the blessed facts.

The weather, which was threatening rain-storms all around us in all parts of the State, was simply perfect. The veil of clouds mitigated the heat of the sun in the forenoon, except at intervals, and in the afternoon the storm moved off to the south and south-east, leaving the air cool and pleasant, and a fine sunshine surrounded us as we moved with the great crowd to the grave, and at the grave we were again in the grateful shadow of the clouds. At no time did the threatening of the clouds disturb or in the least interrupt us.

The friends who came added to the satisfactions of the last day. Herron and Harriet, of Cincinnati, both of them intimate friends before we were married or even engaged; Dr. John and Mrs. Davis, warm friends during our whole married life; Rogers and his wife, the same; but, especially, Carrie Little, an intimate friend of Lucy since both were eleven years old; Professor McCabe, of the Ohio Wesleyan [University], who has known her since she was eleven at Delaware, [who] performed the ceremony of marriage, [who] was at the silver wedding in the White House in 1877, and [who] now led in the services and made a heart-warm talk at the end.

June 30. Sunday. — I am still unable to fix my mind on the things I would like to write about my dear one. The comments of the press, the good letters I am getting, and the conversations of friends showing the beautiful life and character of Lucy, are very consoling. They do bring peace and comfort. I never again will hesitate to write to an afflicted friend to aid him, if I know enough of the lost one to write discriminating talk about him. Praise of our dear ones gone must be always sweet. With me it goes farther than anything else. Lovely words about Lucy —

they do console, comfort, reconcile. How she deserves them—the dear darling!

The letters of General Sherman [and] of General T. M. Turner. Nothing more fine than Turner's; he pictures Lucy waiting for the last of the line, sitting on the banks of the Kanawha, as the Twenty-third and the rest of the command marched off over the mountains to open the deadly campaign of 1864, in the last days of April or first of May.

July 1. Monday.—The carpenters are again at work on the addition to the house which Lucy was so much interested in and which was begun to please her! They were told last Tuesday they could go on with the work as usual. But they said they could not think of doing it. . . . I passed around among them, and shook hands with each one of them. My eyes were full; I could not speak a word, but their warm grasp of sympathy did me good.

I want now to collect her favorite books and relics; anecdotes of her; her songs and hymns must be noted, her characteristics noted down.

She was very beautiful in her prime and changed with years less than most persons do. Her eyes were simply perfect—large, hazel, dark, flashing, tender. I saw once a panther in Quebec, down at a little collection of native animals and birds of Canada, when travelling with her in 1860. I told her and Clinton Kirby: "There are Lucy's eyes when excited." Not like hers, but reminding you of hers in their force.

Her hair [was] always a beautiful raven black, with a single red hair or dark auburn here and there. The few gray hairs now have not changed its general appearance, so it has often been said lately, "Her beautiful hair is as black as ever."

She was free from bigotry, never uncharitable, not "aggressive" in behalf of her opinions. She would never disparage anyone from whom she differed, but always spoke kindly of all who with good motives tried to promote a good cause by legitimate means. For example, she did not agree with the third-party prohibitionists. She was firm in the conviction that in the large cit-

ies, in the present state of public sentiment, it was a serious mistake; that high license and wise regulations was to be preferred; but she retained the fullest respect and the warmest regard for Miss [Frances E.] Willard and for others who conscientiously differed from her.

She did not consider herself as having a "mission." "I want to do what is best — what is right — what will make all around me happy," was the key to her life.

She was accustomed to the society of the best people in Ohio and Kentucky from her infancy. Born and living in Chillicothe, the ancient metropolis of Ohio, always the home of educated and refined people, she remained there until her mother took the two sons of the family to be educated at Delaware, under such superior teachers as President Thompson, President Merrick, and Dr. McCabe, and Williams. There from the age of eleven she recited in college or in the preparatory school until she was taken to Cincinnati six years afterwards, and there graduated with credit in the Wesleyan Female College at the age of nineteen in 1850. . . . [She] resided in Cincinnati, as her home thenceforward, with occasional absences to visit her husband in the army, [or] to remain with him as a Member of Congress in Washington, (one full term and part of another), until he resigned from the House of Representatives to be inaugurated Governor of Ohio in January, 1868 [at Columbus], where she remained during his two terms as governor 1868-1872. She then returned to Cincinnati, lived there about two years, and then removed with her husband to the home of his youth, Fremont, Ohio. In 1875 General Hayes was elected a third time Governor of Ohio and Mrs. Hayes returned again to Columbus, Ohio, where she lived until February 1877, when Washington became for the second time her home.

She spent the few weeks next after her marriage at the home of Mr. and Mrs. William A. Platt in the city of Columbus, in the midst of the delightful social scenes of that gay and attractive State capital. Mrs. Platt, the sister of her husband, was a lady

of unusual popularity and of rare social gifts. The two became intimately and warmly associated — sisters in fact as well as in law, and the strong and lasting attachments of Lucy to the city of Columbus and to a host of friends residing there began at that time. During the whole of her remaining life, Columbus and its people were always very dear to her. Her visits to Columbus were always frequent and her last visit in 1889 was regarded by her with enthusiastic affection.

Her voice was of extraordinary excellence, of great compass, penetration, and distinctness, and as sweet and tender as can be imagined. Her singing was delightful. She chose songs just suited to her voice and character.

July 2. Tuesday. — A photograph copied in *The Baltimorean* is the best portrait of Lucy I have seen. I recall it as one I have seen but do not know when or by whom taken.

I slept better than any time since she was attacked, in the old room and bed. That is probably after all the place for me. I will gather there a few of her favorite things — not enough to prevent it from being as nearly as she left it as may be — and so live with her and near her, if possible, the rest of my days.

How comforting it is to read in letters and newspapers how fully she was appreciated.

As I left her grave I saw — and was consoled in some degree — standing near, holding by the hand his wife or daughter, one of our humblest citizens, an Indian or half-breed, an acquaintance since boyhood, known as "Indian King." His sad, tear-covered face told how Lucy was loved and admired by the lowly of the earth.

I was speaking of her glorious voice. Talking not in a loud or noisy way, I could hear her talking to friends she was showing around her flower garden, at some distance — so distant that not a sound of what others said could be heard, while her words came distinctly and easily.

About 1853 she, with me, visited Uncle Birchard at Mr. and Mrs. Valette's at their lovely home near the cemetery, where Mr.

and Mrs. Edgerton now live. In the evening, sitting on the veranda looking west, she would sing, to the delight of all, her favorite songs. Mr. Stahl (Jacob) met me in town one day and said cheerily: "We are enjoying your wife's beautiful songs every evening. We hear them perfectly and enjoy them as much as you." He lived on the east side of the river, perhaps more than half a mile in a direct line nearly east of the Valette home!

She had a many-sided nature; was fond of all farming, of cattle, of her dairy, of her poultry yard, of her flowers; of sailing, of fishing; of all children's sports; was fond of looking on at the dancing in the ballroom, of all great gatherings, of soldiers marching and drilling; was selected to take part in many scenes of all sorts and enjoyed it. Her best day at the New York Centennial, April 1889, was the Naval day on Commodore Bateman's yacht.

July 3, 1889. — Emily Hastings — lovely in appearance — reminding me strongly of her mother, my dear sister Fanny, with her attractive little four-and-a-half-year old, the sailor boy, Platt Hastings, left today for their summer home at Delhi, Delaware County, Ohio [New York].

Mrs. Austin came to be a friend and helper, with her extraordinary practical talents, in the 7 P. M. train from Cleveland. . . .

July 4. Thursday. — . . . Walking with Laura "around the premises," — out to the blackberry patch, down towards the old cottage, under the buckeye and the big ash, and then home by the mulberry road, — we were tired enough to sit on the settee looking at the new rooms from under the great oaks. Then I asked, in the sweet, beautiful, cool air: "Where is Lucy now and what is she doing?" Laura, promptly: "She is having a good time with the little grandchild!" A dear faith!

[Dear Aunt Lu! What portrait galleries of her our hearts have shown themselves to be these days, under memory's revealing touch!]

I have had my own especial picture of her — one that is forever my very own, — and never had it been a clearer vision than that last night, when the years-old recollection came before me,

together with the pale Madonna face upon the pillow — their silent, differing beauty lingering for me, face by face, through those slow hours during which the twilight darkened round her — the darkness deepened into midnight — paled again — the dawn came — and then, Azrael!

My picture shows her always as she was the day before she became "Aunt Lu" to "Uncle Ruddy's" nieces and nephew. My mother had taken me with her to greet her tomorrow's sister. I think I had never taken my eyes from her all the while that she sat with my uncle and beautiful mother, when — oh, joy for the child! — she took my hand, turned away from the grown-up people, and sat down by the window where I stood beside her in fascinated silence. I don't remember a word she said — perhaps she didn't say a word, — but I remember the tender light in her shining eyes, the beautiful bands of her dark hair, and the touch of her fingers as she stroked my hand. Ah me! ah me! I lost my heart to her then — and now she has taken it away with her! That day she wrought upon me a spell of bewitchment; its recollection thrills me now.

And when my uncle brought her to us for the bridal visit, we children were clamorous to appropriate her for our own exclusive possession, glorying that in *our* home *only*, she was indeed "Aunt Lu." Dear, dear Aunt Lu! Very soon her name became the herald to us all, and to our childhood friends, of happy, hilarious times. With later years the joyful music of her dear name — Aunt Lu! Aunt Lu! — has softened and deepened into that sweet full chord of tenderness and love for which we have listened since ever she came to us, — in all of our life's experiences of joy or sorrow. Through all, the ringing tone has vibrated for us with *sympathy, heartening*; if need has been, *rescue*. "Loved long since — lost *a while*," we shall still be *listening* — Aunt Lu! Aunt Lu! — through whatever the mysterious days or years before us may hold in their keeping.

Dear, dear Aunt Lu!]

The foregoing by our darling niece, Laura Platt Mitchell.*

* A slip of paper, pasted in the Diary at the head of this entry, reads: — "Dear Uncle Ruddy: — It seems like intruding. — But you *said* I might. Do you remember?" — Why of course, and *thank you*. — H.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, July 4, 1889.

MY DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: — The very great kindness of yourself and Mrs. Harrison will always be remembered with grateful feelings by me and mine.

Among the millions who were filled with joy by your election, probably no one was more profoundly affected than Mrs. Hayes. She did not share largely in the merely partisan feeling of the time, but she felt that the old soldiers fared badly under your predecessor.

When the news came to her she was in Boston, surrounded by her happy friends of the Woman's Home Missionary Society. She withdrew quietly from all associates, went out alone to a soldiers' monument, and in silence meditated her fervent thanks to God! All good words and kind deeds like yours — tributes to her character — are inexpressibly consoling to me.

With tenderest thanks to you and Mrs. Harrison.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

PRESIDENT HARRISON.

SPIEGEL GROVE, July 6, 1889.

MY DEAR GUY: — I have been on the point of writing to you for several days. It is not easy to do; and yet why not easier than to write to any other man? My friend of *longest standing*, nearest — known to her and knowing her intimately. She was a wonderful woman, — so large-hearted, so gifted, with such training; so tender and sympathetic, so sincere and natural. The combination of faculties and endowments amounted to genius.

Her general friends were multitudinous, and yet she had her elect few who were as close to her as possible — dating from childhood.

She touched life at more points than any person I ever knew, or *heard* of, or *read* of. She was at home with all human beings who were not brutalized by vice and crime; could be happy with all; could make all happy. She was least at home with the self-sufficient — those conscious of their own powers, elevated position, or the like, and at the same time proud of it, and conceiving themselves of better clay than others. Even with them, if

time enough were given, she could be happy and add to their happiness; but such people were a trial to her.

All others, the rich and poor, learned and ignorant, the farmer, gardener, artist, mechanic, the man with cattle or poultry or sheep or horses or dogs [she was at home with. She was] fond of fishing, rowing, sailing; all work delighted her; fond of all scenes of gaiety — the ballroom, the soirée, the soldiers' reunion, picnics, all children's games, boys' sports, the drilling of troops, racing. Why this long enumeration?

All humanity was dear to her, and beyond any person I ever saw she loved to make all happy, and was gifted with the faculty of doing it. She loved Christ and all good Christians. She cared very little for the formalities of religion. Believed in the orthodox doctrines, but was as liberal and all-embracing in her charitable views as Christ himself. She would never *dream* even of forcing others in matters of opinion or conduct, unless the conduct was grossly criminal. She had friends she valued in every church, and of no church. One writer about her fitly says, "She had no *obtrusive* goodness."

She had shared in all the best enjoyments of this stage of existence. She had loved, married, tasted the joys of maternity, the happiness of caring for and training her children, and was the fondest grandmother in the world.

At the threshold of old age, she barely began to know its pains and infirmities.

Born in Chillicothe, next to Lexington, Kentucky, the social centre of the West, connected on her mother's side with the patriotism of New England, on her father's with the generous chivalry of Virginia; educated by the studies and teachers of a college for boys under Bishop Thompson, President Merrick, and Dr. McCabe — instructors of unsurpassed excellence; then under Professor Wilber at the Ohio Wesleyan Female College in Cincinnati; living in Cincinnati more than twenty years; then with the army of the Union — and always a favorite; next, three years — the social periods — at Washington with her husband as Member of Congress; five years at Columbus as wife of the governor; and after this preparation, Washington again.

I could not bear to see her in pain — rheumatism, deafness.

Without suffering, she fell asleep! On the Fourth, walking under the old oaks, I asked my niece Laura, "What is Lucy doing now?" With a beaming face she replied: "Why, of course she is with her beloved grandson — Ruddy!"

As ever,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

July 7, 1889. Sunday. — Mrs. Delia L. Williams, wife of Professor Williams, of Delaware, came last evening. She will take part in the memorial exercises this evening.

Mrs. Williams tells this of Lucy: Talking with Aunty Davis, she [Lucy] said: "I am not good. I am bad. I am not religious. I am not what you are. All I can say is, I do want to do to others as I would wish them to do to me. This I always mean — I always try to do. I think of it always." This was her religion — treating all others according to the Golden Rule. "A Christian"? Yes, Darling, you were indeed.

July 8. Monday. — Last evening memorial services were held in our church — a tribute by the church to the darling. All passed off beautifully. The church was crowded. Beautiful flowers sent by friends were in abundance. Mrs. Finefrock sent some of the very flowers Lucy so admired at her last visit to Mrs. Finefrock. Music: "Rock of Ages," "Jesus, Lover of my Soul," and other favorites.

Mr. Mills [the pastor] made a good opening address. Mr. Meek, the postmaster, spoke for the board of trustees; well and in good taste. Mr. Ross read the resolutions of the board. Mr. Burgoon spoke for the people; well. Mr. Ross read the editorial article of the *Los Angeles Times* by Major Otis, Twenty-third O. V. I., the letter of General Sherman, the letter of General Thomas M. Turner, Thirty-sixth O. V. I., [the letter of] Judge William Johnson, of Cincinnati, and the letter of [Alfred O.] Long, Company G, Twenty-third O. V. I.

Mrs. Delia L. Williams, of Delaware, also made a good talk on the home mission work of Mrs. Hayes.

All would have suited Lucy, except — She was so modest about her own religious character that it would have pained and shamed her to be spoken of as "saintly," and the whole stream of eulogium would have crushed her to earth. She would have said: "I am a poor, weak, miserable sinner. It is but justice to myself to say that I do try to treat every human being and all of God's creatures as I would wish to be treated in their places. But I fear I am a sham when I see myself held up as a saint."

Mailed this morning eighty-one letters of acknowledgment of expressions of sympathy.

July 9. Tuesday. — Attended the funeral of Comrade Elder yesterday afternoon. The comrades were very kind and considerate.

Excellent letters received today from Senator Morrill, Senator Sherman, and a host of others. How dearly beloved she was!

SPIEGEL GROVE, July 10, 1889.

MY DEAR TOM: — Your letter is precious — very welcome indeed; none more so. My kindest regards to Mrs. Donaldson.

The consolations are many. Nobody else can know as I do her wonderful goodness and amazing powers. She touched life in more points than anybody I ever heard or read of. She would say: "I am very far from being so good as they say. But I do want to treat others as I want them to treat me. I would do this with all of God's creatures. It makes me happy to do it. I *try* to do it, and am miserable if conscious of a failure."

Her power to make others happy was beyond comparison greater than that of any one I ever knew, and her *wish* to do it surpassed her powers. She was only uncharitable to those who lacked charity.

I see the [Philadelphia] *Ledger* in a friendly article makes two decided mistakes. There was no avoidable publicity. All organizations, civic, religious, and the like, were requested not to come in a body. *Her* soldiers — all soldiers were hers — were needed to preserve decorum in the great crowds of well-behaved people, and they alone came in a body. It was a quiet, solemn, and affecting scene.

Secondly: The article gives Mr. Evarts *his way in regard to state dinners and wine!* Not a word of truth in it.

But the darling is gone. I know it is well with her. I cannot say that I would not call her back if I could. But I do say that I ought not to do it.

A happy and fortunate life was happily and fortunately ended. No suffering, no dread. As if asleep she passed away, as she always hoped to do. She expected to go suddenly, and *had premonitions of it*. She was happier the last year of her life than ever before. Only the death of a dear grandson. . . .

This is too long, the longest I have written since her death.— Good-bye. Love to your wife and all.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE THOMAS DONALDSON,
Philadelphia.

July 11. Thursday.—During the day writing notes acknowledging the letters of sympathy. Read with Laura old leaves of my note-book. Also the “Epic of Hades,” “Actæon and Helen.”

Will gather all good letters referring to Lucy and put them in her desk—the desk presented by Dr. McCabe to her at the time of our wedding. I handed him two eagles. He bought the desk with them.

Many good letters received today. One, from Mrs. Calvin W. Brice, whose husband is chairman of the Democratic National Committee, is very kind and beautiful.

Spent the evening at the meeting of the G. A. R. post. All very kind in greeting and manner. No allusion to the lost one.

SPIEGEL GROVE, July 12, 1889.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS:—I can’t tell you how much we are all in debt to you—from away back down to this very hour.

Her voice, her eyes, her hair, her expression and brightness all come to me, as if to stay. What a store of saving common sense. What a wide range of knowledge.—accurate as well as full—

of common things — from all kinds of farmers' occupations to the mooted questions of etiquette in Washington. She touched all interests as well as all hearts. — But why all this?

I do not feel like leaving home so soon. Would be most happy to be with you and talk by the hour of her. But it must be here. Either as you go [to Chautauqua] or as you return. You may choose. We shall have more room later. But we can always bestow you somehow. Be sure to come, and advise me when. Fanny and the boys are so tender and affectionate.

With love to the doctor. Ever yours,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. E. G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

July 13. — Charles L. Mead and Mrs. Mead, Katharine and Mabel, just returned from Alaska, came from Detroit at 11:30 A. M. and remained until the 7 P. M. train for Cleveland. A most happy visit. They all thoroughly appreciated Lucy and their conversation about her was most kind and comforting.

July 14. Sunday. — Lucy's life in years was not a long one. But in events how protracted, compared with even the very favored!

I have spoken of her childhood life in Chillicothe, "the ancient metropolis," her visits to the dear grandfather, Colonel and Judge Cook, at Willow Branch in the country, and to her uncles and aunts, thus early giving her a familiar acquaintance with farmers' homes, occupations, and life generally. The society life of Chillicothe and frequent, almost annual, visits to the Kentucky relatives of her father at Lexington. . . .

The journeys to Delaware, Chillicothe, and Lexington were yearly still [after the home was made at Cincinnati].

Married in 1852 to Rutherford B. Hayes, a graduate of Kenyon and of the Law School of Harvard University, she now added his homes and associations to her own and became intimate with friends at Columbus and Fremont.

She journeyed to Quebec by the St. Lawrence and Niagara;

visited Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and other Eastern cities before the war.

With the war, wider and more enlarging influences came to her. Perhaps no wife of any officer was so intimately associated with army and hospital and camp life during the war. Her husband, now General Hayes, was elected from Cincinnati a Member of Congress the last year of the war but did not quit the field. Mrs. Hayes came to him at Washington and was with him during the Grand Review in May 1865, and for days before and after its exciting scenes. Under an order from General Grant General Hayes visited Petersburg and Richmond, and Mrs. Hayes was in those cities soon after their capture long enough to absorb the spirit of that wonderful time.

She spent parts of the next three [two] winters at Washington with her husband, who was a Member of the Thirty-ninth and Fortieth Congress. She had thus exceptionally good opportunities to get whatever was worth knowing in the life of Washington.

General Hayes resigned as a Member of the Fortieth Congress to assume the governorship of Ohio. At Columbus during the next four years, 1868-1872, and again, after the third election of General Hayes, in 1876, she was as the governor's wife engaged in the duties and pleasures of that conspicuous place more than five years with marked success.

In 1873 the family home was changed from Cincinnati to General Hayes' boyhood home at Fremont in Spiegel Grove. From there, elected a third time governor after an interval of two terms, the family again returned to Columbus.

Immediately after the election of 1875, General Hayes became the choice of Ohio for nomination to the Presidency, and Mrs. Hayes with her husband had to meet "the fierce light which is cast on those who are *en route* to the White House."

For almost two years the noted and unusual struggle lasted and was finally decided only at the last moment before the 4th of March 1877.

Then came the Presidency under the colossal difficulties of, 1. A disputed and doubtful election; 2. Of a new phase of the Southern question; 3. A critical contest resulting in the restora-

tion of specie payments; 4. A new chapter in the civil service reform; 5. A simpler social life at the Executive Mansion.

After this a return to the home in Fremont and work in many fields of usefulness: *Home Missions, The jails and poorhouses, The soldiers' work and reunions and pleasures, and religious and private life.*

A more eventful life, what American woman has ever lived?

Her intimate friends and acquaintances of school life; what a list, and true and lasting to the end! Mrs. E. G. Davis, Mrs. Jewett, Mrs. McDowell.

In church thinking of the lunacy of Charles A. Dana, of the [New York] *Sun*. — Unjust attacks on public men do them more good than unmerited praise. They are hurt less by undeserved censure than by undeserved commendation. Abuse helps; often praise hurts.

July 15. Monday. — I dreamed of Lucy for the first time since her death last night. She looked natural; quiet, pale, a little dazed; not conscious of what she had passed through. We were not so overjoyed as I thought we should be. All seemed anxious. Probably the fear that her mind was not altogether restored; or fear that the attacks would come again soon. Oh, dear Darling, what a gap in the world without you!

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, July 15, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR: — No part of my past life is clearer to me than that which is connected with the [Cincinnati] Literary Club. On Saturday nights my wife often wrote in my note-books. I saw only yesterday in her handwriting: "March —, 1853. Saturday night. R. has gone to the club. Not quite reconciled to it. Judge James says, 'Woman is the only enemy that has ever overcome the club.' "

With all thanks for your expression of sympathy.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

CHARLES THEODORE GREVE,
SECRETARY.

July 16. — The old grandfather's clock has been often repaired and overhauled; new works have been put in, etc., etc. But it now seems to be "jangled and out of tune." It strikes irregularly. Seems not to want to do duty longer. Is it not a fitting thing to let it stop now that Lucy is gone? Grandfather's clock has not kept time nor struck regularly since Lucy died!

July 17. Wednesday. — The notes of [my] speech at the Washington [Inauguration] Centennial are sent me for correction prior to publication. My first work this morning. "Done and finished," as Horton Force would say. Then letters of acknowledgment to the writers of notes about Lucy. Some of them are very interesting.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, July 17, 1889.

DEAR MRS. FERRIS: — Your kind letter is warmly welcomed by all of us. It tends to lighten the load nothing can entirely remove.

The lines of Longfellow seem familiar, but we do not find them in his works — at least not in our edition. Am I putting you to too much trouble if I ask you to refer me to the page where they may be found in place? He once wrote of Mrs. Hayes, or *to her*:

"Where'er a noble deed is wrought,
Where'er is spoken a noble thought,
Our hearts in glad surprise
To higher levels rise."

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. MORRIS P. FERRIS,
Long Island.

July 18. Thursday. — Reading the "Epic of Hades" (Who is the author?) and now at Motley's "Diary and Correspondence."

My best friend, William Henry Smith, came today about noon. We have talked steadily on the dear one, on his experiences at

the Johnstown disaster, and on the past generally. We drove about the neighborhood until a heavy shower sent us home.

He thinks well of Mrs. Runkle [a New York litterateur of much distinction] as the one to write Lucy's biography. Bright, sensible, brilliant, and would love her subject.

July 19. Friday. — How much has left us with Lucy! I want a passage in the New Testament. *Any passage in the Bible she could turn [to or] find immediately.* I never happened to know a person whose knowledge of the Bible was equal to hers.

Mr. Smith says Taine, the critic, pronounces "Silas Lapham" the first of English novels — "*the greatest English novel.*"

After a visit which gave us all a great deal of comfort and pleasure my friend Smith left before 10 P. M. to take the night train to Chicago. I thanked him warmly.

July 20. Saturday. — Letters, photos, and other matters mainly connected with Lucy. My reflection is: "She is in Heaven. She is where all the best of earth have gone."

July 21. Sunday. — One month ago today Lucy was struck with paralysis! What a life I have led since that day.

She wanted to treat all of God's creatures as she would wish to be treated in their place. This may be the nearest to a test of her character of any single statement, if we add to it, and she had in a wonderful degree the faculty of doing it. I think of Lucy as the Golden Rule incarnate.

July 22. Monday. — Lucy read a great deal. She read aloud well, and was fond of reading favorite passages, usually character scenes, to a circle of her friends or family, such as "Old Town Folks," "Little Lord Fauntleroy," from Dickens, etc.

My father died July 22, 1822, of bilious fever at Delaware, Ohio. One of the sickly years.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, July 22, 1889.

MY DEAR MRS. JONES:— Your dispatch recalls the good old times when George and I were "bosom cronies." Alas, what changes!

With all thanks for your kindness and sympathy and the best wishes for you and yours.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. GEORGE W. JONES,
Cincinnati.

FREMONT, OHIO, July 22, 1889.

DEAR MADAM: — Many thanks, heartfelt thanks, for your kind letter. It has been a notion I have had many years that no one could aid another who is writing on the higher themes of the poet or the orator. To give mere facts or data for the compiler or biographer, is easy enough.

Mrs. Hayes was a person of wonderful gifts and her opportunities for training for the places she filled were of the best.

Her power to make others happy was fully matched by her desire to do it — by the happiness she received in doing it. She was the embodiment of the Golden Rule. She was not greatly attached to the mere formalities of religion. But she did try to treat all, the old, the young, the poor and unfortunate especially, — indeed all of God's creatures — as she would want to be treated if in their place. Her tact and extraordinary skill were the result of natural faculty of unexampled reach, trained by opportunities in all sorts of life. She was at home and at ease with all descriptions of people. Perhaps her large, warm, hospitable, and generous heart was the feature in her life. But she was firm, faithful, enduring, and had a saving common sense that steered her clear from shams and cranks.

But I am talking too much. All this *in confidence*.

With all good wishes. Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

LAURA ROSAMOND WHITE,
Geneva, Ohio.

July 23. Tuesday. — J. Q. Howard has a good article showing the difference between Mrs. Hayes and the other noted ladies of the White House. One equalled or surpassed her in

this sphere, another in that; but taking [taken] all in all, no one was so many-sided, so rounded, so complete in all that makes a noble, a truly great woman. Is this an overestimate? Personal grace and beauty; largeness of heart, patriotism, conscience, religion, the Golden Rule, but above all in achievement.

I have sent in reply to dispatches and letters over seven hundred letters — many of them partly in print. But I think in all cases, saying a few words. Almost all of them were short. I think now I am through with the letters thus far received.

July 25. — It seems as if a new sad world had come and taken possession of all things. Mary, Birchard, and the fine boy visited us yesterday: Laura is still here, making me as comfortable as possible under the circumstances.

July 26. Friday. — I have not often used the words "magnetic" and "magnetism" when speaking of Lucy. And yet what other word suggests the quality in which she excelled all others? Surely if any one was ever a natural magnet, she was.

Motley in his correspondence says of William of Orange what we may say of Lucy, "who performed good and lofty actions because he was born to do them."

SPIEGEL, July 26, 1889.

DEAR HARRIET: — I am very glad you and the young folks can come next week. You will arrange, I hope, for a stay of a month. The journey is a long one. You will hardly want to return to Cincinnati until the hot weather is over. We shall use the new kitchen next week, and the new part of the house generally soon. Laura has been with us more than a month, and has been a treasure. She goes home next week.

One thing don't forget. Bring books — a novel or two and others "to suit your taste." Send Will to Robert Clarke's and get [books] on my account. *Let them send to me a list of books you would like to read here.* Do. We are reading Motley's two volumes of journal and letters.

Laura and I spend much time arranging Lucy's letters, papers,

and other things. By the way, have you any of her letters you could spare me? She wrote little. But I want all I can get.

Love to all.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. HARRIET C. HERRON,
Cincinnati.

July 28. Sunday.—Lucy was fond of naming persons, places, and things. Her names were apt and *stuck*. The cat she named Piccolomini—or “Pickle,” for short. The peacock, from the father of its former owner, “Colonel Prior,” adding the “Colonel” to give dignity. Spent the day after church finding her letters.

July 29. Monday.—Examined old papers for letters and relics of Lucy. Found many letters, full of her loving, natural gratitude to friends, love of the old regiment, and the like. I will collect a few sentences for use with the Twenty-third at their reunion.

July 30. Tuesday.—The children and servants, those who in the family were nearest to Lucy, loved her most. They wanted to be near her. The same was true of the animals. All seemed to know her, and loved to be near her. The dogs would climb up on her, the Jerseys would rush to her, the pigeons came at her call. How happy old Grim (the famous English greyhound) always was when she returned after an absence. Dot (the cocker spaniel) could scarcely contain himself when she returned. They were lonely without her and unhappy. Since her death Dot has seemed lost without her. How happy she was to see their glad welcome of her! I must preserve the pictures which show these things.

The boys and their sister would rise from the table and rushing to their mother’s end of the table would exclaim, “Let us kiss our mother,” and then a scene of affectionate kissing and embracing! How many-sided she was!

July 31. Wednesday.—Rev. Mr. Havighorst said he had in his own case an illustration of Mrs. Hayes' thoughtfulness and kindness. A student in Boston, a stranger, he was invited to a reception at Governor Claflin's. Mrs. Hayes, knowing of his being in Boston, had suggested that she would like to see him at the reception in her honor. Hence the invitation.

I found many letters of Lucy today. I classify them:

1. Before marriage;
2. After marriage and before the war;
3. During the war;
4. After the war and before the Presidency;
5. The Presidency;
6. After the Presidency.

I will [shall] have a vast collection of letters relating to her death—called out by it. Letters to her may be classified in [the] same way, except [those from] relatives of Lucy and mine — grandparents and earlier, *young folks*, — all in one collection.

August 1, 1889. Thursday.—Lucy enjoyed praise, was fond of fame, wanted to be remembered, did not like to think she would be forgotten after she was gone. She is safe in that respect. The memorial meetings are beyond all precedent. The 28th [of] July was observed by a Sunday evening meeting in all parts of the country.

Possibly, the thing to do is to prepare an "*In Memoriam*," entitled "The Proceedings of the Memorial Meeting on the Death of Mrs. Hayes by the People of Fremont." Give a short introduction, the poem of [Benjamin F.] Taylor, of Chicago, in first volume of "*Illinois Women's Memorial*," the poem of Mrs. Keeler, one of the best of the editorials, a sketch of her life, and *then*, in their order, the exact record of the meeting in the Methodist Episcopal church. [*Also*] a capital portrait. Title: "The Home Memorial of Mrs. Rutherford B. Hayes."

August 2. Friday.—Laura returns today. She has been the greatest possible comfort. Thoughtful, sympathetic, loving, and so bright. She came with me from Columbus six weeks ago this day, anticipating a long and lovely visit with "Aunt Lu." Alas, we found Aunt Lu beyond ou: ken, and one week later came the beautiful and wonderful funeral. Then the reading of letters and articles, the hunting up of *her* old letters and portraits, and

so the time has sped. She leaves this morning, and this evening Harriet Herron with [her daughters] Lucy Webb Hayes and Elinor,—age twelve and fourteen respectively,—come to help me carry the burden! They are so welcome. Next after Lucy, no woman, not of my blood, was ever so near and dear!

This is Croghan day; some sort of a celebration—the first public affair of the town, when I was at home, in which I have not taken some part.

Should we not add to the "Home Memorial" of Lucy a full account of her funeral? It would seem the proper thing to do.

Her greatest charm, her greatest quality, the secret of her power, of her popularity—what was it? One says her unselfishness; Mrs. Herron says her sincerity; another her sympathy. Laura says: "If it was a scene of pleasure, Aunt Lu added more to the enjoyment of it than any other person; and if it was a place of suffering, or of mourning, *then*, oh, then, she was the one person of all others to soothe, to sympathize, to give comfort and consolation."

August 3. Saturday.—I wrote a friend that the six weeks since Lucy left us seem like six years!

Such power to make happy, with such an ever-present desire and purpose to do it! So welcome in every scene of gaiety and pleasure, and so sought after by the suffering and afflicted! *Heart, heart, heart!*—Is not this word the secret of her power, her worth, her fame?

How often in the letters I get—especially from the plain people—her name is coupled with that of Lincoln!

August 4. Sunday.—Mrs. Herron with Elinor and Lucy came last night in the afternoon train from Lima. A happy greeting I gave them. Read the article on "German Religious Situation," in August number of the *Harper* by Dean Lichtenberger. The result seems to be, that, of earnest piety, as our New England and other American ancestors understood it, there is almost none in Germany. Almost all are nominal Protestants or Catholics, but almost none pious. In Berlin churchgoing is for the music and sight-seeing, and not much of it.

I write this morning to General Sherman. . . . Harriet

and I read Tennyson's "In Memoriam" to his friend Hallam, the young poet. Tennyson was himself only twenty-four when he wrote it, if so old.

FREMONT, OHIO, August 4, 1889.

MY DEAR GENERAL: — No letter since the death of Mrs. Hayes has given me such gratification as yours. She admired you, and prized your acquaintance and friendship. Your observation of character is unerring, and your reference to her unfailing good nature under trying circumstances is an example of it. She would wound the feelings of no one if she could help it. She would do all she could to make others happy. She was the incarnation of the Golden Rule. I have never known one with such power to make happy and with such an unselfish desire to do it.

Knowing your absence at the West when I first received your letter, I put it one side; hence the delay in sending this reply.

Your obliged and grateful friend,

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GENERAL WILLIAM T. SHERMAN.

August 5. Monday. — Webb wants me to write incidents in Lucy's life. First a list: "My Search after the Colonel," after South Mountain in 1862.

"The Escape from Capture with Brother Joe"; a party of refugees were mistaken by them for guerrillas — in 1863, on New River near Tomkins farm.

The homesick comrade dying with typhoid fever who was cured by the onions she got for him. "I told my wife if it was necessary I would walk to California to attend her funeral."

"The best friend I ever had," said Comrade —.

In 1853, January, Laura said to her mother, who was about to describe an amusing party they had just attended: "Don't you tell it, Mother; let Aunt Lu tell it. When she tells a thing it sounds better than it is."

Compulsory abstinence from liquor not so well for society or individuals as voluntary. Compulsory virtue—is it *virtue?* Self-control better than control by others. No virtue, no character, in compulsory abstinence.

The private soldier, who as a volunteer faithfully served his country, never got too much.

An army of volunteers is always safe; a standing army of conscripts or janissaries is never safe. The volunteer army, in the long run, is a cheap army; the standing army is always costly. Show me a country with a great standing army, and I will show you a country always loaded down with debt. Show me a country defended by volunteers, and I will show you a country that either is or easily can be *free* from debt.

Pensions to private soldiers always go where money is most needed, and where money does the most good to the whole community.

August 6. Tuesday.—Reading with Harriet “In Memoriam” of Tennyson, with the comments of Genung—a little book of much interest from the Riverside Press. Read two of the poems in “Epic of Hades.” Began a novel of the time of the Restoration, 1662, by Besant, “For Faith and Freedom.”

Drove down river east side; returned by moonlight. Talked often of the darling. Her song, “Mrs. Loftus has her carriage, none have I,” was a favorite with me.

August 7.—We finished Tennyson’s noble poem, “In Memoriam” this afternoon. Through doubt to rest and peace

Mrs. Dr. John Davis, Eliza G., known by all of the family as “Aunty Davis,” will come this evening. She is to deliver the eulogy on Lucy before the annual meeting of the Woman’s Home Missionary [Society] at Indianapolis in the fall. I will try to give her a true notion of the high qualities of my darling. She will write with a beautiful appreciation of our dear one’s character.

Law in some degree measures results. It does not cause them.

August 8. Thursday.—I received a letter this morning from a committee of the Woman’s National Press Association. It is very appreciative.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, August 8, 1889.

DEAR LADIES:— Your note in behalf of the Woman's National Press Association and of yourselves as individuals is very welcome. I shall always prize your gracious words in memory of Mrs. Hayes. She had wonderful power to add to the happiness of those around her, but her anxiety to do it—her pleasure in doing it—surpassed even her tact and gifts. It is an especial gratification to me to be assured that the ladies connected with the press who knew her at Washington, appreciated her disposition and character just as those do who for years have lived under the same roof with her.

With heartfelt thankfulness,

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. M. D. LINCOLN,
MARY S. LOCKWOOD,
OLIVE LOGAN,

} COMMITTEE.

August 9. Friday. — Aunty Davis and her nephew John Davis Sage, aged twelve, came last evening from Chautauqua. She was much moved—very tender all of the evening. She says she has never been so affected by a death outside of her own family; says this is general with Lucy's friends. Lucy was so full of vitality.

August 10. Saturday. — Mrs. Davis left for home. . . . Reading with Mrs. Herron a book on Buddhism by a learned Scotchman who spent many years in the East. Not profoundly interesting. Better than this, we are reading Tennyson and a novel by Walter Besant, "For Faith and Freedom," of the time of the Civil War in England, 1683-88. Quaint, humorous, and wise. . . .

August 11. Sunday. — Aunty Davis' address at Indianapolis in October will be a notable tribute to Lucy. I must aid her all I can; not that she needs [aid] but it may be I can furnish something that will lighten her labor.

I found Lucy in my thoughts more even — if possible — than usual at church today as I sat with Fanny and Elinor and Lucy Hayes Herron in our accustomed place.

As I walked away from church an old Methodist Episcopal brother — a teamster by profession — said: "There was a notable thing at the funeral. I noticed [it] and many others. The Jerseys — *her* Jerseys — all came up as near to the funeral procession as they could get and stood in a row looking at it — standing still like soldiers in ranks until the funeral had all passed."

She would have been a good lawyer. She was fond of cases, particularly of will cases. Her judgment as to the strong points was sound and sagacious.

August 12. Monday. — I begin another week without her! Laura Rosamond White has published in the Geneva [Ohio] *Times* one of the fine poems. My eyes were full as I read it this morning.

August 14. Wednesday. — Yesterday with Mrs. Herron and W. K. Rogers visited General Force at Soldiers and Sailors' Home, Sandusky. A happy time.

Arranged with the aid of Mrs. Herron (that is, Fanny did) the dresses, etc., etc., of Lucy which are to be preserved. . . .

Rogers left for Duluth. It is but little more than a twenty-four-hour trip now. He came to get me to pool my Duluth farm with others to the amount of a million. The pool to give to a St. Paul man two hundred thousand dollars of the stock — one fifth of the pool of real estate at a fair valuation — to build and operate five years an incline and street railroad through the land. I think it is too great a bonus; that the time has not come for such an enterprise at Duluth. But I offered one-sixth of the cost of the incline and railroad when completed into my land. Say sixteen thousand dollars. This is too much; one-tenth is nearer my share.

SPIEGEL GROVE (which signifieth the place of
GOOD spirits), August 14, 1889.

My DEAR FRIEND:— Still thinking with a mixed feeling of tender pain and of exquisitely pleasant memories of the darling who has left!

I keep myself uncommitted on the question of by whom shall a biographical sketch be written. If at all? My thoughts rest on Howells, W. D. He knew her—admired her, and knows of the environment, having written my campaign life. What do you think?

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

August 15. Thursday.— The ideal comradeship, friendship, or companionship is that of man and wife where there is true congeniality of intellect, character, and culture. Next after it comes that of brother and sister or other near relatives in the same family, and then come the army in war [and] college life.— How about the *sailors*?

My friend Rogers returned to Duluth without going to Columbus to visit his wife. A beautiful, refined, and lovable character — but how strange not to go to his wife!

August 16. Friday.— Eight weeks ago today the fatal stroke came to Lucy. Maggie Cook Gilmore sends me a number of letters of Lucy. She tells this story:— “I think always she made the impression upon children as upon my little nephew some years ago, who stopped crying over a mashed finger and forgot the pain, spellbound by her eyes and tones and soothing words. The next day he would let no one touch the finger because ‘Mama Hayes had kissed it.’ ‘Mama Hayes’ was improvised, he not having been taught what to call her. It was the Madonna love in her beautiful eyes that went to the child’s heart.”

[She sends also] the following favorite songs she [Lucy] sang often:— “The Land of the Leal,” “Old Armchair,” “Life on the Ocean Wave,” “Mrs. Lofty,” “Hold the Fort.”

Lucy sang beautifully. I never heard a voice superior to hers. With great compass, power, and penetration, it was sweet and full of feeling. Like her eyes, it was soulful and full of heart. It stirred one at times like the sound of a trumpet.

Aunty Davis says among her favorite songs were "Ye Banks and Braes o' Bonny Doon"; "Highland Mary." With her brother Joe, "Here's a Health to thee, Tom Moore," "Rock of Ages," and "Jesus, Saviour of my Soul."

She wanted the bands to play [the] "Star-spangled Banner," and she was fond of singing it. Mrs. Major Malcom McDowell, of Evanston (Miss Jennie Gordon that was), sends the following. They sang duets together at old Wesleyan Female College in 1847-50:—"When Night Comes o'er the Plain," "What are the Wild Waves Saying," "Pilgrim Fathers," "*Blue Juniata*," "Ingle-side," "Annie Laurie." Mrs. McDowell thinks "The Mountain Maid's Invitation" may be the one I call the "Bird Song."

August 18. Sunday.—At church with Fanny. The true infidel, in the offensive or objectionable sense, is not the honest skeptic, but the man who opposes all religion. The doubter and unbeliever according to orthodox standards and tests may be a devoutly religious person. The atheist in the offensive sense is not the reverent believer in an Eternal Creator and Disposer, who, as Matthew Arnold says, "makes for righteousness," but one who rejects and scoffs at all thought of a wise and beneficent Providence.

Read the closing chapters with Mrs. Herron of George Meredith's "The Egoist." The author is new to me. But he is worth knowing about.

A frequent *pang* as we walked around the grove—the scenes in which Lucy was such a figure!

August 20. Tuesday.—I make my first visit to Birchard and Mary in more than two—almost three—months. Mrs. Herron goes with me. She is a great comfort in this affliction.

When we first reached the home of Birchard and Mary I almost broke down. The lost one is so associated with that home, the grandchild dead, the dear one living, and all.

August 21, 1889. Wednesday. — Almost a heated term. Yesterday our visit was in all respects charming. We drove about the new residence part of the city — Collingwood Avenue, wagon works, etc., etc. The number of fine dwellings now building is very great. Evidently Toledo has reached a period of strong and rapid growth. We returned in the evening. Read the opening of George Meredith's "The Egoist." It does not grow on me. Its best was read first.

I brought over selections from Robert Browning. This morning, out in the hemlock path, read to Harriet my first book on theosophy — or "wisdom religion," as its friends call it, — by Alexander Fullerton, of Wilkes-Barre. A clear writer. This makes apparent the unutterable folly of the faith in *adepts*, although the writer seems sincerely a believer in the "Eastern" religion.

August 22. — Read from Emerson's "Letters and Social Aims" the essay on "Immortality." It is, if not fully convincing, at least comforting — almost satisfying.

The visit of Mrs. Herron and her two charming young folks Elinor and Lucy ends today. None could have been more comforting. Coming at this time, I can say no visit ever brought more satisfaction. It is without alloy.

August 24. Saturday. — Honorable W. P. Howland, of Jefferson, of Ashtabula County, came to spend the night with me. An upright and able lawyer — formerly State Senator — now an influential Republican politician. He has a promising son who wants to go to West Point. Also General Force spent the night with me. I called with them on Buckland and [others]. A very agreeable visit with both.

August 25. Sunday. — Put in our portrait book this morning several fine photographs showing Lucy in various postures. . . . Scott has finished the scrapbook containing notices of his mother. We have enough more to fill several volumes. Not less than two thousand were sent to me. I still get letters of condolence and encomium.

August 28. Wednesday. — This is Lucy's birthday. She would have been fifty-eight if she had lived until today. All my

thoughts are of her. Two months ago she was buried. I am getting letters still almost daily showing the hold she had on the hearts of good people. Mrs. Martha J. Lamb writes again with much feeling. She encloses a letter from my friend William Henry Smith to her. He says: "You understood the noble woman. . . . The touching tributes to her memory coming from good people all over the world are calculated to increase one's estimate of one's kind, and move one to thank God for such an example of worth. The death of no other person since the death of Abraham Lincoln has touched so many hearts."

FREMONT, OHIO, August 28, 1889.

MY DEAR MRS. ANDREWS:—Your letter of the 25th assures me that we may now hope for your early and complete recovery. From Mr. Andrews I learned of your severe and critical illness at the time our great affliction came to us.

Mrs. Hayes never ceased to recall you often, and always with the friendliest interest and affection. It was one of her unsatisfied longings to have a good long visit from you. It has been otherwise ordered. Our consolations are that she left us without suffering; that she was so amply prized by so many good people; and that it is well with her now. But alas! On this, her birthday (fifty-eight) she is in all our thoughts.

My kind regards to Mr. Andrews.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. EMMA S. ANDREWS.

SPIEGEL, August 28, 1889.

MY DEAR SISTER HARRIET:—Of course it was very lonely after you and the dear young folks left. But your visit carried me forward a long way. The sharp pangs are less frequent, and the periods of settled gloom are shorter and rarer. I find myself rapidly getting back into the old ways. Nothing could have done so much good as reading and talking with you. It is amazing — I am almost ashamed to own to myself — how the skies begin to brighten above me once more.

The pictures are quite up to the average. Don't you think so? Here they are.

My love to all.—Gratefully,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. HARRIET C. HERRON,
Cincinnati.

August 29. Thursday.—Pioneer Society day. Governor Foster and wife our guests. . . . Foster gave for three-quarters of an hour a narrative of the treaty with [the] Sioux. He, as president [of the commission], with Crook and Warner succeeded in getting three-quarters of the Indians to sign as required. As the time arrived before he was done for his train to leave, I drove with him and Mrs. Foster to the cars. [So] I managed to get rid of speaking. A full attendance. More than could be seated in the court-house.

SPIEGEL GROVE, August 30, 1889.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—Perhaps you will ask, "And why called 'Spiegel,' the German word for 'mirror'?" My uncle, perhaps, did not carefully consider when he named it. But without philological discussion it runs thus: Spiegel—mirror; hence, image; hence, ghost or spirit. Evil spirits are *bogies*. Spiegel is a good spirit. Spiegel Grove therefore is *the home of good spirits*—referring either to our friends departed who have gone to the better world and who hover around us here, or to the fact that it is the home of cheerfulness and happiness. Three grown persons who have lived here have gone before (Mrs. Valette, Uncle Birchard, and now Lucy darling). All of them were most attractive in character and manners. One child of ours, aged eighteen months, a little boy of unusual beauty and goodness, died here. May we not therefore hope that good spirits are around us?

Uncle was a humorist, and added another reason for the name

signifying "good spirits." "I always keep for those who can safely use it the best of *spirits* to warm the inner man." . . .

Sincerely,

R. B. HAYES.

REVEREND M. F. ROUND,
New York.

August 31. Saturday. — Read with Fanny "Daniel Deronda." I mean to read with her all I can. She is discriminating and sensible in her comments.

My letter from Mrs. Herron gave me unusual pleasure from her use of a single word. There is much in a word oftentimes.

September 1. Sunday. — Reading Mr. Lincoln's history by Nicolay and Hay. They say: "The first dispatch he received (October 11, 1864) contained the welcome intelligence of the election of Rutherford B. Hayes and his Republican colleague from the hard-fought Cincinnati districts."

Pleasant reading now that my election was "welcome intelligence" to Abraham Lincoln. I was at that date in the midst of the bloody and glorious campaign of Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley in September and October, 1864.

I can say, as Mr. Lincoln said: "It is singular that I, who am not a vindictive man, should have been so often before the people for election in canvasses marked for their bitterness. The contests in which I have been prominent with a few exceptions have been marked for their closeness and rancor."

September 1 [2]. Monday. — Fanny finished reading to me last evening George Eliot's "Daniel Deronda," one of her best. We began then Hawthorne's "Note-Book" on France and Italy.

I go today to the reunion of the Twenty-third [Regiment] at Lakeside. I must take pictures of Lucy and some letters (Sherman's, Turner's, etc., etc.). It is Fanny's birthday. I gave her a check for a blank amount for a desk for her "nest." Probably she will fill it with fifty dollars.

We got into the new rooms generally — that is they were ready for occupancy — Saturday night. . . .

I often call attention in talking to near friends of [to] the fact that Lucy was the Golden Rule incarnate. I now read in the *Tribune* a critical notice of "Social Progress" by Daniel Greenleaf Thompson: "What is most needed in the world is education of mankind in the Golden Rule." This is "the secret of social progress."

September 3. — . . . Reached Lakeside before 10 o'clock A. M. The attendance is not large. Other reunions and county fairs interfere, and alas, Lucy is not here! How she is missed!

P. M. We went over to the Pictured Rock — the Indian inscriptions on a large rock on Kelly's Island. . . . On the whole a sad day without Lucy.

September 4. Wednesday. — A good campfire last evening in the parlor. Number somewhat smaller than usual. Old fife-major Andy Stairwalt, looking just as he used to, made talks. Captain Ellen made a good talk of his cronies, Captain Gillis and Captain Austin, and of George Brigdon, killed twenty-five years ago last night at Berryville. A recitation by Miss — very good; — another version of Sheridan's ride.

General Hastings spoke briefly. [Also] J. P. Moore, of Fremont, of the reunion of the Veterans of 1812 on the Maumee, fifty-seven years afterwards, — forty-nine of them.

September 5. Thursday. — The reunion yesterday gained in numbers and interest. I had a long and very interesting conversation with Mrs. Ben Killam about Mrs. Hayes. She appreciated my darling. I shall not forget the pleasure it gave me to hear her good words.

We attended the life-saving station at Marblehead in the forenoon; had a good business meeting in the afternoon and a sail to Put-in-bay, and in the evening a successful campfire.

About forty comrades in attendance, with their wives and children. Resolutions about Mrs. Hayes, and by Comrade Henry an excellent speech in which he very beautifully spoke of Mrs. Hayes.

September 9. Monday. — It is certainly true that no death ever before so touched the hearts of the American people, except

that of Abraham [Lincoln], as the death of Mrs. Hayes. This is said constantly.

Confidential.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 11, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—I have supposed that the resources and advantages of New York made that city the place for the [Columbian] celebration. But if they hang fire with contributions, and Chicago decidedly surpasses New York in providing funds, of course the successful competitor in the ways and means contest should have it. This is for your eye alone.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

LISTON H. MONTGOMERY.

September 12. — I am overhauling letters of the past two years. One point in my public life: I did all I could for the reform of the civil service, for the building up of the South, for a sound currency, etc., etc., etc., but I never forgot my party. I appointed Stalwarts and supported Stalwarts whenever it would harmonize or strengthen the party — my own personal preferences notwithstanding. I knew that all good measures would suffer if my Administration was followed by the defeat of my party. Result, a great victory in 1880. Executive and legislature both completely Republican.

A year or two ago I invited Bishop Bowman and wife to be our guests at the conference to be held here. He accepted in fitting terms for himself and added, "*My precious wife is in heaven.*"

September 13. Friday. — Colonel Haynes' regiment, (Tenth Cavalry of Ohio) has its reunion here next week. There are two tendencies in all our war talk — especially strong in us as we grow older. One, comparatively harmless, involving little moral turpitude; the other, often cruel and always to be avoided. The first is to boast, if not of ourselves and our deeds, at least of our army, our corps, our regiments. The other is to find fault with, to criticize, to censure, to condemn others. If there is a

victory, we gained it and must have the credit of it. If there is a failure, it was the fault of the other fellow,—he must be blamed for it. Let us try to avoid both; but if either is to be indulged, let it be the spirit of boasting.

Let us not dwell too much on our differences. We have a critical, a serious contest before us. We must secure a sweeping, radical, and beneficent change in our pension laws. A change suited to the changed conditions of the veterans of the Union Army. The day is near at hand when the vast majority, the great body indeed, of the Union veterans will no longer be able, for want of physical strength, to earn their daily bread by their daily labor. This is the momentous fact with which the Nation has to deal.

I am gradually taking up again my usual occupations. Having looked up all letters and writings of Lucy, having collected all portraits of her from girlhood to the last taken since she became a grandmother, having put in order all of the letters and tributes in her honor, both in print and manuscript, I now begin to look after the place. But what a void!—There is a meaning in the phrase “aching void.”

September 14. Saturday.—South Mountain day. The great event of the past week is the great storm on the Atlantic coast from Cape Hatteras north—shipwrecks, destruction of seaside resorts, etc., etc., quite beyond precedent.

Our last quarterly conference for the year held last night. We owe \$7610 on interest—all borrowed money. Assets available about \$4000 to pay it with. Church property all clear, about \$32,500. Our pastor is a trial to us on all business affairs—a talker without tact, self-sufficient and domineering. I paid him forty-five dollars on account of missions, nine dollars for Superannuated [Fund], and five dollars for Freedman's Aid. Will drop hereafter the larger part of missions—all of the *foreign*—and concentrate on home and freedmen.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, September 14, 1889.

MY FRIEND:—Several persons want to write a book about Mrs. Hayes, and ask me to turn over materials therefor. I

decline so far. If any such sketch is to be made you are my choice, if it will ever be practicable for you to do it. I would like to talk it over with you. I come East, and will be at [the] Fifth Avenue Hotel October 3 and 4; but will go anywhere to meet you.

Love to Nellie.— Ever sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

WILLIAM D. HOWELLS.

September 15. Sunday. — Read Hawthorne's "Note-Book on Rome" with Fanny, keeping Murray's "Guide" in hand. I am getting a better notion of the old city than I have had. Must now finish this topic — go through with it. . . .

In the evening heard, to a slim audience, Mr. Curtis, now of Selma, Alabama, describe the deplorable condition of the "Black Belt."

September 16. Monday. — Unexpectedly on the one P. M. train, General Hastings and family came. All in health and spirits.

Agreed with Colonel Haynes to have the Tenth Cavalry here Wednesday afternoon about five and a half o'clock.

September 17. — If I talk to the Tenth Ohio Cavalry, I will advise union [and] charity for the sake of just, liberal, and equitable pensions for the soldiers. The great fact which this rich, prosperous, and fortunate nation has to regard, consider, and deal with is that the [time] draws near when these veterans *can no longer provide by their daily labor for their daily wants.* The great body of them stand today on the threshold of that dreaded period of their lives. It comes to them earlier because of their exposures to hardship, to suffering, to mental and bodily strain in their country's service. They need help because they devoted themselves to their country's service.

. . . In the evening entertained by Colonel Haynes with the veterans of the Tenth Cavalry — General Smith D. Atkins, of Freeport, Illinois, and others.

September 18. Wednesday. — Reunion of Tenth Cavalry. The speaking was good by Judge Green, General Sanderson, and General Atkins. General Atkins was particularly happy.

About sixty veterans of the regiment and ladies with the Light Guard Band came to my house at the close. A happy entertainment. It was Fanny's first reception and was quietly done with the efficient aid of Emily [and others]. Altogether successful.

September 23. Monday. — Made a happy visit to Mary and Birchard in Toledo with General Hastings and Emily. . . . Found on return home many letters. Colonel Nicholson writes that no one else will be thought of for commander-in-chief [of the Loyal Legion] next month, and that I must be present, and of course accept. I prefer to have it so. But if there is any serious opposition to me or wish for another, I will not allow my name to go before the body. I will not go into the slightest contest for any place of honor again. This is well understood by my friends.

FREMONT, OHIO, September 23, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR: — I have a young friend in whom I am warmly interested — Charles R. Howland, of Jefferson, Ohio, who wishes to enter West Point. He is now nineteen years of age and may therefore wait for the appointment two or three years, if it cannot be made sooner. My chief interest in the case is due to his qualifications. He is the ideal candidate for the place. In mind, body, character, tastes, ambition, and love of his country, he is all that can be desired. His talents and industry will place him in the front rank — probably in the lead — of all his associates. He will, I believe, if the opportunity is given him, be distinguished in the profession of his choice.

I earnestly urge his appointment.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

THE PRESIDENT.

September 28. Saturday.—Today Fanny and I [reached] the Mohonk Lake House. Greeted warmly by Mr. and Mrs. Smiley. Fanny and I well quartered. A lovely place—wild mountain scenery in juxtaposition with cultivated farms. Rugged and sublime rocks and cliffs and a fine hotel near by.

September 29. Sunday.—Last evening Professor Richardson read and recited in the finest way from [the] "Merchant of Venice" and "David Copperfield."

I meet here a number of people I am glad to know. Mr. Houghton, the publisher at Cambridge; Mr. and Mrs. A. K. Smiley, our hosts; Admiral Carter and wife, Mr. Monroe, of Hampton; Mrs. Helen M. Turnbull, of Philadelphia, and others.

How my cherished and precious wife would have enjoyed life here!

Walked fully five miles today and enjoyed the splendid views. Walked to Eagle Cliff at sunset. Hymns in the parlor Sunday evening.

September 30. Monday.—A delightful drive with four-horse team over to the inn, the Wildmere House, of the twin brother, Alfred H. Smiley. Mr. Houghton, Mr. Monroe, of Fairfield, Connecticut, Mr. Albert K. Smiley, and five or six ladies. The twins, aged about sixty, are wonderfully alike—difficult to distinguish. Minnewaska is a lovely repetition of Mohonk, on a larger scale in some respects. We can see six States from these elevations, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Vermont. One thousand five hundred to two thousand feet above the sea.

MOHONK LAKE, September 30, 1889.

MY DEAR MR. HOWELLS:—I am here for a few days; will be at [the] Fifth Avenue Hotel [the] 3d and 4th with Fanny.

I am so solicitous about the sketch of Lucy that I venture to trouble you again. If I can get the Harpers to censem that you write the book — they to publish — how then! I can see Mr. Joseph W. Harper. Please write me to [the] Fifth Avenue

Hotel. If a good talk with you will help, I will come to Boston and meet you there or at your home.

My love to Nellie and the darling girl.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

WILLIAM D. HOWELLS.

October 3. Thursday. — From Mohonk to New York. Peabody meeting 12 M. All present (President Cleveland and Chief Justice Fuller) except Mr. Evarts.

Appointed chairman of committee to go to Nashville with Right Reverend H. B. Whipple, Dr. Samuel A. Green, Boston, Honorable James D. Porter, Nashville, Honorable R. L. Gibson, New Orleans, to inquire as to the matters referred to by Chancellor Payne, and with power to act in connection with the general agent. We fixed the date of our visit November 20 at the Maxwell House. I was almost made chairman of the executive committee of the board.

In the evening the annual banquet. Six ladies, Mesdames Winthrop, Whipple, Pierpont Morgan, Curry, —, and Fanny. All of the board except Mr. Evarts and Mr. Devens. Mr. and Mrs. [George W.] Childs came in after dinner.

October 4. Friday. — My birthday — sixty-seven. It brings freshly and painfully to mind the absence from my side of my cherished Lucy. When I last was here in the spring at the centennial of the Government she was with me! Alas, how it weakens the hold of this life — of earth upon me! How easily I could now let go of life!

[At] 2 P. M. left with Fanny for Northampton. . . .

October 5. Saturday. — Morning walked with Mr. Waring, of Brooklyn, up King Street. Measured the great elm — seven and one-half full lengths of my handkerchief; 25 feet in circumference. . . . [Then], train to Williamstown. Met at depot by Mrs. Herron, Mrs. Bullock, and James W. B. Drove to Greylock. Afternoon, drove with Mrs. Bullock and Mrs. Herron and Fanny to the fine places and noble views near Williamstown.

Visited Mark Hopkins' tomb, also the monument to the first American missionary.—*Mem.*:—Five students on that spot in 1806 resolved to go.—At this place great improvements go on by people who find it an attractive resort.

Williamstown, Massachusetts, Sunday, October 6, 1889.—After breakfast attended services at the college chapel. A good practical sermon on moral courage. Glorious singing by the students, heavily bass.

West Brattleboro, Vermont, October 8.—This bright and crisp October morning I am writing before breakfast in the little room over the hall in the old Hayes home, where my grandfather lived as a young man with his young wife, more than one hundred years ago, and where my father was born and to which he brought my mother as his bride seventy-six years ago!

Mrs. W. H. Bigelow (Mary Ann Hayes), my cousin, has fitted it up beautifully. I slept in what was once part of the *ballroom* in the Hayes Inn, where balls, card parties, and flip drinking were enjoyed—dispensed by my grandfather and grandmother,—two of the “salt of the earth,” “Puritans of the Puritans,” “consistent orthodox Christians,”—for more than twenty years at the close of the last century and the beginning of this. The dancing parties closed, even on the Fourth of July 1807, at “the setting of the sun,” in order not to break the sanctity of the Puritan Sabbath!

Here is a copy of a ticket to one of the “Hays” entertainments—“Dancing, cards, & Flip.” On the back of a ten-spot of clubs:

“The bearer of this ticket
is entitled to
ENTERTAINMENT

At R. Hays’ Hall—From one o’clock P. M.
Until Sun Setting

Brattleborough, July 4, 1807.”

Fifth Avenue Hotel, New York, Saturday, October 12, 1889.—About 5 P. M., reached this hotel from Norwich, Connecticut. Had a fine visit in that beautiful town. Mr. Moses Pierce and his family made my stay with them more than delightful. The

reception by the soldiers at the hall of Sedgwick Post G. A. R., Number one, was most enthusiastic. I made a short stirring talk which was well received. Honorable — Wait spoke at length and eloquently. Honorable — Russell, M. C., spoke strongly and well for pensions.

The Slater Memorial Building, library and museum, very good.

October 13. Sunday. — Last night visited the Hastings [family] at 20 East Twentieth Street. All well — happy, and cheer-inspiring. Fanny Mitchell with them *en route* to their Bermuda home. Then found Mrs. Herron and Jack and Mrs. Collins at the Everett. Fan was at the Hastings'. She returned with me to our old quarters (41-42) in this homelike place.

October 14. Monday. — Visited yesterday the Hastings [and] Mrs. Bigelow and dined with the happy family at Charley Mead's. Met there our cousin Horatio Noyes' soldier son, Charles Noyes, now a first lieutenant and instructor at West Point of mathematics. A Hayes, and a fine young gentleman of thirty.

Today will visit Schurz and others and arrange for business tomorrow of the Slater Fund with Mr. Jesup, Mr. Gilman, *et al.*

Philadelphia, October 17, 1889. Tuesday. — Yesterday forenoon with the Commandery-in-Chief of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion. Dined with Reverend H. C. Trumbull at the Union League [Club]; good company. [He is a] descendant of Governor Jonathan Trumbull — friend of Washington, the original of our Brother Jonathan.

Afternoon with Loyal Legion in the Historical Rooms. Mr. Stillé showed me many curiosities.

[This] morning elected Commander-in-Chief two years more by acclamation. Afternoon, hunted up [Thomas] Donaldson at his home. A cordial greeting and tea and a good time. What a *full* man and what a flood of interesting talk he pours out! Evening at banquet (till midnight) of the Pennsylvania Commandery. Saw and talked with General Kirby Smith's son — a young lawyer of promise in the city.

October 19, 1889. Saturday. — Last evening about 7 P. M. returned with Fanny on Lake Shore train from Cleveland after a delightful trip of three weeks. As I approached home the sinking of the heart as I thought of Lucy gone! Alas, no more to be greeted in her lovely way after an absence!

This day is the anniversary of Cedar Creek. Twenty-five years ago today, the famous battle was fought. The defeat of the morning wiped out and a thousandfold more than paid for by the victory of the evening.

The friends at the East think their autumnal colors finer than ours. Possibly they are more brilliant and gay, but I never saw anything finer than old Spiegel is now in her fall dress and colors. The dark red or maroon of the great white oaks, in contrast with the lighter colors of maples and hickories, make[s] a picture of wonderful beauty.

October 20. Sunday. — Attended church. The sermon on the Christianity of the Roman soldier Cornelius did not interest. I thought of the past, of my loss, of the Prison Congress in Nashville, and tried to formulate some ideas for my address. Succeeded in perhaps getting a few thoughts. Thought of my tree planting on the beautiful place of Mr. George W. Childs. The tree he selected for me is a vigorous copper beech — about six feet high, bushy top — in plain sight of the main door of the house, possibly a hundred yards distant. The planting, so far as I was concerned, was symbolical only. I put a few spades full [spadefuls] of earth in the trench around the tree! . . .

October 24. Thursday. — Read an article in *New England Magazine* on Nashville as an educational centre. This with a double purpose. To learn as to my duties for the Peabody Fund next month and also for the Prison Congress to be held there November 16-20.

October 25. Friday. — In the evening with Fanny attended an army song festival by the Presbyterian church at Opera Hall. On the whole very good. . . .

I was constantly reminded of Lucy. Fanny said as we walked down — "Mother died four months ago today." Her favorites, "The Star-spangled Banner," "Hold the Fort," "Battle Hymn

of the Republic," and "Old Folks at Home," all stirred me to the bottom of my heart, and recalled her splendid gift of song.

The "Tenting on the Old Camp Ground" recalled so vividly the night of election day in 1875. Sitting with her in our home in Spiegel Grove waiting for the returns, we *said* we were prepared for either event. I told her the contest was close, the result doubtful. She spoke cheerfully of the way we would bear defeat. Our personal interest in it was less vital than the cause, etc., etc. We both knew well enough that victory meant the chance for the Presidency — the certainty that Ohio would present my name. Defeat meant retirement and obscurity. The first return was a dispatch to Lucy from Elyria, indicating that our stronghold, the Western Reserve, was fully aroused and would give an old-time — war-time — majority. Then two townships of Sandusky County gave encouraging gains; then from the southwestern part of the State a ward or township came in with the same drift. There was a lull of a few minutes when from the southeast — from Marietta — from Major Palmer, of the gallant old Thirty-sixth, came a dispatch which without figures filled the cup. It read: "We are tenting tonight on the old camp ground." That song has been full of pathos for Lucy and me always, but since that dispatch that night I never hear it without deepest feeling. And now alas, Lucy gone!

October 26. Saturday. — I must now prepare — not *write* — a speech for Nashville. Let it be in the spirit of the loved one gone from my home. "I would remember the teaching of our Saviour. I know I am not good, but I do try to treat all human beings and all of God's creatures as I would wish to be treated if I were in their places."

I finished reading the last volume of Tolstoy's "War and Peace." The epilogue discusses grave questions. . . .

October 28. Monday. — Read, wrote letters, walked. . . . Meditated on Mrs. Herron's suggestion of a little Chautauqua reading or study between [us]. Why not? We read or study — why? 1. Intellectual improvement — for information and the like. 2. For entertainment — to pass time. 3. To prepare for the inevitable, for character, for the future and the present.

The last is most important — to be begun first. But why not carry on all these lines of study and pleasure at the same time? For character, to prepare for the inevitable I recommend selections from Emerson. His writings have done for me far more than all other reading.

SPIEGEL, October 29, 1889.

DEAR MRS. HERRON:— The suggestion in your welcome letter is a good one. We *can* have a little Chautauqua circle of our own for reading and study. Why read? If for no other, it is reason enough that we like to do it — for enjoyment, to pass the time. Again, mental improvement — for information, to keep the faculties alert and alive. More still. We must be ready for the inevitable; be content at least for the time and also in view of the future. In short, read and study to develop and establish character. These, if not the first three, are among the things which lead us to books, or should do so. Perhaps the most essential of these is character — to be really fit for the present and ready for the future.

So I begin with my ancient favorite, Emerson. He deals, as I think wisely, with the deep questions — with God, the soul, our present and our future well-being. Let us select. We have read "Immortality" together. But all good things are worth reading often. We may read it again. We would do well to read, pen in hand, or better pencil in hand, to mark passages either notable, or doubtful, or obscure, or for comment on any account.

I do not mean to suggest that we should hold to only one sort of reading at a time. We may try all sorts at the same time — or during the same trimester, or other period. We cannot tie ourselves down.

A grandmother is in the grasp of posterity. The head of a family, in school or in society, is chained to affections and to conventionalities. I am now stating *your* case. Of course I fail to even hint at its real difficulties. We always do when we state the other fellow's trials and difficulties.

But I have claims on my time and thoughts, or I imagine I

have. An old goose probably *knows* in a dim way that she is a goose, but she probably merely suspects that she is *passée* and on the shelf. This old goose sees it that way. So I go on fancying myself engaged in duties. Hence neglect of the Chautauqua studies.

But like keeping a note-book — an account of household expenses [or] a diary — we can *begin*. Now, how would you like a gift? Say Emerson in ten volumes. They look well in the book-case. So I send the order. Will knows how to realize on it.

Birchard, Mary, and the fine boy, Sherman, leave us today. They have been here more than a month. They have added charms to old Spiegel.

I have dug up a good letter of Lucy with some capital sentences on leaving the White House. — "We will be ready to leave the White House in the spring. I am surprised to find how I look longingly for the springtime to come. I have had a particularly happy life here in Washington and yet will hail my return home with the greatest pleasure. Four years is long enough for a woman like this one. We will be in Ohio in August, and I suppose we will go to California in September. But my heart is not set upon it, and disappointment would not annoy me."

But I must not give too much time to what leads me into sorrowful paths.

With all regard, sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. H. C. HERRON,
Cincinnati.

November 2. Saturday. — I am inclined to close my Nashville talk with a reference to the guiding principle of my wife and of which she was the incarnation. [I purpose to say]: — "During almost forty years it has been my fortunate lot to live under the same roof with one, now gone to the world beyond, whose gift and whose delight it was to shed happiness on all around her. Her joy was so radiant because her life was the very incarnation of those few humble words which fell naturally from

her lips: 'I know I am not good, but I do try to treat all others as I would wish to be treated if I were in their places.'

"Surely, surely my friends, if our legislature and its executive and if our conduct as communities and as individuals can be penetrated and controlled by the spirit of the Golden Rule, a solution will be found for every problem which now disturbs or threatens to disturb our American society."

November 4. Monday.—Finished my brief and sensible speech for the Prison Congress this morning and handed it to the printer. I deal with the jury system, the indeterminate sentence, and labor; a word also in favor of industrial education as a preventive of crime. . . .

I was reminded of the fact that Birchard was born thirty-six years ago today! This recalled with an oppressive sinking of the heart the dear one I have lost! How all things remind me of her!

CHAPTER XLIX

PROHIBITION AND POLITICS — FORAKER'S QUALITIES —
DUELING IN KENTUCKY — EMERSON'S INSPIRING
PHILOSOPHY — POLITICS IN THE PULPIT — GENERAL
MITCHELL URGED FOR PENSION AGENT — DEATH OF
PENDLETON — NIHILISM — DEATH OF GENERAL
CROOK, HIS CHARACTERISTICS — 1889-1890

NOVEMBER 5, 1889. *Tuesday.* — The election day in many States. . . . The Democrats seem to be in the best condition. There is the usual dissatisfaction to weaken the party in power by reason of the spoils doctrine. Then the dismissal of Tanner hurts with the soldiers. Governor Foraker leans too much towards the boss system and spoils system. He is influenced greatly by this. He is brilliant, witty, eloquent, and very popular with the hurrah boys, but the sober and conservative element of the party dislike his methods and would be glad to see him run behind the ticket. Some want him beaten and votes will be lost. I hope we shall carry the State — elect Governor Foraker and the whole ticket, securing the Senator, etc., etc. But I am not at all confident.

Thinking of prohibition: As now understood, it is not radical. It is compromising; it stops at a half-way house. It is only half prohibition — it favors half of the liquor traffic. It prohibits only selling. It does not stop or try to stop buying. This is our human way of doing things. We know there would be no unchaste women if there were no impure men. But we condemn the prostitute, thrust her in prison, cast stones at her; but we ask the man, who is equally to blame, to dine at our tables! Addressing my young friends, I ask your attention to the words of an old radical. I want no debate. The debating room has its value. But it is no place to *form* wise opinions. The air is too heated — too full of electricity. When you wish

to reach sound conclusions, keep cool. Sleep or be calm enough to sleep on what you hear.

A generation ago, I had hope and faith in the Maine Law. I was as zealous in its behalf as you are now. But mark my words. It is in the long run the demand that brings the supply. Where there are no buyers there will be no sellers. Where there are many buyers there will be sellers in spite of your laws. To the vice and crimes of drink, you will add the crimes of law-breaking, of perjury, of hypocrisy, of meanness.

Beware of compromise measures; beware of the half-way houses on the road to vice and crime. You cannot make fish of one and flesh of the other. If you would stamp out vice, you must punish equally the equally guilty. As a general statement, the moral turpitude of the buyer is greater than the moral turpitude of the seller.

November 6. Wednesday.—The Democrats seem to have carried everything. If the reports of this afternoon are correct, they have the state ticket and legislature as well as the governorship. It was anticipated that Foraker would be beaten, but it was hoped that the state ticket and legislature might be saved. It is useless to spend time on causes. They are easily seen. Rutherford suggests one consolation for this household:—"It leaves you the only governor ever elected for a third term"! Small favors, etc.

November 9. Saturday.—The Democrats celebrate their victory today. Our gifted and brilliant governor is very enthusiastically supported by the strong party men. He is an extreme partisan, and those who are like him in this respect stick to him. But, as often happens with such men, he is unpopular at the polls—more so than Blaine; as much so as Conkling would have been in a state or national election. He is lacking in sober judgment. His partisanship blinds him—makes him an unsafe leader, and his bitter sarcasm excites a corresponding animosity against him. It was unwise to run him a third time.

My gallant comrade of the Thirty-fourth-Thirty-sixth Ohio, the color-bearer of the regiment at Sheridan's victory of Winchester, is turned out, or surely will be, of his place by the politi-

cal cyclone of Tuesday. Another example of the wretchedness of the spoils system. I have written at his request to Colonel McClung to do the best he can for him. But Colonel McClung has his duties and his committals.

November 10. Sunday.—Church with Fanny. In the afternoon Mr. and Mrs. Bristol called. Mrs. Bristol attended the Woman's Home Missionary annual meeting at Indianapolis. She described with spirit the various scenes in the convention which were of special interest. The memorial meeting as to Mrs. Hayes was a beautiful and affecting scene. Mrs. Davis delivered a touching address. As I read it aloud to Fanny and Rutherford the tears would flow and my voice faltered.

Just received a dispatch from Green Clay Goodloe that his brother has died—Colonel William Cassius Goodloe—from wound received in the bloody encounter with Colonel Swope in the Lexington post-office last week, and requesting me as the wish of the family to act as an honorary pall-bearer. I have no disposition to refuse. Our relations with the deceased and his family are friendly, not to say intimate. He was appointed by me minister to Belgium. He was a frequent attendant as a companion of the Loyal Legion in the Ohio Commandery of which I was commander. He placed his daughter in my charge when she went to school at Farmington, Connecticut, when my daughter was also going to school. His daughter visited Fanny here afterwards for a week or more. Fanny was her bridesmaid when she, Miss Goodloe, was married last summer.

Can I not make this the occasion for a word or two somewhere in favor of a reform in the Kentucky public sentiment which has caused this fearful tragedy. I do not undertake—I do not assume—to apportion the blame for this awful and lamentable event between the community, on the one side, and those two unfortunate gentlemen, on the other. I know not how many hearts are crushed and almost broken. I know not what large circle of relatives and friends are now in deepest affliction by reason of the death of these two Kentucky gentlemen. May I not ask you to hear a word, not of blame, not even of advice, but of entreaty, that this event may lead to a pause, to reflection, [to] a

change in public sentiment? Will not every good Kentuckian, every brave man, every good woman, resolve that, from henceforth always, the man who firmly refuses to seek to take life, or to risk life in any form on any merely personal account, for any personal offense or insult, shall be sustained and held in full respect and honor as a gentleman altogether worthy?

November 17. Sunday. Nashville.—Left home last Monday. . . . [Tuesday at] Lexington, attended funeral of Colonel Goodloe. Visited monument to Henry Clay. Supper at Dr. Skilman's. All exceedingly pleasant.

[Wednesday], called an hour on Mrs. Goodloe. A cruel tragedy for her and the whole household.

Evening back to Cincinnati to Aunty Davis', where I found Fanny. [On the] 15th reached Nashville, Maxwell House, an excellent hotel, at 5 P. M.

A goodly number of prison people here. The local historian, Dr. Lindsley, and General Wheeliss has [have] charge of us. Last evening a large and very fine meeting in spite of the cold rain. Well received. A lovely basket of flowers given me by the ladies of the Hermitage Association through Colonel Colyar.

Rev. Dr. Fitzgerald in the McK—— Church (Methodist Episcopal, South) preached to a vast crowd an excellent prison reform sermon.

Nashville, November 18. Monday.—We found [yesterday afternoon] a good industrial school for boys, not *convicts*, but *needing* a home either from poverty or from incorrigibility. Founded by Mr. Cole and sustained by the State.

One of our old and good wardens had a return of former drinking habits, and after speaking indiscreetly for five minutes he was sung down! This puts us even with our Nashville friends — we match their drunken mayor with our drunken warden.

Excellent papers in our first meeting in the State-house by Felton and Smead. Both especially marked by all good qualities.

Afternoon, visited [the] chaplains' meeting. [At] 6:30 P. M., with General Wheeliss and Fanny and General Brinkerhoff called on Mrs. President Polk. A noble specimen of a very aged

lady — intelligent, spirited, cheerful, and cultured. Her adopted daughter and daughter, Mrs. and Miss Pall, and Mr. Pall all agreeable and the ladies very beautiful.

Evening meeting, Dr. Cunningham, of Alabama, showed up in a lively way the horror of the lease system in Alabama.

At 9 P. M. with George H. Thomas Post G. A. R.; told the story of Lucy's last day with the G. A. R., Memorial Day, at Sandusky!! Full of emotion! Alas!

November 24. Cincinnati. Sunday. — At our old-time friends, Dr. John and Mrs. Davis'. Reached here about 8 P. M. last night after an agreeable ride from Nashville with Fanny.

Our Prison Congress was an unusually good one; good papers, liberal sentiments, harmony, and good social relations. The South was well represented by men of excellent purposes. We all left Nashville with pleasant impressions of that fine city in spite of most unfortunate weather.

The Peabody committee were unanimous in taking the first steps looking to the final adoption of Nashville as the site of the final Peabody memorial — the establishment of "The Peabody Normal College." — Present, Bishop Whipple, Governor Porter, Dr. Green, Dr. Curry, and myself. Absent, Senator Gibson.

Friday in spite of illness I visited the college. Much pleased. President and Mrs. Payne well fitted for their high duties. Three hundred and thirty students, two-thirds female, already there. I anticipate the growth of a great institution — the best of its sort anywhere. We appropriated about seventeen thousand dollars as the beginning.

November 29. Saturday [Friday]. — I bought "The Light of Asia" by Edwin Arnold and shall read it next.

I must now take up resolutely my correspondence, neglected for three weeks. Every morning and until noon I will work.

December 1, 1889. Sunday. — Miller, Aunt Nancy, and Mary dined with us. Solomon's Temple, no larger, Aunt Nancy says, than the Presbyterian church in this town! Where did the one hundred and fifty thousand men work?

Evening with Bristol, Drs. John and Robert Rice. Spirit by

induction "knows other spirits." An interesting talk on immortality. All things are alive — all things are eternal.

December 2. Monday. — Mrs. Mame [Minnie] Manly, the eldest of the daughters of Uncle Scott, with Nellie here. Brought back my loss more sharply than before in many weeks.

I saw a note also by Lucy showing her delight in the new improvements of our home, coupled with a few words of doubt whether she will [should] live to see them finished! The ache all came back to me! Tears were swimming again all day.

December 4. Wednesday. — I wrote to Wines, Sanborn, Wayland, and Round of National Prison Association matters to-day. My effort is to encourage and to harmonize.

Read the President's message. All who supported him have reason to congratulate themselves and him upon it. I am particularly pleased with his treatment of so many questions that I hesitate to particularize. But I will venture to thank him for his [words in favor of] aid to education in the South.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 5, 1889.

MY DEAR PRESIDENT: — I read your message from an official copy last night. All who supported you — as I see it, all good citizens — have great reason to congratulate themselves and you on your excellent message. I am particularly pleased with your treatment of so many questions that I hesitate to specify.

But I must thank you for your wise and efficient aid to education in the South.

Please do not feel called on to reply.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

PRESIDENT HARRISON.

December 5. Thursday. — Wrote to Mrs. Herron as to our Chautauqua manner of reading Emerson. We began with his essay on "Immortality." We are so far only wiser in knowing more fully how little can be really known on this deep question.

SPIEGEL, December 5, 1889.

DEAR MRS. HERRON:— My intentions were good. Your letter on the essay of Emerson was to the point and set me to reading. Having given to "Immortality" a second hearing, I was ready to reply. But alas, all sorts of claims came down on me. I spent Thanksgiving with Mary and Birch and the boy. While there I got hold of Edwin Arnold's "Light of Asia." Instantly I was switched off into Buddhism. I read all of the notes. Some touched on our question. I was greatly attracted. Now I am mixed. But I must begin.

There is nothing consecutive in Emerson. He is often obscure. Sometimes, perhaps,— precious confession,— unmeaning. He will not change our faith; he will not lead us to any faith. But I insist that we shall be more and more content with God, with the future, with this whole *bow-wow*. We shall have more charity for others' errors. We shall have fewer errors of our own. Therefore let us read him. I have gone next to "Inspiration." But you will ask, Are you done with "Immortality?" Yes, for now! We can return to it.

What are the results so far? I am sure you have them all. There is *no assurance* of the great fact in question [namely, immortality]. All the arguments are mere probabilities, analogies, fancies, whims. We believe, or disbelieve, or are in doubt according to our own make-up—to accidents, to education, to environment. For myself, I do not reach either faith or belief in the fact in its true sense, viz., that *I*—the conscious person talking to you—will meet you in the world beyond—*you* being yourself a conscious person—the same person now reading what I say.

Do you ask, What have we gained? Not much, I admit. But it is something to know, that with the best mind of our time and race, we do not know. I confess that I have a "longing after immortality," in the ordinary sense of the word. But I am far more content with whatever may come since I have read Emerson's calm, quiet, self-satisfied way of dealing with the deepest questions. It is something to trust God.

Now, shall we try "Inspiration"? You sit at the helm. Choose

as you are inclined. I will insist that the more we read of Emerson the better we will like him; the wiser we will be; the better we will find ourselves; and, by consequence (if anything is consequence), *the happier*. Which is one of the aims — the chief aim being to become better, to get character.

But I am almost giving you drivel when you want thought. And you deserve thought. You have such a good head.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. HARRIET C. HERRON,
Cincinnati.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 5, 1889.

My DEAR GUY: — I have yours of the 30th ultimo. Fanny and I spent three weeks in Lexington, Cincinnati, and Nashville last month, and upon the whole very pleasantly. The bereavement returns in full force at irregular but lengthening intervals. Last Monday, the coming of two of the kinsfolk who were favorites with Lucy brought it all back with unabated pangs. Then it will occur that for hours I am free from the grief and happy once more. I find new reasons for consolation as time passes. No end to the kind things coming from unexpected quarters. All facts tending to her honor are full of contentment for me. The tears flow unbidden when I least look for them.

You are indeed fortunate in the continued health of yourself and your brothers. My kindest regards to them. I feel an increasing interest in your State. It is like one of my homes. At the Nashville Prison meeting I met McCulloch of one of your prisons. It was like meeting a comrade of the war.

All who are connected with you, the Ballingers [and] those of your name, are all in the inner circle of those I prize.

I send herewith some photographs — of small account to you, but it is a pleasure to send them.

With old time affection,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GUY M. BRYAN,
Texas.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 5, 1889.

MY DEAR FRIEND:— Your letter, before I went South, came duly. Fanny and I had a most enjoyable time — specially so.

I am now at home *for the winter* — barring a trip or two to Columbus, to Cleveland, Toledo, and possibly, to see you quietly at Chicago.

I would like to read something by the lady you speak of before meeting her. *After* meeting her we shall be committed shall we not? . . .

I have at *longer* intervals a return of the feeling that nothing is left — nothing important.

With all regard. Ever sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

December 7. Saturday.— The Methodist Episcopal Church is losing its hold on the people by its greed for gold and for power in partisan politics. Money and partisanship are its twin evils. During the war it drove out all Democrats and now it is expelling all Republicans. Its anxiety for the million! Not the million of souls but for the million of dollars!

SPIEGEL, December 9, 1889.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS:— I will try to keep in mind the case of our friend, if I shall be called on to act. I return the letter.

As to the other matter, I see no objection unless it is in what I told you, that another friend has our assurance that all we have is at his disposal for the purpose of a biography. I will meditate on it, and in due time advise you. The visits here and all such details can be arranged to suit.

Yes, the gloom of these days — the loneliness of them! Sometimes I think the pangs are deeper now, but they are less frequent.

Ever sincerely,

MRS. E. G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

SPIEGEL, December 9, 1889.

MY DEAR FRIEND:—I was meditating on your letter when the enclosed came from our dear friend, Auntie Davis. She delivered a memorial address before the Woman's Home Missionary Society, at Indianapolis. It was good; so good that the hearers wanted it published with additions as an "In Memoriam." She spoke to me about it. I assented to her wish to have some items. Now it has blossomed out into what you see. I have written a non-committal reply in which I say, "I have assured a friend that all we have (material, etc., etc.) is at his disposal." I will move slowly. Please return my letter from "Aunty" Davis.

We must meet to talk this over. As it is my affair I will come to Chicago, [or] meet you at Cleveland or Cincinnati or wherever it will be most convenient for you *within a month or two*.

Ever sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

December 10. Tuesday.—Busy with correspondence and bringing up arrears of all sorts. Since the sad days in June confusion has held possession of my papers and affairs generally. I now begin again to take hold. Henry Howe, the author of "Ohio Historical Collections," of more than forty years ago, and [who] now has issued the first volume of a revision, came last night. He wants a loan of five hundred dollars from each of twelve friends, secured by a deposit in trust with George W. Sinks, of Columbus, of the plates of the work. I must of course be one of the lenders. He is now seventy-three years of age and time begins to tell on his mind and energy. But I hope he will pull through.

December 11. Wednesday.—If he [Howe] gives a sketch of my life, why not let him say of my military career, it was wholly in the grade of colonel; and certainly very few—perhaps no colonel—had a more fortunate and conspicuous military record. Grant said of him [Hayes] — [Quotation not given.]

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 13, 1889.

MY DEAR SIR:—It was simply out of the question for me to attend the centennial observance by Congress. Of course I am glad to be remembered in that connection. It is hardly probable that I shall visit Washington this winter; but at some time, I hope it will be convenient for you and Mrs. Sherman to receive me again as your guest, when it is practicable for me to come.

With thanks for your valued invitation.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

December 17. Tuesday.—Lieutenant Kennon went over the war papers relating to the Shenandoah Valley campaign of 1864. His point is to show the value of Crook's services. No doubt he [Crook] originated the flank movement at Opequon—the first great victory.

December 18. Wednesday.—All day, with swimming eyes, arranging papers and scraps—encomiums on my darling. Never felt her absence more. Dear friends called; gave pictures of her to Mrs. Shomo, who full of sympathy told of seeing her in her dreams.

Read Hawthorne's "American Notes," and Emerson's "Great Men." Must repeat his talk of Lincoln.

I have the idea that the incarnation of *Washington* and his *memorial* was the Society of the Cincinnati; the embodiment of *Lincoln*, his memorial, is the Loyal Legion. His ideas, his aims, are our ideas, our aims. *Washington* sought independence, nationality; *Lincoln*, liberty, equality of rights, the Golden Rule.

December 19. Thursday.—President Bashford, of Delaware, came about 7:15. A healthy talk until 11 P. M. Gave him my ideas on the injury done to the Methodist Episcopal Church by politics in the pulpit. Also a full talk on the great question of the future: *How to equalize more fairly the distribution of wealth. How to get for the laborer his share of the wealth he creates.*

Was glad to find that he agreed with me on both questions, *viz.*, *pulpit politics* and the danger of wealth in a few hands.

December 20. Friday. — Spent the forenoon with President Bashford, chiefly talking of the public men I had met, and of the critical questions dealt with during my Administration. He spoke of the interest and importance of a full account of these events by my hand. Afternoon, correspondence and arranging books and papers, sadly confused since the death of my darling wife.

December 21. — Six months ago today Lucy received her fatal stroke about 4 P. M. This recalls her last conscious day on earth! My tears flow as freely as ever today. I would not call her back, but alas, how empty — how lonely the world is without her!

December 22. Sunday. — I heard yesterday evening of the death in Washington of Mrs. E. F. Andrews. This charming and beautiful lady was one of Lucy's nearest friends in Washington. When Lucy died she was in such a critical condition that she was not told of the death of Mrs. Hayes. Now she has gone! I must write to Mr. Andrews.

December 24. Tuesday. — I was most agreeably surprised in the afternoon by Mary with Birchard and the boy coming into the house, all in good health and spirits, to spend the Christmas with us! It will make the day happier. Nothing can drive away the sadness that comes to me in these days. But the dear one is more and more prized with a sweeter sorrow.

December 26. Thursday. — A good letter from Aunty Herron on the essay of Emerson on "Inspiration." We are reading Emerson together. She finds, I am glad to know, that Emerson "lifts her out of the life of trifles and gain and comfort," and "fills her with rest and content." "A confirmed disciple even at this late day." This is hopeful. Better far than doubt, and agnosticism.

SPIEGEL, December 26, 1889.

MY DEAR MRS. HERRON: — Your letter on the Emerson essay is interesting. You write a great deal in a few words. It is

a special satisfaction to find you so fully appreciating the almost infinite worth of his writings. "Rest and content" and to be "lifted above trifles"—is not this all that is best in religion, whether natural or supernatural? I suspect I fail to "guess" the nature of your reflections as you read the fine talk (p. 260): "What is a man good for without enthusiasm?" etc., etc. "The moth flies into the flame of the lamp," etc. I agree fully with him and you on conversation. (276) "One hour sitting on a log with Mark Hopkins is worth more than a week of the great college with all its 'facilities.'"

You find obscure passages. Is not the one at page 257 simply the assertion that in our "happy moments"—when we are poets—when inspiration is with us, everything we see or think, or conceive of, is "expected"?—is a matter of course? And in like manner, at 261, "ecstasy will be found normal"—that is according to law—natural, as the falling of a stone?

I am afraid you will find me shallow—too thin. For example, at page 264, what is the "risk"? Is it anything more than the insanity of extreme exaltation? Talking on in this way smacks of egotism. I ought to ask *you* to enlighten me in Emerson's dark sayings. But they do not trouble me. I have read him so much that I skim or slide easily over hard things.

My physical health seems perfect. Some effects of the blow do not leave me. The periods between extreme suffering are less frequent—wider apart—but not less painful. A Christmas without Lucy! On the day of her death six months ago! We are in bondage to mental habits; [to] the recurrence of dates. In each month certain days bring the past freshly before me. I fancy I shall be free from these frequent reminders after a year passes. There is a feeling of loyalty to her which seems to compel me to indulge mournful thoughts. Do not mistake. Relief is coming. I am more like myself—more hopeful. . . .

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.—What essay next? With some hesitation I venture to suggest: Let us begin with the first of the volume "Poetry and Imagination." It contains less that is on the deep questions

than some others. But I do want you to read extensively Emerson's writings. Their tone, spirit, essence are full of the savor of salvation. Besides this essay has its full share of passages, mysterious and dim.—H.

MRS. HARRIET C. HERRON,
Cincinnati.

December 28. Saturday.—Read Emerson. Received a letter from Major Hosea excusing me from a speech, if I would attend the banquet of the Loyal Legion. This makes me happy. For the first time, I may enjoy the occasion without the alloy of a task—of a speech.

My favorite prose authors are for the most part American, Emerson, Hawthorne, Lincoln, Webster. These I read most. I have read of poetry chiefly, Shakespeare, Byron, Scott, and, lately, Arnold (Edwin), and Browning.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 28, 1889.

MY DEAR SENATOR:—The Clyde matter I cannot speak of off-hand. Will inquire. Captain Cleary, the writer of the letter, is a good Republican soldier—reliable.

My suggestion for the medical board for pensions is, John B. Rice and William Caldwell, Republicans, and Frederick S. Hilbish, Democrat; all physicians of the best class in this town; all soldiers of the war. This suggestion is approved by our Member of the House, Colonel Haynes. By the way, I know Colonel Haynes well from his youth up. A decided partisan Democrat, he is *trustworthy* and *judicious*. I hope you will be on the best footing with each other. He will do to tie to.

Please tell your clerk to send me two copies of Chief Justice Fuller's address, also a copy of the memorial volume on Hendricks, Vice-President. Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
United States Senate.

January 1, 1890. — The New Year opens with one of the worst possible winter days.

The young people went to Toledo to hear Joe Jefferson. Laura [Mitchell, who came last Saturday] and I spent the day with reading the letters of Lucy — chiefly those written during the time she was at home during the (to her) terrible days of the war. Every horror of the awful time struck sledge-hammer blows on her very heart.

I made four calls — on Mrs. Dorr, the Keelers, Mrs. Bristol, and Mrs. Miller. This was in the rain late in the afternoon. In the evening read to Laura the gossipy book of M. B. Field on authors, public men, and the like.

January 2. — The working hours of the day with Laura overhauling letters of Lucy.

January 3. Friday. — The whole forenoon given to my correspondents. Wrote in reply to editor of the *Century* a note (*not to be published*) in favor of civil service reform, with my message to the Senate on the New York custom house and my note to General Merritt when he was confirmed as collector.

Scott left in the evening to go to Cornell, settle up his matters there, and return early next week to prepare for business life. I hope he will be industrious. . . .

January 5. Sunday. — Heard a good old-fashioned sermon by Presiding Elder Barnes. He gave as precedents the case of Abraham about to slay Isaac, the Hebrew youths, Meshach, Shadrach, and Abednego in the fiery furnace, and the miracles connected with Moses. It sounded strange in view of more recent thought as to these oriental accounts of the Hebrew fathers.

We read also "A Hazard of New Fortunes" by Howells. It promises well.

January 6. Monday. — To Toledo. Found Mary and Sherman very well. A most agreeable afternoon and evening with them and Birchard. A happy family.

January 7. Tuesday. — Went about 11 A. M. to the D. H. & M. *en route* for Cincinnati. Met Waggoner who presented the case of the people against the Natural Gas Company (presumably the Standard Oil); a vigorous old man who hunts down a question with thoroughness.

Read in *Belford's Magazine* Jeff Davis on Andersonville and his autobiography. It is well to hear both sides. There is another side but in any event bad enough.

Mrs. Brice, wife of the leading Democratic candidate for Senator, got on the cars at [for] Lima. We had interesting talk for two hours until we reached Lima. She told me the details of the failure of J. O. Moss — a miserable business. Let me bear in mind Mrs. Moss and visit her in Sandusky. She made Mrs. Hayes very happy in New York by her kind hospitality last spring. Lucy's last visit to New York was perhaps her best. Mrs. Brice expressed a desire to have a fine portrait of Mrs. Hayes; thought I would like to send one to Mrs. Cleveland also.

Reached Burnet House before 6 P. M., and, after supper, a pleasant call at Harriet's [Mrs. Herron's].

January 8. Wednesday. — After many days of rain, clear in Cincinnati. Called on Captain Hunter on [Loyal] Legion matters. At Aunty Davis' found no one at home. Spent the next few hours with Mrs. Herron and dined there.

In the evening at the new rooms of the Legion we had our new yearly ladies' day and a frugal luncheon. The principal speeches were by A. F. Perry and General J. Warren Keifer. General Keifer spoke of the Shenandoah Valley in the war. His two star points were the announcement to the army by brave old General — of the proclamation of Lincoln abolishing slavery on January 1, 1863 — well told — and the victory of Opequon, September 19, 1864, with my crossing of the slough as the salient point. The cheering as the point was reached was very hearty and I was, of course, much gratified and very grateful to General Keifer.

January 9, 1890. — Cincinnati, my old home, is very pleasant to me — full of sweet recollections of Lucy and others. A mix-

ture of tender and sad with joyful. I told the president of the old Literary Club that no one part of my education was so useful to me as the years from 1849 to 1860 in the club; and no honor more gratifying than to be chosen captain of the club military company — the Burnet Rifles — in May 1861.

Visited, with Aunty Davis, Mrs. Bullock, Mrs. Wilber (gave them each a portrait), Lucy's teacher in the old Wesleyan Female College, and called at the Cincinnati Woman's College and on Mrs. Murray Shipley. Then the rest of the afternoon with Mrs. Herron. . . .

January 10. Friday. — With Aunty Davis to Delaware. A happy ride talking over early life — our early life in Cincinnati.

Mrs. Davis left the train at Delaware. I dined in the dining-car. Met there Major (?) Guthrie, a Cincinnati member of the Legion, and an agreeable ride to Cleveland. Drove to Aunty Austin's. Found that Mrs. Austin was gone to New Jersey. Miss Avery gave me a hearty kind welcome and [I] spent the evening and night pleasantly. Webb came to tea. Slightly stricken, both Miss Avery and Webb, with the wonderful prevailing epidemic, *grippe*.

January 11. Saturday. — Drove with Webb to Lakeview Cemetery to look at monuments. None exactly to my wish, but the following were nearest to my views. . . .

January 14. — Last evening urgent letters from General Hastings and Emily to visit Bermuda. Can I do it? I will today accept the invitation to attend [at Philadelphia] the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Loyal Legion — April 15. I find that is Tuesday. The steamer leaves New York Thursday, 17th; due at Bermuda April 20; and returning leaves Bermuda Thursday May 1, giving me eleven days in Bermuda.

Finished reading Howells' last novel, "Hazard of New Fortunes." It has a purpose. It shows the inherent defect, the fatal weakness, of our present social system — a system that fosters the giant evils of great riches and hopeless poverty. Crime, vice, wretchedness are the sure results of this system.

January 16. Wednesday. — I wrote to the President last evening a personal letter in behalf of General Mitchell as pension agent at Columbus. This on the advice of Sherman.

Governor Campbell's inaugural on the penal, reformatory, and benevolent institutions, and touching education and the soldiers is very good. He seems to have the sense to know that a man must see something besides party in his public utterances.

I must write a short address on the aims of the Loyal Legion. What are they?

1. To promote and preserve the friendships of the war — its comradeship. This is its social feature.

2. To collect and to perpetuate in permanent form the history, biography, and literature of the war. This is its historical aim and feature.

3. To maintain and strengthen the principles and purposes for which the war was waged by the loyal Union soldiers, viz., union, liberty, the national authority, supremacy, and sovereignty.

4. To secure as far as we may the well-being and good name while they live and the everlasting fame and memory after death of all who faithfully served the good cause in civil life, at home or abroad, or in the ranks of war, on sea or land, from the humblest sentinels who stood guard around our loyal camps to the grand victor at Appomattox, and the great Commander-in-Chief at the head of the column, whose great service and sublime martyrdom made immortal the name and career of Abraham Lincoln.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 15, 1890.

MY DEAR SENATOR: — I am obliged for your letter as to the pension agency, and have written to the President in substance that this is the *one* appointment in which I am personally interested. I am greatly in hope that it will turn out as I wish

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 15, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR:— It is a gratification to say that all of the paragraphs in your excellent inaugural on topics in which I am specially interested are of such a character that I thank you and congratulate you.

Do not feel called on to reply.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GOVERNOR JAMES E. CAMPBELL,
Columbus.

January 16. Thursday.— In the evening with Rutherford, Scott, and Fanny attended an agreeable small tea party of Mr. and Mrs. Bristol. With the gentlemen discussed the great problems, spirit and matter, immortality, the soul, and the great question of "nihilism," as I call all opposition to plutocracy.

January 18. Saturday.— [At Cleveland yesterday and last night.] Called on Mr. John C. Covert at the *Leader* office. Found him much interested in the negroes. Told him of the Mohonk Conference in June and promised him an invitation from Mr. Albert K. Smiley to attend it.

Called during the day on Captain Kendall of the Legion. Suggested strongly the danger of one black ball in all cases of civilian candidates.

The meeting of the committee on the Garfield memorial service took place in the afternoon at Mr. J. H. Wade's office. Present, Amos Townsend, chairman, J. H. Rhodes, secretary, Mr. J. D. Parsons, General James Barnett, and myself.

We decided to dedicate the Garfield Memorial May 30, 1890. Simple ceremonies — Cox to deliver the address. General Barnett, marshal, General Myer, his chief of staff. I am to preside. I must write to General Cox. Also to General Devens and to Sherman. The two last for the programs of [the dedication of] Bunker Hill and Washington Monuments.

Delighted to find Laura here after her jaunt to Columbus. . . . In the evening Laura read third part of the autobiographical sketches of Joseph Jefferson. Very good.

January 19. Sunday. — With Laura attended church. Mr. Mills' short and emphatic sermon was to the point that all our actions should be for the glory of God. Too much of the doctrine, "I am willing to be damned for all eternity for the glory of God," for my unorthodox soul.

January 21. Tuesday. — Seven months ago today ! Laura is writing lovely sketches of "Aunt Lu" for her [Lucy's] only grandson, Sherman Otis Hayes. I do hope the dear boy will live to enjoy reading them. What a grandmother he has lost he can never fully realize, but these sketches will come nearer than anything else telling her story.

January 25. — I cannot help recurring to the blow, the sorrow — now accompanied with many very tender and pleasant recollections — of this day seven months ago !

Laura has been with us almost the whole month. She leaves this morning. She has been to us all a comfort and an inspiration. She writes for little Sherman and addressed to him, beautiful sketches of his grandmother. We shall prize them all so much.

January 28. Tuesday. — At 10:30 took train to Chicago from Toledo. Dined at Elkhart. Met on the train General M. S. Has-call who lives at Goshen, Indiana, with his handsome young wife. He spoke warmly of the Hayes Administration and of his staunch support of it. Was in the same class at West Point with Stanley, Crook, and Sheridan. Stanley far superior intellectually to either of them; Crook and Sheridan at the foot of the class. Sheridan was suspended for fighting the sergeant of another class who had reported him. Was whipped easily by the sergeant!

Spoke of Shiloh. When his boat, crowded with his command, a part of Buell's army, [came alongshore], the fugitives at the landing at Pittsburg crowded on so as to prevent for a time Has-call's men from landing. Then [they] went out to the second day's battle. His idea was that the first day was a complete defeat of Grant and Sherman.

Reached Chicago about 7 P. M. Met at the office of the

Grand Pacific young Drake and a Cincinnati acquaintance of the Burnet House.

January 29. Wednesday. Chicago.—Last evening met William Henry and Mrs. Smith with their son. . . . Mr. Leiter came and sat with us—an intelligent and entertaining gentleman, now with a home in Washington.

After a short time we, Smith and I, went to my rooms and talked over old matters until late. We settled for *the present* the biography [of Lucy] as follows:—Smith will edit a sketch to be made up from newspaper articles, letters, addresses, and sketches,—a selection from a collection of all that has been written and said about her. Laura and I will gather, and Smith will use and arrange. This to be done, if practicable, next summer. He is particularly anxious also to make a full and correct record of our side of the 1876 conflict. He says the Democracy have had a too exclusive showing of their side of late. He spoke of the sharp thing which squelched a motion or suggestion of Cummings, of New York (?), to put a statue of Tilden in the Capitol with an inscription to the effect, "Nineteenth President elect, but not inaugurated." Some Western Member inquired: "Would the gentleman have the inscription in *cypher*?" That settled it.

No capitalists after any war were ever so well paid for money loaned to the nation that carried it on. No class of money-makers ever gained such prosperity by any other war, as our War for the Union brought to the money-getters of America. All this was due in a great measure to the rank and file of the Union army. Now let no rich man haggle with a needy veteran of that war about his right to a pension!

January 30. Thursday. Chicago.—At breakfast with William Henry Smith and his promising son, Delavan, at 7 A. M.

Then to the Lake Shore depot and *en route* home. Soon found Fuller, the nephew of Mr. and Mrs. [S. F.] White. He was called from his home at D—— by a dispatch, that his uncle, Mr. White, was down with paralysis! Mr. White is the leading business man of the town. He is engaged in a host of enter-

prises and concerns, large and small. No wonder he breaks down!

January 31. Friday. — Called at Mr. White's. His nephew, Fred Fuller, is with him. He is conscious — not fully aware of his condition. His mind runs on his business constantly. From all I hear from Dr. Hilbish and others, I do not think he will ever again be in a condition to take charge of his affairs.

In the evening heard Colonel Sanford, of Iowa, lecture in our beautiful little church to a crowded assembly. He called it "Old Times and New." A humorous account of what he had seen in extensive travels. The Chinese wall was his wonder of the world. . . . On the whole a successful lecture; too much humor, too little solid talk. But with a vein of human sympathy, and of the duty to be happy and to make others happy running through it which lifted it above adverse criticism.

February 2, 1890. Sunday. — With Delavan Smith, of Chicago, son of my friend William Henry Smith, [who came last night] talked over the field of politics. The burning question of the near future — wealth and poverty — how to limit them He seems to see all that is now in sight on the subject.

He gave me the pleasant talk of Mr. Pruden, an executive clerk under several Administrations, about the business habits and friendly characteristics of those he knew. He spoke of Hayes as "the best business worker and of his family as the best he had known."

February 3. Monday. — Letters written as usual. The "Life of Lincoln," by Hay and Nicolay, finished. The closing pages are worthy of the subject.

The death of Mr. White is a more serious calamity to the community and to individuals than was at first realized. He was the leader in all enterprises. His interest in the property of the town was so large and so diversified that all benefits to the town helped him. He was an excellent organizer. All new movements for the public welfare waited for him.

He aided a host of those who needed help. He took security for all loans. The methods he adopted often left his beneficia-

ries wholly dependent on him. Now that he is gone, they are fearful of the result! This part of his work was of doubtful utility. But it seems to deepen the sense of the greatness of his loss.

February 4. Tuesday. — The horror of the time is the burning of the residence in Washington of the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Tracy, with his wife and daughter and perhaps himself!

In the afternoon attended the funeral of Mr. White at the Presbyterian church. Mr. Barnes preached — no, he made a suitable address. Mr. White objected to a funeral sermon over his coffin. I was one of the pall-bearers. The others were near friends of Mr. White in business.

The church was crowded — perhaps the largest congregation ever in the church. At Uncle Birchard's funeral the cold weather prevented many from coming — the sick, feeble, aged, — although the attendance was great.

Mr. Barnes quoted from Mr. White his reasons for feeling himself unfitted for the ministry. It was not very clear. I recall Mr. White saying he lacked the emotional and sympathetic nature required for success as a clergyman. He was right. Probably no one ever saw him shed a tear. His eyes never moistened at others' woes nor at his own.

February 5. Wednesday. — Spent the day with Fred Fuller and Mrs. White looking after the estate and will of Mr. White. He left his property to his wife. The witnesses to the will are Kridler and Haynes. Haynes is a member of the House in Washington, but will come when wanted to prove the will.

There is a codicil with witnesses — Wagner, now in California, and Crum, deceased. This will take time to get Wagner's testimony.

Of course Mrs. White must now make a will. On this she consults me. Probably she thinks as the money was made in Fremont a part of the estate should go to the town. She asks me, For what purpose? In what form? I will tell her today to leave to trustees for an industrial school enough to put it on a safe foundation, seventy-five to one hundred thousand dollars.

To Birchard Library two thousand five hundred dollars; enough for a portrait of Mr. White and an alcove or collection of books to be selected by his executors.

Confidential.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, February 5, 1890.

MY DEAR SENATOR:—My information from Clyde is that there is no general preference for any lady, nor any special claim.

Captain *Charles L. Dirlam*, a gallant soldier in General Buckland's Seventy-second Regiment, is a Republican of good repute — fit for the place, and generally acceptable.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

February 6. Thursday.—Must wind up if possible Mrs. White's will. Mrs. White having expressed a strong and apparently final purpose to leave a considerable part of her estate for the benefit of the town of Fremont, and having requested me to aid her in selecting the special object to which her bequest should be devoted, I took the matter under careful consideration. Parks and library were provided for. She said: "The money having been made in Fremont, I want Fremont to have the benefit of it." After sleeping on it and recalling what Mr. White had done — his offering a resolution in a public meeting endorsing my speech in behalf of industrial education, and recommending the proper authorities to introduce it in Fremont, — I decided to recommend her to devote what was intended for Fremont to the establishment and support of an industrial school, to be known as the *S. F. White Industrial School*. Accordingly I presented the matter to her fully. She was at once greatly pleased with the idea, and adopted it warmly, saying, among other things, that if the condition of the estate would warrant it, she would gladly begin the work in her lifetime so she could enjoy seeing the good it would do. She gave to Home and Foreign Missions of her church ten thousand dollars [and] seven thousand five hundred dollars [respectively]; [to] aged ministers, seven thousand five hundred

dollars, to the church in Fremont two thousand five hundred dollars, and to Birchard Library one thousand dollars.

The only part of the will I decidedly dissented from, and so told her, was the bequest of too small a part of the estate to Fred Fuller and his sister. They had been regarded by Mr. and Mrs. White as their adopted children — being in fact nephew and niece of Mrs. White; the public had so thought, and the young people had grown up with this notion. They ought to have had a much larger provision by the will. But Mrs. White was resolute. She "did not believe in giving young people too much."

February 7. Friday. — Preparing a little fifteen-minute talk for Lincoln's birthday. Reading also Mark Twain's "Yankee at the Court of King Arthur."

February 8. Saturday. — Reached Aunty Austin's [Cleveland] at 3:30 P. M. All out. Went to the tombstone man, Carrabelli. I like his design. Massive, plain. Will take it home to show to the family.

February 9. Sunday. — At Cleveland. Spent the day very delightfully at home reading Mrs. H. B. Stowe's "Life" by her son, Whittier's "Snow-Bound," etc. Must get Mrs. Stowe's "Life," and read again "Snow-Bound."

February 10. Monday. — Visited in the morning both Newton M. Anderson, the excellent teacher of the Normal Training School, and Mr. John C. Covert, of the *Leader*. With Mr. Anderson went over the whole subject of an industrial school in Fremont. If Mrs. White retains her purpose to begin at once a training-school, it can be done on a small scale for two thousand five hundred dollars for equipment of tables and tools, five hundred dollars for power — and two thousand dollars for teachers the first year. Am encouraged to urge it. With Covert talked over the Negro Conference at Mohonk. Will write Mr. Smiley as to further invitations.

At 3:50 with Aunty Austin home on the Lake Shore. An agreeable ride, with lovely winter weather.

February 12. Wednesday. — White's estate is more complicated than I supposed it would be. It also seems not unlikely that it will be less in value than was expected. Brinkerhoff and Mrs. White administer under the will.

In the evening I spoke offhand thirty minutes at the opera house to a very large audience on Lincoln. The Sons of Veterans have named it "Union Defender's Day" and propose to observe the birthday of Lincoln hereafter. My speech was fair — I think, scattered.

February 14. Friday. — Finished reading Mark Twain's "Yankee at the Court of King Arthur." Instructive; not equal to "Prince and Pauper." Sound on the question of wealth and poverty. No rule, just and wise, except the rule of the whole people. Our danger is the rule of the few wealthy. These are the serious points of the book.

February 15. Saturday. — The feeling grows that the White estate will not be large. So goes, if this is correct, my plan to give Fremont an industrial school out of it.

February 16. Sunday. — At church today a prosy sermon left me free to put into words thoughts we must all have if we think at all on what we see around us. Abolish plutocracy if you would abolish poverty. As millionaires increase, pauperism grows. The more millionaires, the more paupers.

February 18. Tuesday. — Reached Columbus and warmly welcomed by Laura about 4 P. M. . . . Called on Captain Cope before dinner, and was posted up in the business of the meeting of the university board.

February 19. — Board met about 10 A. M. Agreed on all routine matters rapidly. A Colonel Williams with a committee of citizens presented their real estate project, viz., an extension of Neil Avenue through the university grounds.

February 20. Thursday. — Elected Lieutenant Ogle, son-in-law of my old friend, Dr. Godfrey, of Ottawa, military instructor. Afternoon, visited the university. Much and favorably impressed with the improvements.

COLUMBUS, OHIO, February 20, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR:—I am surprised by your letter. Of course the charge that Mitchell is not a good Republican is trivial. It is the resort of an adversary, hard up for something to allege against him. I *know* about his Republican record. It is as good as that of any man not prominent as an office-holder or office-seeker. He is supported by the best Republican soldiers in the State.

As to the other more serious charge of questionable railroad transactions, I can say that I never heard of it before, and I do not believe it has any foundation. He suffered losses in a railroad affair many years ago by the rascality of another, but this is the first time *he* has been charged with it in that connection so far as I know or believe. May I ask who makes the charge? And specifically, What is it? Mitchell is now in bed very sick with erysipelas — too sick to be talked with on the subject. I hear from the best citizens, well informed on the subject, that no one they can think of would object to General Mitchell on the ground referred to except in the interest of some rival applicant. If I believed the suggestion I would instantly *relieve the case by withdrawing*. Please let me hear fully and have action delayed until General Mitchell is well enough for me to draw his attention to the case. Can you do so?

Confidentially,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.—I return home immediately. General Mitchell is too unwell to be talked to on the subject. Please write me at Fremont. — H.

SENATOR SHERMAN.

February 24. Monday.—Signed almost two hundred diplomas Loyal Legion. Wrote to Governor Campbell as to the Garfield dedication May 30. To Cope, offering to resign to give the university board to the Democrats so as to prevent a reorganization.

SPIEGEL, February 24, 1890.

MY DEAR MRS. HERRON:— Your letter gives me joy. I find each of the passages you note marked by me. The trouble, as you say, is that so many are fine, sensible, wise, that one must call attention to almost all. I do not see that laughter is to go out entirely. Perhaps it is because there is a smack of barbarism — of “Choctaw” — not yet worked out of me. Christ is not recorded to have ever laughed. Possibly we have read the prohibition as more complete than Emerson meant it to be. On page 96 he says: “Beware of jokes; too much temperance cannot be used; inestimable for sauce but corrupting for food.” He hates *screaming* laughter — “contemptible squeals of joy,” and who does not? But, with you, I deem Chesterfield as an example or authority out of place on a page of Emerson.

It is needless to add to your catalogue of diamonds. But I will give part of my list: On the first page of the essay (page 79): “*Grace* is more *beautiful* than *beauty*.” On page 88-9, beginning “a few times in my life it has happened to me to meet persons of so good a nature. . . . — persons who could not be shocked.” Here is a page that is all golden, page 90: “It is very certain that sincere and happy conversation doubles our powers,” etc. [Page] 91: “Woman if not the queen and victor is the lawgiver,” and on for quantity. [Page] 97: “In good conversation parties don’t speak to the words but to the meanings of each other.” Page 100: “But nature is not poorer today.” Then for a page he describes “an American to be proud of.” He has in mind a rich man of Boston, Mr. John M. Forbes. I know him. He is a sterling and interesting and effective character. A shockingly diseased feature disturbs you (his nose) at first, but you soon forget to notice it in the good sense, good feeling, and power of the man. But enough of this. The essay is so good I wish I knew it also by heart.— Next?

Evidently I brought away the volume I meant to leave with you, and left you a volume I intended to keep. You should have the volume entitled “Nature, Addresses and Lectures.” Let Will get it and have it charged to me at Robert Clarke’s. That volume contains the sermons and addresses which show why he

left the pulpit. Suppose we take that volume next beginning with "Nature."

Yes, indeed, Nellie* will be missed by you. The honor and recognition of the judge will amply pay the young people [and] must be gratifying to you and John.—But for you!—Such is this "spere of existence," as Nasby says.

Nothing new with us. . . . I have decided to make a short trip to Bermuda from April 16 to May 1. Fanny will probably go with me.

With all regard. Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. H. C. HERRON.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, February 24, 1890.

MY DEAR GOVERNOR:—The memorial structure to President Garfield in Lake View Cemetery at Cleveland will be dedicated on Memorial Day, May 30. Governor Cox will deliver the address. A formal invitation will be sent to you by the proper committee, and suitable arrangements made for the entertainment of yourself and your party. The occasion will be notable and your presence is specially desired by all concerned. I now write you that you may not make other engagements.

The assemblage will be large and will, of course, expect that President Harrison and yourself be presented, and to hear you at such length as you may deem suitable.

All this I intended to say when I called on you last week. I send you a little pamphlet which will give you some information about the memorial structure.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GOVERNOR JAMES E. CAMPBELL,
Columbus.

February 25. Tuesday.—Lucy left us eight months ago this morning.—Wrote to Mrs. Herron. In the afternoon attended

* Her daughter Helen, wife of William H. Taft, whom President Harrison had shortly before appointed Solicitor of the Treasury.

the funeral of my old friend for forty-five years — the Lutheran minister, Rev. Henry Lang D. D. He began his ministry here in 1843. A great audience. More weeping than I have noticed at any funeral. Fanny and I listened to the German and English sermons — both too long. The sketch of his life and deeds was short and well done.

February 26. Wednesday. — I am asked by a committee of schoolgirls in Olive Furnace, Lawrence County, Ohio, to rebuke a namesake, who in a school children's vote was opposed to local-option prohibition. I reply: —

"Please say to my namesake: 'Always try to have the courage of your convictions, and vote as *your judgment and conscience dictate*.'

"On the question of temperance, remember that the only rule which is absolutely safe is *total abstinence*. Self-control is 'the higher law.' "

Read one hundred pages of Mrs. Stowe's "Life" by her son. Genuis, goodness, sympathy in the midst of sickness and poverty, and yet with much happiness.

Must get "[The] Minister's Wooing" and "Uncle Tom" in good print and binding. Among Lucy's favorite books are two fine copies of "Old Town Folks."

February 27. Thursday. — Have been reading in *Leader* and *Herald* an article by John C. Kimball on the "Ancient Lowly," a book by C. Osborn Ward, showing the condition of laborers in Greece and Rome — their unions, rebellions, and gain by Christianity. The progress of society is mainly — is, in its proper sense, the improvement in the condition of the workingmen of the world.

March 1, 1890. Saturday. — Reading Ward's "Ancient Lowly," a fascinating book. How to pronounce *Aryan*? The race corresponding to Caucasian — the descendants of Japhet. The Indo-European, a language including Greek, Latin, Teutonic, Celt; opposed to Semitic (Jews and Phoenicians).

We have got rid of the fetish of the divine right of kings, and that slavery is of divine origin and authority. But the divine right of property has taken its place. The tendency plainly

is towards a government the exact opposite of the popular government for which Lincoln lived and died—"a government of the people, by the people, and for the people"—and instead of it to set up "a government of the rich, by the rich, and **for the rich.**"

In the evening attended the lodge (I. O. O. F.). As usual, Ben Cornelius raised a rumpus with the Chair (Noble Grand), who was often in the wrong on appeals and the like, but I took the side of the under dog in the fight and voted consistently, right or wrong, like a good partisan, to sustain the Noble Grand.

SPIEGEL, March 1, 1890.

MY DEAR AUNTIE DAVIS:—March is coming in like a lion. The truth you sadly recall, "so many of our contemporaries have passed away," seems wonderfully true in our narrow home circle in Fremont—Mr. White, Rev. Lang, Mrs. Downs, Mrs. Stilwell, Mrs. Brush—all very near to Lucy—gone recently. Sadder yet, Carrie Little—Lucy's nearest friend in early schoolgirl years, and very dear to her always—has *not* gone, but, stricken with paralysis, lingers in great suffering, vainly seeking rest by a journey to California! Showing us how death itself may be a consolation and a blessing!

We are moving on as smoothly as possible. The boys are all good and kind—a great comfort. Fanny is lovely and lovable. But the vacancy! It does not grow less!

As to the publication of your address and such additions as you choose to make—the "In Memoriam" of the Missionary Society—I have all the time preferred that it should be done, if the society wish. The more formal biography to be sold *with a view to profit* has *not* struck me favorably. I will return your address, etc., and shall be *more* than glad to see them in print; will contribute to that end if need be.

My best wishes to the doctor.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.—I do not object, of course, to the *sale* of your "In Memoriam."—H.

MRS. ELIZA G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

March 2, 1890. Sunday.—Church with Fanny A. M. P. M. reading a novel by Miss Barr, "Remember the Alamo." Chiefly attractive from its associations. With my chum, Guy M. Bryan, of Texas, in 1838-42 all this interesting field of the pioneer history of Texas was often gone over. In 1848-9 I visited Bryan at his home in Brazoria County, and with him and Uncle Birchard on horseback travelled over southern and southwestern Texas. We spent several days in San Antonio when it was all alive with California adventurers from all the South, and was as gay and full of variety of peoples and attractions as it was in any of the scenes described by Miss Barr in the novel.

March 4. Tuesday.—Thirteen years ago the inauguration. Lucy in the Senate Chamber—Diplomatic Gallery—with her angel face looking down on the scene as the notables gathered to swear in the Vice-President before proceeding to the east front of the Capitol. What a picture she and her dear ones! Read Mrs. Clemmer's description of it all.—The public inauguration here referred to was on Monday, March 5, 1877.

About 11 A. M. on time, took train to Cleveland; arrived at Aunty Austin's an hour or two after train arrived by reason of falling in with Comrade James Hayr, Twenty-third. Went to the studio of the artist of the groups for the soldiers' monument in the Public Square. A wonderful negro artilleryman and a gigantic female figure for the summit of the monument.

March 5. Wednesday.—Meeting of board of Western Reserve trustees. A trouble on hand with the Medical Department. Appointed chairman of committee—Mr. L. E.— and Mr. Perkins—to confer with medical board.

In evening attended the medical commencement with Mr. H.—Went over his new hotel, the Hollenden. He complimented my Administration; clean, honest, pure.

March 6. Thursday. — Met the doctors. An agreeable meeting; rather good disposition manifested; put off final action until the June meeting.

Afternoon, attended the funeral of Edwin Cowles, the owner of the *Leader* — born in 1825. A man of pluck and force. Not always wise, but his influence good.

March 7. Friday. — Reached Cincinnati to attend funeral of Mr. [George H.] Pendleton on urgent invitation of Mayor Mostry about 11 P. M.

March 10. Monday. — At Columbus in Laura's pleasant home. Saturday attended obsequies of Mr. Pendleton in Christ Church, Cincinnati, and at the Music Hall — with a great audience in Music Hall. Mr. I. M. Jordan made a very fine address, eulogistic of Mr. Pendleton. He argued fully his Civil Service Bill as the great act of his life.

On train to Columbus with General Hall, a soldier of Maine now at Columbus. Reached here after 9 P. M. General Mitchell much better. Laura dear (the darling!) [suffering], with rheumatism.

Sunday talked over the general's case for pension agent. The papers got up here completely answer the charges made against the general. They are from the men who *know* the facts — men of character and reputation. . . .

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, March 10 [11], 1890.

MY DEAR SENATOR: — I send you papers herewith which completely answer the charges against General Mitchell. They *do* prove a *negative* in his behalf.

They are from men who know the facts personally — men of high character, widely known, and who enjoy the confidence of all who know them. The paper referred to I mark Number 1. I am personally acquainted with three of the gentlemen who sign it. They are among the best citizens of Columbus, and speak from the *inside*. Mr. Jones, the late Democratic postmaster, I do not know, but he is a man of good repute.

On the general situation, Judge Stewart is the Republican circuit judge, a citizen of Columbus. His letter is Number 2.

Judge Pugh is the Republican common pleas judge in the subdivision of Franklin, Pickaway, and Madison. Elected in a strongly Democratic district by reason of his firmness and integrity in prosecuting the election frauds of 1885 in his county of Franklin. I mark his letter Number 3.

General Beatty knows the situation well. You know him. I mark his letter Number 4.

Mr. Jones, late postmaster, knows all about the affairs of the company referred to, and I mark his letter Number 5.

General Beatty and I will go on General Mitchell's bond with other good men. If a list of names are [is] needed, I can furnish you with three-fourths of the Columbus directory.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN,
Washington.

March 13. Thursday. — In the evening [yesterday] attended the revival meeting in our church of Rev. Yatman. The best and most enjoyable I ever attended. A company of forty or more converts from the Lima revival came down. He called out a lawyer, a banker, an oil operator, a travelling [man], and a county official. Each spoke a few (usually) discreet words on their joy in a Christian life. The party were excellent singers. Some delightful and tender hymns were sung. When the benediction had been pronounced the preacher said: "Now, before you leave shake hands with at least ten persons." I began and soon the Lima young folks all came and shook hands with me; also a host of others.

Evening at G. A. R. and later looked in on the church crowded with "the male persuasion" only! — Maria Herron, a fine girl, [here for a few days]. I have enjoyed her visit specially.

FREMONT, OHIO, March 14, 1890.

During the Antietam campaign I served in the same corps with Colonel Cutts, and have sufficient information of his service throughout the war to be well assured that it was of decided merit. I am confident that he deserves the relief that Congress is asked to afford, and I sincerely trust it will be granted.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[Unaddressed.]

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, March 15, 1890.

DEAR SIR:—I have no recollection of the facts spread before me in the case of Captain C. H. Campbell in 1881.

Assuming, however, that the facts are correctly stated in the letter of General H. I. Hunt, a copy of which is before me, dated "Soldiers' Home, Washington, D. C., June 14, 1888," I am satisfied that such relief as can now be granted without injustice to others would be altogether proper and that I concur with the opinion on the case expressed by General Hunt.

Sincerely,

GENERAL CHARLES E. HOOKER,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Washington, D. C.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, March 15, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your note of the 13th is before me. I merely meant by marking my letter "Private" that it was for you personally, but not for the files. I am entirely willing it should be shown to the President, and all of my letters on the subject. I would only add that the letter on the loan association signed by five gentlemen, is from the *board of directors of the company*—three of whom I know well to be of integrity and intelligence of the most trustworthy sort, and *all* of whom I believe to be so. Fairly considered, it is a complete refutation of the rumor in reference to the matter. The case seems to me ample, but if not I can reënforce it to any extent. With *thanks*.

Very sincerely,

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

March 15. Saturday. — Attended the funeral of our old friend Theodore Clapp. An able man, a constant reader in his rheumatic suffering, opposed strongly to orthodoxy, a spiritualist. His death announced without black lines of mourning: "Passed to the spirit life" in his seventy-second year. Mr. Barnes, the Presbyterian clergyman, officiated in his usual felicitous way.

March 16. Sunday. — Read Lowell's "Commemoration Ode," the parable of Christ's return to earth, and "Democracy" (prose). Lowell's ode in honor of the returning Union soldiers of Harvard is, I suspect, the greatest American poem.

March 18. Tuesday. — Began to read [Charles] Dudley Warner's fine new novel, "A Little Journey in the World." Sensible, sound, and charming. Curiously enough, it adds another to the list of "nihilistic" novels — to the "Hazard of New Fortunes," by Howells, "A Yankee at King Arthur's Court," by Mark Twain, etc., etc. Of course, I mean no disparagement by the word "nihilistic." I use it to mean all opinions tending to show the wrong and evils of the money-piling tendency of our country, which is changing laws, government, and morals and giving all power to the rich and bringing in pauperism and its attendant crimes and wretchedness like a flood. Lincoln was for a government of the people. The new tendency is "a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich." The man who sees this and is opposed to it, I call a "nihilist."

March 19, 1890. — Attended funeral of Blackburn, comrade of G. A. R., who died at his post of heart disease. Watchman at our railroad crossing as we go to town. "Faithful found," "died at his post," said Father Manning. I marched in the snow with the comrades from the hall to his dwelling and back to the church by the side of a tall negro — the comrade who bears the colors.

Read Dudley Warner's fine new novel to the end. Some good epigrammatic and other sentences.

SPIEGEL, March 20, 1890.

MY DEAR WEBB: — All of our family anniversaries come to me now with a tinge of sadness. We have not forgotten yours. I

tried to think of something to get and send you, but I failed to hit upon the book or the article. So be good and get yourself something or other worth twenty or twenty-five dollars and look at it and enjoy it as a gift from your lonely, sorrow-stricken father. Fardon this. I will be cheerful when I meet you.

Be good—conscientiously good. Do not let your bachelor ways crystallize so that you can't soften them away when you come to have a wife and family of your own.

With all good wishes.

Affectionately,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

WEBB C. HAYES,
Cleveland.

March 21. Friday.—Nine months ago today!

I have just heard (12:30 P. M.) of the death at Chicago of my dear friend and best beloved commander, General George Crook. I have no particulars. When I visited my friend William Henry Smith, at Chicago, in the winter, I saw much of General Crook and was much with him. He did not seem to be in good health. But he was so hardy and strong, so full of courage and spirit, that it made no impression on me. How the soldiers loved him! The Thirty-sixth Ohio! the Army of West Virginia!—indeed, all who knew him well! Without pretension, plain, simple, warm-hearted, kind. Fond of the young. Faithful in his friendship; appreciating the volunteer soldier; with an Indian's patience, endurance, and sagacity. Believed in by the Indians—they trusted him.

Webb came this evening and will go with me to Chicago. I am requested to act as pall-bearer. Funeral 1:30 P. M., Sunday. Interment at Oakland, Maryland.

March 22. Saturday.—Webb goes with me to Chicago. Maria Herron, after a pleasant visit, for me specially, goes home to Cincinnati, leaving here on same train.

March 24. Monday. 7 P. M.—Just returned from the funeral of my beloved commander, George Crook, at Chicago. Beau-

tiful and appreciative discourses by Rev. [David] Swing, and Rev. [Simon J.] McPherson, and impressive and tender ceremonies.

General Crook was written to by his brother, elected captain of his company, to know how he could learn to command it well. The reply was an apothegm—a gem:—“*Learn to command yourself and you will find no trouble in commanding your company.*”

March 25. Tuesday.—Nine months ago this morning! Her picture by Sarony is such a satisfaction. I send this morning one to Mrs. Crook at Oakland.

Dr. Holmes says he has lived to see come in to help our civilization:—1. Railroads, 2. Ocean steamers, 3. Photography, 4. Spectroscope, 5. Telegraph, 6. Telephone, 7. Phonograph, 8. Electric light, 9. Electric motor, 10. Anæsthetics. Also, sewing machines, mowers and reapers, bicycle.

Engaged on correspondence. Signed three hundred and five diplomas of Loyal Legion, and called on Janette [Keeler] to see our Fitch cousins, “Minnie” and “Bob,” the children of missionaries to China, now going to the university at Wooster.

March 26. Wednesday.—This morning, in addition to necessary correspondence, I have finished my short speech for the Loyal Legion celebration of their twenty-fifth anniversary at Philadelphia. It is ready for the printer.

This afternoon I have begun to put in a scrap-book all I find in the newspapers about General Crook. He was my nearest and best friend of all [the] commanders under whom I have served in the field. A man of wonderful character and gifts. No seeker after popularity, he was loved by all sorts and conditions of men. Sherman says, you could rely on him. Even the savages believed in him. With all of the essential and usual virtues of the soldier, he had modesty, sincerity, tenderness, absolute integrity, and veracity. With all of these qualities he was shrewd, cunning, and could “keek through every other man,” as Burns says, “with sharpened, sly inspection.” He wears the double wreath—the soldier’s and the humanitarian’s. A Wellington and a Howard united in one head and heart.

In the volume containing Mr. Evarts' address and the proceedings at the dedication of the Seward Monument, at Auburn, New York, a letter of Leonard Swett is given in which he says Mr. Seward said, "he was not fairly dealt by in not being permitted to die with Lincoln"! His work was done and he was entitled to be discharged with his chief.

March 27. Thursday. — Correspondence. Reading up the congressional proceedings, etc., in the last two weeks. The Blair Bill [for National aid to education] lost by bad management. My friend Thomas Tooker made paymaster-general in the navy. Captain Reed, postmaster at Fairmont.

The Administration does not make appointments hastily. Great care taken by President. Not always happy in the way of doing it. A lack of tact, perhaps, but conscientious and judicious.

March 28. Friday. — Evening read the [Crook] funeral talks of Rev. Dr. Swing and Rev. Dr. McPherson at Chicago. Very fitting and beautiful. Also read Emerson's "History." Many obscure passages; good, notwithstanding.

March 29. Saturday. — This morning wrote to one of the sons of Cousin Charlotte DeWitt the following:—

FREMONT, March 29, 1890.

MY DEAR COUSIN: — I have your letter of the 23rd as to "a position in the New York office or in Washington."

Those places are under the civil service law, which is now, I believe, strictly enforced. Mere "influence" is of no avail. The places are not made vacant to afford room for anybody, and are filled when vacancies occur upon competitive examinations according to merit. But in addition, if I may venture to advise you, you are better off, more independent, and with a better outlook anywhere in private business than in the government service. I am out of the range of information as to the details of the situation in private employment, but I give you the same advice I have given to my own sons and which all four of them are acting upon. None of them have ever sought places in the public service and are all earning their living in ordinary business pursuits. Please think of my notions. They are the result of a

pretty wide observation, with good opportunity to reach a correct conclusion.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

When I was in Washington I often heard of my "amiable obstinacy." I now find in Emerson's "Self-Reliance" the phrase, "good-humored inflexibility."

March 30. Sunday.—Webb came last evening on his return from Chicago after his journey with the body of General Crook to the place of interment at Oakland in Maryland. The place he reports as very forlorn, but the accessories were agreeable and Mrs. Crook behaved admirably. It now seems almost certain that the final resting-place of the general's remains will be at Arlington.

When Crook was promoted from lieutenant-colonel to brigadier-general in the regular army, he was in the mountains of Arizona, fighting Apaches. He did not return and hear the news until long after it was known to his wife and friends at headquarters. When she and others told him and congratulated him, he said: "I can't feel glad to get promotion by the death of so good a friend and so good a man as General Canby." Afterwards when he was made major-general, perhaps ten or twelve years afterwards, he said: "This comes as a matter of course, and I enjoy it more than I did my appointment as brigadier-general, for that came by the death of General Canby, one of the best of men."

March 31, 1890.—Our young cousins from China, Robert and Minnie Fitch, have come to America to be educated at Wooster for missionaries. Their parents are now in that work in China. These are third cousins. My best reflection is that a life spent in duty must be well spent. *Whose* sense of duty is to determine? Live according to *your own* conscience.

April 1, 1890. Tuesday.—Laura, darling, born forty-eight years ago this day! Another anniversary observed by a letter, or somehow, almost fifty years. This is the first for almost forty years without Lucy! Will write to Laura at once. . . .

Called with Fanny on the Bristols. Mr. Bristol has just returned from Florida. . . . He does not blame people for being Democrats in the South. Otherwise they are on a level with the degraded negroes! A shallow view of duty, but it is so natural that it must be considered.

April 3. Thursday.—I read with much satisfaction in the Toledo *Commercial* that General Mitchell was yesterday nominated for pension agent at Columbus. A long and awkward contest, but "all's well that ends well."

April 5. Cleveland, 891 Prospect Street.—After breakfast called on Honorable Amos Townsend, now the active man as secretary of the Garfield Memorial Association. He seems to have the affair well in hand. . . . In the afternoon Mr. Townsend called with a carriage, with Colonel McAllister and General Myer, and we drove to the monument to select the [site for the] placing of the stand.

Major Bottsford called here and remained to dinner. He gave me a paper written from Crook's dictation by Kennon on the battles in the Valley.

April 6. At church with Fanny — Easter Sunday.

Called on General Buckland to congratulate him on "Shiloh Day." "Twenty-eight years ago at about this hour we were in very bad shape; things looked squally for us." He is much broken and tremulous but his intellect is sound and clear, and his spirit and courage perfect. His good conduct on that critical day is now a joy to him and fills his declining years with honor.

Lieutenant Kennon and I went over my old diaries and papers of the war. He is likely to be the biographer of Crook and will, I think, do his work well.

In the evening I finished the novel on the "Penal Colonies of Great Britain"—a powerful book.

April 8, 1890.—Correspondence. Begin to prepare for absence from home for three or four weeks.

General Mitchell confirmed. All comments seem to be friendly. His splendid military record is given in full.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 8, 1890.

MY DEAR SENATOR:—I am very much gratified by the appointment and confirmation of General Mitchell. You have done, I know, all you could properly, and I thank you for it.

I feel like thanking the President also, but hardly know whether it is the thing to do. He has done it as a *duty* not as a favor, etc.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.—I go to Philadelphia for the 15th and 16th; thence to Bermuda with Fanny for two weeks and return.—H.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

April 9. Wednesday.—This is the wedding day of Mary Bristol to Meade G. Thraves. We are more intimate with the Bristols than with any other family here. Mrs. Bristol was the support and comfort of Lucy, especially in all of her home mission work. Her friends upon whom she leaned were Mrs. Bristol, Mrs. Miller (Aunt Nancy), Mrs. Dorr, and, last but not least, Lucy Keeler, “our dear cousin.” Near to Fanny also—indeed to us all.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 9, 1890.

DEAR SIR AND COMRADE:—Your second letter is before me. Your first letter was a good one. Your second is hasty and bad-tempered. You go off at a half-cock.

What you want is natural, and for all that I know, proper. You use hard words. Did you ever know men of your *name* to yield to abuse?

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

BRICE HAYS,
Columbus.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 10, 1890.

SIR:—It is represented that in a recent number of the Springfield *Republican* you tried to give circulation to a malicious fling at me, which is untrue in all its parts. You attribute it to Emory Storrs, now deceased. You also connect with it the name of Mrs. Hayes, who died recently.

If this is true, you will, on reflection, think as I do, that it was neither decent nor manly.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE PATRICK A. COLLINS,
Boston.

Private.

FREMONT, OHIO, April 10, 1890.

Leaving home tomorrow to be absent a month, I find in my mail this morning an unsigned letter with a printed caption as per the address of this. It puts a question which is in fact no question at all.

Nineteen-twentieths of the successful business men of Cleveland have got on very well without a college education. Such an education is not "necessary" for a business man. It *may* in some cases be practicable and advisable.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[*Copy unaddressed.*]

April 13, 1890. . . . Read about Shakespeare's play of "Cymbeline." The origin of the Hayes family given. Imogene, the finest of the women of Shakespeare, is nearer my darling Lucy than any other character in fiction or history. With beauty and position, she is unspoiled and — well, the ideal woman.

Philadelphia, April 14.—Reached Pittsburgh [Fanny and I] about 8 A. M.—Our Chicago friends were ahead of us and left Pittsburgh just before we entered the depot! We were invited into the car of the Michigan Commandery and wore their badge.

564 RUTHERFORD BIRCHARD HAYES

An agreeable party. General Witherington, of the Seventeenth Michigan Infantry, and many other friends, ladies, married and young, made it an entertaining trip.

Met at Philadelphia about 7 P. M. by General Merrill and others of the committee. Reached our comfortable quarters at the Aldine promptly. There met Corbin and Kate.

April 15. Tuesday. — The Commandery-in-Chief met at the Historical Library. A happy meeting and greeting! We decided that under the amended constitution all of the young fellows, members by inheritance, were, in badge, etc., etc., second class. Webb and Rutherford thoughtlessly grumbled. It hurt me awfully . . . and spoiled the next few hours for me. My hard-headed boys, to act so!

CHAPTER L

VISIT TO BERMUDA — THE MANY COURTESIES RECEIVED
— RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS — PRESIDES AT FIRST MO-
HONK NEGRO CONFERENCE — SPEAKS AT OTTAWA,
KANSAS — PIONEER MEETING AT DELAWARE — IN-
TEREST IN WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY — DEATH
OF GENERAL NOYES — APRIL-OCTOBER, 1890

APRIL 17, 1890. Thursday.— To New York [from Philadelphia] with Fanny, Webb, and Rutherford. . . . At 3 P. M. bells sounded and steamer [*Trinidad*] off! Met two Loyal Legion [men], Colonel Cooper and Lieutenant Beardsley, both of New York Commandery. Introduced to Lewis, business manager of Springfield *Republican* and Mr. —. Captain Frazier is a plain, blunt, agreeable model of a sailor, native of Nova Scotia. Thirty passengers — all at dinner at 6 P. M. A noble view of New York harbor, "Liberty," etc., as we sailed away. Rutherford took kodaks on the ship.

April 18. — Sea not rough. No symptoms of nausea.

Read in Philadelphia *Inquirer* of 17th a good editorial quoting and commending my nihilistic paragraphs in the Loyal Legion speech of the 16th. A majority of the passengers do not appear at meals. I am able to appear at all; not entirely well but when engaged in talking do not notice any sickness. Made acquaintance of Howard Sherman, of New Haven, an agreeable man of perhaps my age; with Carr, of Chicago, and others. At tea felt some uneasiness and went to bed early. Fanny sick. When I told her I did not suffer, she kissed me saying, "You scorpion!"

April 20. Sunday. — At 5:30 A. M., Fanny and I, on invitation of our generous and jovial captain, took our places with him on the bridge as we entered the difficult and crooked passage into the harbor of the Bermuda Islands. Rocky and interesting entrance. Coffee was ordered up for us, and we took in scenery and coffee with great satisfaction.

Soon a steam barge came alongside and a handsome young lieutenant of the British navy said to me: "The Admiral sends his compliments and says he wishes to do all he can to make your visit to Bermuda agreeable. He places at your disposal either a boat or a steam launch and crew during your stay in Bermuda." I acknowledged the courtesy of Admiral Watson, etc., etc.

We soon got into the intricate channel. The colored pilots pointed out the frequent shoals, easily seen by the color of the water and the buoys constantly in view and near to each other. As we passed this place, "Soncy," Fanny waved her handkerchief. As we approached the landing we saw General Hastings getting into a boat, with which he came out and took us ashore. Then a rain-storm as we drove to "Soncy" forced us to take refuge under the cedars. In a short time the sun came out. What a paradise of a home we found Soncy to be. I wept to think that Lucy never saw it. Nothing finer or lovelier was ever seen in a dream. I found the most marked attentions from the British navy and from General Newdigate, the governor, waiting me in the way of invitations, etc., etc. My time will be fully occupied.

April 21. Monday. — The attractions of this lovely place: — Sufficiently diversified surface — the highest point two hundred feet; water views, combining all of the capital advantages, viz., river, lake, and ocean. No river in fact, nor lake; but the islands, inlets, and projections, with the tide, give it all the views. Flowers and beautiful shrubs everywhere; birds and fish and sea things; enough forest, white cottages, old walls, winding narrow roads, walled and with vines, blue skies and water; climate, never too hot nor too cold — ranging in the whole year between fifty degrees and eighty-five degrees extreme; the rock-bound coast facing the ocean on the north; the large proportion of agreeable society people; no beggars, but all in comfortable condition — without riches, without poverty; good soft water collected on the white clean roofs, or on large spaces of rock cleaned of the earth.

P. M. made pleasant calls on the governor, General Newdi-

gate and Mrs. Newdigate, and on Admiral Watson and Mrs. Watson and her fine daughter. Both gentlemen and ladies every way agreeable and courteous.

The admiral told of two hundred cases of grippe on his ship within three weeks. Also, of a Swedish ship too weak-handed to go further *en route* from Jamaica to Sweden; same cause.

Today, ten months ago, the fatal stroke came to Lucy.

My room faces south or southeast. From the window at which I am writing, I look out on a little lawn, with cedars and shrubs, of an oval shape, with the blue water of the cove around its curve and the main channel in plain sight half a mile away.

A very paradise! Oh, that the darling could have shared it with me!

April 22. Tuesday. — We received many calls [yesterday] in the afternoon and evening. . . .

The rocky ways, fences, deep cuts — all often clad with beautiful vines, such as the acalypha [and] the hibiscus. Then many fine trees, as the royal palms or granite palms or mountain cabbage palms, the screw palm or *pandanus utilis*; also the Pride of India.

Lunch 1 P. M. to 4 P. M. with Captain Kinahan at dockyard. . . . In the evening at a dance at the governor's, Lieutenant-General Newdigate. Lively. Ladies fine-looking; the red jackets gave life and style to the men. Left at ten. . . . A good day.

April 23. Wednesday. — Emily [Mrs. Hastings] has a reception this afternoon to which many are invited. Captain Kinahan sends the naval band. Others send flowers and all help is offered. "What good neighbors we have!" she exclaims. Evidently these Bermudians are a friendly folk; good people to live among.

What a delicious and stimulating climate! Can one take cold in it? "One cannot get a cold in Bermuda," is my feeling.

The reception this afternoon passed off well. Weather good, guests very numerous, very hearty and cordial; in manner not unlike a gathering of Kentucky gentlemen and ladies. Many Americans present.

Of course the officials and notabilities of the islands were

here. The governor and wife, the admiral, the bishop, the clergy, etc., etc.

April 24. Thursday. — We had a beautiful day. The drive to St. George's was most interesting; visited Tom Moore's cottage — a lovely nook, water views, rocks, trees, flowers. St. George's, with narrow crooked streets, was like a Spanish town with tumble-down decay in prominence. The old church, built in 1611-20. A long and interesting [talk] with the police magistrate who had to deal with the Rebels in 1861-65. All the offscourings were in St. George's — blockade running, drinking, and rioting. He took and has the evidence against Governor Blackburn, of Kentucky, as to yellow fever garments collected to send to the cities of the United States. His name is W. C. J. Hyland, St. George's.

In the evening dined with Mrs. Eames at the Hamilton House, Present: "My Lord" Bishop Llewellyn Jones and wife, Rev. — Jaines, Hon. — Darrell and wife, General Hastings and wife, Fanny and self, and Mrs. — Eames. An agreeable, chatty dinner party. . . .

April 25. Friday. — At 9:30 A. M. went with the general, Emily, Fanny, Miss Briggs, and the children to the Princess Hotel. Met the slender American-looking lieutenant, with his steam launch from the admiral, [and] taken to Admiral Watson's review. Artillery, sailors, and marines reviewed and drilled. I was saluted with twenty-one guns as I approached. Stood with Admiral Watson and reviewed. Fine marching, drill, and firing.

A little lunch at Mrs. Kinahan's (the *Meigs*). Taken on the *Canada* by Captain — ; then to the flag-ship. A formal lunch. American flags; shown over the fine ship—old but good and efficient. The life of her eight-inch guns two hundred and fifty rounds. Afternoon, at Admiral Watson's "at home." With him visited the Caves and home again at 5:30 P. M. A field day, indeed!

The flag-ship *Bellerophon* six thousand tons; cost two million five hundred thousand dollars; six hundred and fifty men; thirty-five years old, but fitted up in complete order and is again in

fashion with rifled eight-inch guns and torpedo guns, breech-loading.

April 26. Saturday. — I must make a list of officers and citizens to be remembered. The courtesies extended to me, I cannot return in kind. I may sometime be able to do something.

A lunch here at Soncy at 2 P. M. Present: Governor and Mrs. Newdigate, Admiral and Mrs. Watson, and the family. Very pleasant. Calls during the rest of the afternoon. At 7:30 dined with naval officers and their wives and daughters at Admiral Watson's. Delightful. Talk, a little music, etc. The admiral's beautiful daughter and Trowbridge together played the piano. Home at 10:30 P. M.

April 27. Sunday. — Attended church at the soldiers' chapel of Prospect Camp — well named; from it noble sea views. A good sermon — only ten minutes — by Rev. E. H. Goodwin. Major Matheson, chief engineer of the islands, was our escort among the troops, barracks, kitchens, and forts. All interesting.

Thence to Mrs. Whitney's — widow. A fine home; a lunch of course. Thence to the widow of the American consul, Mrs. Allen. Both fine old homes. Mr. Whitney, a loyal American. Two flagpoles — one for the British — one for the American. [He] found the American was six inches shorter than the British; took down the British and cut off eighteen inches! A handsome home. Dined at Mrs. Allen's. Young Allen a go-ahead, money-making American. Turtle (land) browses around the garden — [weighs] twenty pounds. School of fish, lovely flowers, — a garden of performance. A good time. These islanders retain the virtues and manners of the slave period. Very pleasant for strangers.

It would be lonely to be too long where only five thousand whites live in half a township, and that spot seven hundred miles from other people.

April 28. Monday. — We drove into Hamilton and selected a few jewels and some photographs. Returning to Soncy, we drove to Admiral Watson's. There, a party of about forty ladies

and gentlemen, chiefly of the navy, on the invitation of Captains Dowding and Atkinson, embarked in the *Supply* for a sail to the Caves and to St. George's. Rowboats and steam launches were used to get on board. We found the vessel handsomely decorated with flags for awnings, and a lunch. At the head of the lunch table was a shield with the crest and motto used by Fanny on her note paper — the anvil and falcon, and the motto in Latin: "He serves his party best, etc." The trip lasted until after 6 P. M., when we returned in General Hastings' carriage from the admiral's to Soncy after a memorable day, with all things perfect. The party embraced almost, no, all of the navy people we have met, the governor and Mrs. Newdigate, and several Americans, Mrs. Roberts, of Boston, and Miss Gardiner, her sister, etc. Hot-test during the day 71 degrees.

April 29. Tuesday. — Governor Newdigate sent his carriage and the driver took us on the shore line through Hamilton and along its busy wharf to the south and southwest and back by the interior road for an hour and a half from 9 A. M. A beautiful drive.

The best stone walls, and the most of them, in Bermuda.

More liquor in store and more bottles unbroken and broken in sight, with the most liquor offered, and the fewest hard drinkers I ever saw. The "tidiest" community in the world.

April 30. Wednesday. — Went from my room ten steps to the beautiful beach and had the best swim in the world with General Hastings, Emily, and Fanny. Best of all swims.

In the afternoon Captain Dowding, in his steam launch, brought the coat of arms and motto exhibited at lunch on the *Supply*. It was left hung up in one of the chambers at Soncy, to remain "*until one of my sons calls for it.*"

May 1, 1890. Thursday. — We quit today this lovely, sunny island with its delicious climate, beautiful scenery, and, more than all, its cultivated and friendly society. Our hosts have been simply the perfection of kinsfolk and friends.

General and Emily with the lovely young folks, good-bye! "May all good angels guard and keep your hearts from sorrows forever!"

Admiral Watson sent his steam launch to put us on board the *Orinoco*. Got on board in a heavy rain but comfortably. Captains Kinahan, Drury, and Dowding called to give good-bye. Saluted us with flags and music as we passed the fleet. On steamer found many acquaintances. Introduced to Colonel King and wife, of Sherbrooke, Canada. Weather cleared off fine; a smooth sea.

May 3. Saturday. — Rougher during the night — but fair this morning. Talked at length with Rev. Father Boyle, of Cresson, Pennsylvania — a Christian — on the subject of human rights. My sort of Nihilist! A good day.

May 4. Sunday. — We reached the dock about 1 P. M. One hour was consumed in dealing with the custom house officers and getting off to our hotel. I paid about six dollars duties on various articles; no doubt too much. But they were very polite and accommodating, and the mistake, if any, was in my own statement of articles dutiable. . . .

May 5. Fifth Avenue Hotel. — Today must see General Swayne as to Captain Drury of H. M. S. *Bellerophon* and his due entertainment in June. The courtesies and civilities shown to me by the navy in Bermuda cannot be returned in full or in kind, but I may do something. I must see William Henry Smith on the same matter.

The Slater trustees are Jesup, Dodge, Stewart, and Potter, of New York, Slater, [the] Chief Justice, Colquitt, Broadus, Gilman, and myself (ten). A quorum, six. Dr. Haygood called at 10 A. M. with W. H. Hickman of Atlanta, President of Clark University, with whom I had a satisfactory interview on the Slater work generally and especially on the situation at Clark, and our experiment of a self-sustaining industrial school.

May 6. Tuesday. — I called on General Swayne and had a very satisfactory interview touching civilities to be extended to Captain Drury in June. I am to write to General Howard and to Secretary Tracy to secure their coöperation with General Swayne in extending courtesies to Captain Drury. . . .

With Dr. Haygood went down to Wall street, 45-47, United

States Trust Company. The directors' room is very fine. Held there our Slater meeting. Only three members present! But after some hesitation I succeeded in getting at business with Stewart, Dodge, and self, trustees; Strong, clerk, and Haygood, general agent. Colquitt came from Washington. All went off well. Condition of schools and funds very encouraging. Appropriated about seven thousand dollars. More than ever before.

May 8. Thursday. — In the afternoon [yesterday] with Frances, I visited General Sherman and Carl Schurz. As we drew near the home of General Sherman we saw men fixing flags at his doorstep. When we reached the house it was explained that about five hundred school children with their teachers were to pass in review before the general. We found the general, Miss Mary, Mrs. Thackara and her two children (grandchildren of General Sherman) at home. The general at once, in his cordial way, invited me to stand with him and receive the boys or rather see them march in military array. This was done.

General Sherman told me of the excellent spirit of his boy, the Catholic priest; of his cheerfulness, etc., but complained that after he had spent thousands of dollars for his education they [the Catholic Church] now took it all,—made him a teacher with almost no salary and so practically confiscated him.

[Last night], after supper at the hotel, a committee, of which General Burnett was chairman, from the Loyal Legion, called to escort me to the Loyal Legion banquet. General Sherman came to my room promptly on time and we went together to the Delmonico's. At the table I sat at the right of the commander, General Swayne, next on my right was General Sherman, then General Carleton, and then the venerable General Green, the oldest soldier in the United States army—about ninety. On the left of Commander Swayne were General S. L. Woodford, General Keyes, etc. A full hall, splendid banquet.

General Woodford read a good paper on the attempts to re-take Sumter;—the splendid heroism of Strong, Shaw, and others. General Webb spoke. Commander Swayne's speeches were excellent—a fine presiding officer. I made a "rattling speech," offhand and scattering, but it took the audience. Hardly ever

have I been applauded with such enthusiasm. A gratifying success! Home about 12:30. General Swayne is a treasure as commander. So much depends on a good presiding officer.

We prepare to leave this evening. Our outing is fortunately crowned and ended. Philadelphia, Bermuda, New York! I cannot expect to see many — perhaps no other — such enjoyments. Very glad Frances is with me.

Mem.: — I ought to have taken her to the banquet as a looker-on from the balcony facing the commander's table. I am carrying out with Frances the wish of Lucy. It was her desire that Frances should have the advantage of sharing with me the attentions I am receiving.

The Mohonk Conference is a tentative effort whose aim is to reach the truth on the negro question and to assist in the formation of sound opinions among the people as to their duty on the whole subject.

May 11. Sunday. — "Home again" after the finest visit I ever made, with the one sad drawback — Lucy was not with me! General and Mrs. Hastings and their friends, the navy and army, the civilians, officials and others, all did what was possible—and how much was possible to them! — for our enjoyment and pleasure.

It rained furiously as I came from Cleveland yesterday — especially at Sandusky. Old Spiegel is not yet in full glory but the grass is lovely and the trees are rapidly putting on their richest robes. How lovely all seems this morning! But I must shed a few "natural tears."

May 14. Wednesday. — I have received a paper from Honorable John C. Covert, prepared by him for the Mohonk Conference. It strikes me as too exclusively political and partisan to be useful in that body. I write to him about it: —

"It is masterly, considered as a paper for the press, for the Senate, or for the general platform. Our conference, as designed by its friends, is for other purposes, and its discussions, we hope, will proceed on other lines. We assume that the negro problem, as a political question, will be amply considered by those

who on the one side and the other are charged with political action.

"The conference, to consist mainly of educators, philanthropists, and religious teachers, must deal with the subject from a widely different standpoint. Three questions seem to be in point:— 1. What is the actual condition of the negro with respect to intelligence, morality, and religion? 2. How can public attention be attracted to the deplorable situation? 3. What additional aid can be given and what new agencies and methods can be employed to uplift the negro?

"In this work it is hoped that men of all sects and parties can join. . . . Political discussion in the Conference is the rock ahead."

May 16. Friday.—This morning, at 10 A. M., I caught up with my deferred correspondence. Perhaps one hundred letters written in five days. The burden will now be less. I must now write a short talk for Mohonk on the purpose of the Negro Conference.

Mrs. West and Mrs. Ross came up this afternoon to talk over their "work," trying to rescue the bad boys of the town by gathering them together in good quarters "to read, to play games, to hear good talk,"—in short, as they phrase it, "to have good influences around them from 7 to 9 P. M." Not much that is practical and definite in their plan. They must try individual work. The churches *can* do all that is possible in this direction; without them, little will be done.

May 17, 1890.—Writing a few words for Mohonk Negro Conference, I find myself using the word Christian. I am not a subscriber to any creed. I belong to no church. But in a sense, satisfactory to myself and believed by me to be important, I try to be a Christian, or rather I want to be a Christian and to help do Christian work.

May 19.—Webb, who came Saturday, returned to Cleveland this morning. Before he left we hung the old mirror of Captain Matthew Scott and his wife, which Washington used, in the Birchard room.

There may be and probably is gross exaggeration in the stories we hear of the "Voodoo" paganism which lurks, if it does not prevail, among the negroes of the Black Belt in the cotton and cane-raising districts of the South; but there is enough of truth in the ignorance and superstition there found to demand investigation and effort by those who believe that intelligence and true religion are friendly to each other. There are many good men who oppose National aid to education in the South. But are any opposed to any education for the negro? If not, let them unite in support of what philanthropists and the churches are doing.

In the evening met at the Methodist Episcopal church a number of ladies and gentlemen to consider the effort of the Women's Christian Temperance Union to care for the boys of the town. After discussion, it was ordered that a committee of five be appointed by the chair to take charge of the whole subject, and to take steps to secure manual training in the public schools, day and evening, by conference with the school board and with the Young Men's Christian Association and with the ladies of [the] Women's Christian Temperance Union.

May 20. Tuesday.—In the evening with Frances went to the Grand Army hall. She easily put herself in good relations with "the sisters," as my Lucy always called her humble friends, with whom she was such an angel. Frances has a good deal of her mother's divine faculty of making others happy and being herself happy in doing it.

May 21. Wednesday.—Eleven months ago the stroke came to Lucy! What a long, long tract of time I have passed since that awful day! But time and the good influences of a kind Providence are healing the wound and I now meditate with a sorrowful and tender but comforting feeling on the years I was permitted to walk with this precious angel by my side. Blessed memory!

I preach no new doctrine—nothing original. It is as old as religion, that idleness is the friend of every vice and every crime and that industry is the mother of every virtue. Show me a young man who by his training is habitually addicted to idle-

ness, and I will show you a young man against whom are enlisted all the rational chances in life. Show me a young man whose education has formed [him] to habits of cheerful industry, and I will show you a young man in whose favor all the fates are marshalled and bound to fight.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, May 21, 1890.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS:— Your anxiety about my health may be relieved entirely. I was in excellent health when I went to Bermuda, and the delicious climate there and its pleasures of all good kinds did not hurt. The fact of going to Bermuda furnishes more than the usual foundation for the reporter's "important if true."

Eleven months ago today the stroke came to Lucy! Long sad months! But time and the good influences of a kind Providence are healing the wound and I now meditate with a sorrowful and tender but comforting feeling on the years I was permitted to walk with the precious angel by my side. Blessed memory!— With love to the doctor.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. E. G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, May 21, 1890.

MY DEAR MRS. HERRON:— Thanks, thanks for your letter of welcome. Our visit and trip were every way delightful. The weather in "the happy islands" was evenly cool—between 62 and 72 degrees—with a *bracing* ocean breeze; fires every evening, and an overcoat often. Blue waters matching the blue sky, flowers glorious, neatness, good order, hearty friendly people—with the best traits of New England and Virginia mixed; a host of navy and army people with nothing to do but to entertain—to give receptions and reviews—and evidently glad to have an excuse for doing it. I wish you could have been with us. It would have fairly equalled the California pleasures and scenes.

Your drifting away from Helen is inevitable. There can be no satisfactory relations between friends whose differences are so decided and clean-cut on so many of the vitally interesting topics. In such cases we cannot keep together if the questions which are tabooed are many and interesting. I believe in the friendship which Emerson describes in the finest, perhaps, of his essays. "A friend is a person with whom I may be sincere. Before him I may think aloud. . . . Almost every man we meet requires some civility — requires to be humored; he has some fame, some talent, some whim of religion or philanthropy in his head that is not to be questioned, and spoils all conversation with him. But a *friend* is a sane man who exercises not my ingenuity but me. My friend gives me entertainment without requiring any stipulation on my part." "I am equally balked by antagonism and compliance." I threw in that last sentence out of all connection, happening to see it, because it seems to me that it hits the only danger in our relation of friendship.

You see when I mount my hobby — Emerson — away I am carried. It rejoices me that you more and more see him as I do. How he prepares one to meet the disappointments and griefs of this mortal life. His writings, with me, seem to be religion. They bring peace, consolation; that rest for the mind and heart which we all long for — content.

. . . The breakfast bell rings. We must take up another essay. You say which.

With all good wishes. Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. H. C. HERRON,

Cincinnati.

May 28. Wednesday. — [At] 7 P. M. left Spiegel Grove with William Henry Smith on the Lake Shore. At Aunty Austin's at 10:30 P. M. in Cleveland.

May 29. Thursday. — Mrs. Cleveland and Mrs. Huntington with Auntie Austin. Dined with General Barnett and Myers at the Hollenden. Met President Harrison at the train on his ar-

rival in Union Depot. Dined with [the] President [and] Vice-President Morton at Mr. Eells'.

May 30. Friday. — Rode in carriage with [the] President, Mr. Townsend, and Mr. Eells, with procession, to the dedication of the Garfield Monument. A great throng. Much enthusiasm for President Harrison. A fine day — two hundred thousand people in sight. A successful time in all respects.

June 2. Monday. — With Mrs. Austin to the Mohonk Conference. A fine day.

June 3. Tuesday. Lake Mohonk. — A good crowd. In the evening, with Dr. Strieby, Mr. Houghton, Lyman Abbott, [and] President Gates, of Rutgers College, at Mr. Smiley's room, talked over business. All harmonious. Meeting opens tomorrow.

June 4. Wednesday. — Fine morning. . . . We met in our conference on the negro question in the parlor of the Mohonk Lake House. The attendance was large. Not so many from the South as was hoped for, but enough to leaven the lump.

Mr. A. K. Smiley opened the subject, after the usual morning services — Bible reading, prayer, and singing, — with a few words of explanation. Nominated me for president. I took the chair after the election. Secretaries, a treasurer, and an executive committee on business and resolutions were appointed; after which I read my inaugural, which was well received. A good meeting. Paper read by Mr. Covert. Industrial education discussed. Mr. [Albion W.] Tourgée and others spoke. — Evening, a fine, hopeful paper by Mayo. Discussed. A good meeting.

June 5. Thursday. — Our best meeting so far was the morning meeting of today. The Commissioner of Education, Mr. Harris, discussed the question of illiteracy as the cause or accompaniment of *crime*, — showing that the illiterates furnished largely more than their share of criminals. Rev. Lyman Abbott made an eloquent speech. His tribute to the Hayes Administration — “*the peacemaker's Administration*” — was most heartily applauded

A young man from Talladega sought me out to tell of the

inspiration he received from seeing Mrs. Hayes when she was introduced to the crowd at Bennington!

June 6. Friday.—Mr. Woodworth, of Tougaloo University, one of our clearest and most instructive talkers. Miss Emerson's talk on "Homes of the Negroes" was capital. Nothing better.

The conference meetings increase in interest. This morning the first speech was by Albion W. Tourgée. He is an orator—pungent, dramatic, original, and daring. He rebuked the churches, the North, the South, and stood for the negro. In a quiet way, President White replied to him in an effective speech. Mrs. Cheney, of Boston, spoke well, also Bishop Andrews, General Brinkerhoff, Mr. Glenn, of Baltimore, and others.

Whatever may be the results of our meeting with respect to the negro race and its destiny, [I said in substance at the conclusion of the conference], we are in no doubt as to our feelings towards Mr. and Mrs. Smiley and towards each other. We shall always recall this lovely place with pleasure. We shall never forget the hours spent here nor the acquaintances and friendships formed here or strengthened here. Whether what we have said or done shall live or die, our impressions, our convictions are stronger than before, that the much injured race in whose behalf we have met has large possibilities—an important future—a part to play, in the history of our American society.

It is said that this [race] has had no history. That is not quite true. But true or not, we have heard enough to be assured that the gifts required to take a place in history in large measure belong to them. We were told of their success in weighty tables of figures by Mr. Harris. President White told of the great men he met in Santo Domingo, in Hayti, and other West Indian islands. Let me add a small item to that shining list of prophetic facts—pointing [to] the possible future of the race. I was a few days ago in Bermuda. The entrance to its principal port is a long, intricate, difficult, and dangerous passage. The man [a negro] who has charge of the ship, taking it in and out, can be no weakling.

June 7. Saturday.—With Mrs. Austin left beautiful Mohonk about 8:30 A. M. Were heartily saluted as we left and

drove on the opposite side of the lake from the hotel. Reached Albany after noon. There Mrs. Austin took the cars for Saratoga, and I the Lake Shore for Cleveland.

June 10. Tuesday. — Today heard of the death of Carrie Williams Little, the most intimate and prized of the school friends of Lucy, and the wife of my friend and roommate at college, Dr. John A. Little. She died Sunday in San Francisco, whither she had gone on account of serious sickness. A great sufferer, and much crippled as with paralysis, her death relieves her from a suffering life. A sound mind, a true good heart, an excellent character, faithful always. Lucy and I were groom and maid at the wedding of our friends; and when I gave the ring to Lucy, which was in my portion of the bride's cake, I meant that I was to be hers, if she was of the same mind, or ever became so. She did not so understand it — but indications were already warmly that way. So! the dear links that hold me to the paradise of my life are parting one by one. I am ready to go.

June 11. Wednesday. — Finished substantially the arrears of my correspondence. I am now to prepare two speeches — one for Ottawa [Kansas], to the soldiers, one for the ladies of the Woman's Home Missionary Society at Topeka. The topic of the first, "The Nation's Debt to its Defenders." The other, "The Home Missions Work." Couple it with home education or industrial education.

[*Delaware*], *June 17.* — Joined by Judge Lawrence [yesterday] *en route* to Delaware to attend the meeting of trustees of Wesleyan. A hearty welcome by President Bashford and family. In the evening heard Bennett, of Evanston, deliver a good address. The most important question [before the trustees] is as to building the college building — a chapel, drill hall, recitation rooms, etc., etc. Not quite enough subscribed, I think, to justify going on, but we will no doubt try it and can ultimately push it through.

June 18. Wednesday. — Visited the spring each morning before 6 A. M. This morning I also went to the cemetery where

father and mother are buried. It is improving. "Lorenzo Berchard" is one of the names on our monument. All else well enough.

Attended the funeral of Carrie Little yesterday afternoon. Tea with President Merrick, Judge Lawrence, Dr. Trinble, and General Godman. The three aged trustees are worth noticing. All past eighty and on the board almost fifty years.

June 19. Thursday. — D. S. Van Slyke writes me to know if I have become a convert to Nationalism (Los Angeles). I reply: —

"(Confidential.) I agree with you as to the evil, as to the urgent necessity for a remedy, as to the importance of investigation; and as to the general fact, I hope, that all intelligent and earnest agitation of the subject tends to good. No further."

Professor McCabe, at Delaware, told me this: Lieutenant Clarence Sharpe of the army was with General Grant when the dispatch came that General Hayes was nominated for President. The general was smoking. Between puffs, he said: "General Hayes is a steady man — yes, he is a steady man. He will do."

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, July 19, 1890.

MY DEAR MRS. FREMONT: — Your noble husband was very dear to me and to this town. He was especially admired throughout our country for what he was and for what he did. I deeply sympathize with you.

Very sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. JESSIE BENTON FREMONT,
New York.

June 22. Sunday. — When the Government paid seven-thirty interest in gold, it was not called charity. It was keeping faith with the nation's creditors.

Somebody has started a paragraph in the newspapers that I am a millionaire. There is nothing in it. It should read: "General Hayes is not a man of large wealth. He is in comfortable circumstances; his boys are all earning their own living. He may

be worth fifteen or twenty per cent of the amount the effusive reporter has given him."

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, June 22, 1890.

MY DEAR AUNTY DAVIS:— Your letter about the book was sent to Webb. He has just returned it. You know I have committals and arrangements which prevent me from taking part in such an enterprise as the one you suggest. It is possible that hereafter I may be free to act, but at present it is as I thought you understood. There is nothing that I can make public. Of course, an "In Memoriam," such as I suppose was in your thought, or rather in the contemplation of the society, is not in the way of anything I have in mind. Very likely, the time may come when I can throw open all the sources of information, but at present I am complicated, as I intended to suggest to you when we last met. I hope your memorial will be confined to the scope suggested by Mrs. Hickman on page 16 of the eighth annual report of your society.

The Mohonk meeting was very interesting. I will see that you have an invitation to the next one also.

With regards to the doctor. Sincerely,

MRS. ELIZA G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[*Columbus*], June 24. Tuesday.— Met yesterday with Godfrey, Wing, Dr. Schueller, Miller, and Massie, trustees, and President Scott and Secretary Cope.

Only difference [was] on honorary degrees to four gentlemen. I opposed to the practice. No objection to the men honored.

In the evening at the High Street Congregational Church. Baker, of Cincinnati, made an offhand, so-so speech. Governor Campbell was humorous. But through his remarks ran a vein, wise and sagacious and full of hope. I was called out. Declined with a humorous reference to the heat.

Today met "same as before." Our honorary degrees probably illegal. Referred to attorney-general. Routine business.

Death of Judge McCrary, Secretary of War in my Cabinet [announced]. Sent condolence to family.

June 25. Wednesday. — One year ago this morning my darling went to her rest! An "empty" year, as old Mr. Lyman Beecher said of his great loss! I go tonight to Chicago.

June 26. Thursday. — Arrived at Chicago 7:30 A. M. Met at the station with carriage by my friend Colonel H. C. Corbin. Drove to his house and took breakfast with Mrs. Corbin and the young folks.

Drove north with Colonel Corbin to the north end of Lincoln Park. Saw the fine statue of Lincoln, the Indian group, etc.

Called on Mrs. Jewett. An agreeable meeting. Her father, Judge Roundtree, on his death bed in Wisconsin, age eighty-five.

June 29. Sunday. — Left Chicago Thursday night in a special car, alone. At Kansas City, Friday morning, joined by General Devol and others and soon *en route* to Ottawa.

[There] Governor George T. Anthony and others received me. A good lunch (no, breakfast) about 11 A. M. A great crowd in the beautiful park. The Chautauqua Assembly an attractive affair. Here met General Alger [and] General McCook (Alexander McD.). Both gentlemen and others spoke. In the afternoon I spoke in the fine spacious auditorium for an hour to a monster assembly. Hot but very agreeable. A sympathetic and alive body of soldiers.

In the evening bid good-bye to these friendly people.

A fine tribute to Lucy! The whole audience rose in silence, [and] stood a minute; voted a floral offering to me in honor of her. — Some thousands, men and women, shook hands with me.

Train to Kansas City, Governor Alger with me. Met at Kansas City old comrades, Colonel Tomlinson, Captain Sperry, and others.

Reached Chicago yesterday at 11 A. M. Met by Colonel Corbin. In old room on parlor floor at Grand Pacific. Dined with Webb, Drake, General Alger, William Henry [Smith], and Colonel Corbin. Reached Toledo, Birchard's, at eleven last night. Home this evening.

July 1. Tuesday. — Worked hard all of the hot afternoon, arranging papers, etc., etc., long neglected. It is easy for me to work effectively when I perspire copiously, no matter how hot it is. I think of myself in such cases as a salamander.

July 3. Thursday. — Nine years ago yesterday Garfield was shot by the assassin.

One of the fortunate facts in my career is that I never had an overweening fondness for political life. My ambition for station was always easily controlled. If the place came to me it was welcome. But it never seemed to me worth seeking at the cost of self-respect, of independence. My family were not historic; they were well-to-do, did not hold or seek office. It was easy for me to be contented in private life. An honor was no honor to me, if obtained by my own seeking.

I am to speak at a pioneer meeting in Delaware the 25th. I will take the book about Ephraim Cutler. This as a text on pioneers. Who are pioneers? Read the life and adventures of Ephraim Cutler. I am not old enough to be a pioneer of Delaware. I am an early settler, an old settler. I settled here in 1822, October the fourth; not an old settler that morning — a newcomer.

Two friendly comments recently pleased me: "You were the most independent and least partisan of the Presidents elected by a party." "You left your party stronger, and the country more prosperous than any, except a very few of your predecessors. Not more probably than two or three were equally fortunate in this respect."

July 4, 1890. Friday. — Independence Day. Read Depew's fine speech at Chicago on the Columbus quadricentennial.

"Our national anthem?" Which? "Hail Columbia," "Star-spangled Banner," or "America"?

A cool and delightful breeze all day, this Fourth of July! In the afternoon drove with Mrs. Bristol, Miss Avery [of Cleveland, visiting here], and Webb to the furniture works to see as to the old sideboard sent by Uncle Austin Birchard to Cousin Charlotte at Elyria, Ohio; taken by her, after the death of her

husband, back to Vermont, and by her sent again to Ohio to me.

July 5. Saturday.—I read that General Cochran yesterday, at the meeting of the Society of the Cincinnati, proposed a suspension of the rules to elect Rutherford B. Hayes an honorary member. There was objection. It was stated that he was already an honorary member of the State Society of Pennsylvania, and the matter was dropped.

I would certainly appreciate the honor. My friend General Cochran should perhaps have ascertained in advance as to the disposition of those present. But it was an act of friendship, and I must not criticize the manner of it. Thanks, General.

July 6. Sunday.—Lucy was a little above the average size of American women, both in height and weight, viz., height, five feet four and one-half inches; weight one hundred and forty-five [pounds], probably. This in her prime—age forty to forty-five. Her finest picture is the photograph by Sarony in May 1877 when she was forty-five. She had been then the mother of eight children, and her two eldest were both voters—past twenty-one.

Read to Miss Avery the last volume of Howells, "The Shadow of a Dream." It is certainly one of his best. It fully sustains—will enhance—his reputation.

Reading also to myself George Alfred Townsend's "Mrs. Reynolds and Alexander Hamilton." Some good pictures of that interesting period in our history.

July 7. Monday.—Finished reading "Ephraim Cutler" [and] "Mrs. Reynolds and Alexander Hamilton" and began Butterfield's last book, "The Girty's."

The *Nationalist* for July has a favorable notice of me under the head, "The Function of an ex-President."

Our village tempest over the census does seem to develop neglect in one ward, but not enough to help us out. In 1880 in Ohio there were less than four and one-half people to one voter; to be exact 4.410 and a fraction, but call it four and one-half. The vote in Fremont was in 1888 fifteen hundred and

thirty-eight. This would give a population of 6,867 in Fremont in 1888 by the vote for President in that year.

The people who get up directories are responsible for the extravagant estimates of population in advance of the census, and for the disappointment since. Compare the present population with what is given in the directories, and their exaggeration everywhere will be apparent. If this is not conclusive, compare the vote of the cities with the results of the census and be informed.

July 10. Thursday. — General Kirby, of Upper Sandusky, is here today to investigate the complaints of the census, he being in charge of this census district. I spent a few minutes with him and the census men at his room in the Ball House. While I was present every name claimed to be omitted was found duly enumerated! The town has not grown as much as we supposed. The census of 1880 was badly *stuffed*. And the growth of the town is largely in suburbs which have not yet been annexed. Our mistake has been in not *annexing*.

I drove with General Kirby around the town and brought him up to Spiegel.

July 11. Friday. — "Men have invented a thousand ways of producing wealth but not one for properly distributing it." I don't know where the trouble is. If we once knew the trouble, somebody would find the cure.

July 12. Saturday. — During some days I have been chiefly employed in securing a good jail. The new one will be after a good model — the Pickaway County jail. I succeeded in getting the county officers and Horace Buckland, appointed by the court, to postpone decision until the Board of State Charities were consulted. General R. Brinkerhoff, chairman of the Board of Charities, came yesterday. I conferred with him and the architect, Johnson. Today the whole affair seems agreed on.

Just received a dispatch from General Grosvenor saying, "I have offered resolution to make you Manager of Soldiers' Homes. Desire comes from soldiers. Do not decline."

Long since I resolved to decline all offices of honor or profit

under Government. I am sorry he has offered it. I send these words:—

GENERAL C. H. GROSVENOR,
Washington, D. C.

I appreciate your friendship in this affair. But I have not time to serve if appointed. Please withdraw my name at once.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

July 13. Sunday.—Read Parton's "Jefferson" on the question of his share in the famous antislavery clause in the Ordinance of 1787. It does not seem to be of [any sort]. He was not a Member of Congress at the time the ordinance was under consideration. He was in France. His ordinance of 1784 which did not pass is a totally different affair. In some of its leading features, *e. g.*, in its division of the territory into ten States with absurd names, it was frivolous, and on slavery *it expressly authorized it until 1800*. Once introduced, fastened to the soil, it would have required a conflict to get rid of it; with what result, we may conjecture. Even with the express prohibition, there was a doubtful conflict in Indiana and Illinois.

July 15, 1890.—Wrote and read as usual. "The Girty's," by Butterfield, is a book of our local history; rather dismal. The Girty's were the horror and dread of the pioneers—a bad lot. They ought to be disposed of in a few sentences, not given a book. Butterfield, the author, spends many words showing, or rather asserting, the mistakes of Roosevelt and others.

July 16. Wednesday.—Grass and lawn never finer at this season. With summer half gone the flowers and verdure are springlike. . . . Two good women with a half a dozen or more orphans from the Home for Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans at Xenia called, and were regaled with lemonade and cake.

Callers out of curiosity seem on the increase. Probably caused by the season for leisure travel.

July 17. Thursday.—I have today been turning over my old scrap-books looking for items about the days of the old

pioneers. I find a good deal on the topic I was looking into, but more on other points that interests me. I was delighted to come upon pleasant sketches of Lucy. How they thrilled me! I find one of my best little speeches was a five-minute talk, full of quotations from Emerson, in welcome of the Sängerbund at Music Hall in Cincinnati when I was governor [in] 1870. As good a talk as any for the occasion was the speech at the unveiling of our soldiers' monument in 1885 in Fort Stephenson Park. In one talk I find our two perils — perils both of old-world origin — lawlessness, tending to anarchy, and caste, based on plutocracy, tending to despotism, well expressed.

July 18. Friday. — Examined for pioneer items two more volumes of scrap-books. Found the scrap showing how Godkin in the *Nation* advised that some Hayes elector should so cast his vote as to prevent an election. This would result in the election of Tilden by the House. [Godkin] charged by the *Tribune* with advising Lowell so to vote. Godkin denies it. The *Tribune* produces the article and other articles by General Sickles, Bryant, etc.

A lovely, cool summer day. Drove in the evening. Saw the new moon; talked of the planets. Why do not the schools teach enough astronomy to turn out scholars with some ideas of it?

July 19. Saturday. — Spent the first part of the forenoon in considering the alarming amount of shortage found [in the bank] each month for about twenty-nine months past, on an average of ten days in each month — aggregating about four thousand dollars excess of shortage over overplus! My interest in the bank is small — only five thousand dollars or less. *It must be crime.* Carelessness or accident would hardly run so. It is over one hundred and thirty dollars per month. I suggested a list of the former two years; also a list of persons employed in the bank. No one is suspected. But it must be thoroughly investigated. I never heard of it until yesterday. My own interest is small but as a director I must see into it

SPIEGEL GROVE, July 19, 1890.

MY FRIEND:—I mourn with you [the fire in the Associated Press offices]. Money will build again, and better, but your [manuscript] treasures! Can it be that they are gone? You will bear it like a hero. I shall still hope that worse than the worst has been told.

Ever sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH
New York.

July 23. Wednesday. — More than forty years ago I met at the Sulphur Spring in Delaware one who was permitted while she lived, by a gracious Providence, to be the good angel of my life. This much may I not say of her? She had rare advantages of features and manners. But with her mind and heart and soul, the homeliest face would have been radiantly beautiful. Emerson says: "There is no beautifier of complexion, or form, or behaviour like the wish to scatter joy and not pain around us." That gift, that charm belonging to her was so transcendent that it must be immortal.

SPIEGEL, July 23, 1890.

MY FRIEND:— You are a philosopher. I wrote you a short note addressed to you at New York on hearing how you had suffered. It is too bad. I am more disturbed about it than you seem to be. It colors my sky. The days are clouded. . . .

My things here are more secure than you think. This room, my den, has fireproof floor above and below it. Things can in almost any case be hustled out before a fire could destroy them. But I will think of it.

My kindest regards to Mrs. Smith.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH,
Lake Forest, Illinois.

July 27. Sunday. — Thursday via Toledo, where I spent the day, to Delaware. Entertained at pleasant home of Chauncey Hills, whose wife was Margaret Williams, an older sister of Carrie Little, Lucy's nearest friend from her school-days in Delaware. He has six sons. I think all grown; several married and quite a list of grandchildren. A noble family. . . . Friday, 25th, Judge Jones called early. He is [as] bright and sparkling as ever. He took me in his buggy to see Mrs. Sophia Wasson White. The doctor is quitting practice as fast as he can and they live very quietly in their pleasant home on the old place of her father across the street. She says my father died in the same house where I was born, on William Street. We (Judge Jones and I) . . . drove around town and finally reached the [pioneer meeting] stand about one hundred and fifty yards west of the spring on the main east and west walk. President Merrick opened with prayer. Judge McElroy assisted Colonel Van Deman, president of the society, and Chauncey Hills, as secretary, in the business of the society. Rev. Benjamin W. Childlaw, General John C. Lee, and myself were announced as the speakers after the basket lunch.

Met and shook hands with many old settlers. Sam Rheem, who lived with us and loved me as a child of three, is now ninety years old. He looks natural and well. I recognized him readily. His mind is somewhat affected by time. He is "losing his wits," as Emerson once told me he was (1877). He asked me if [I] belonged to the church, and on my reply in the negative, asked, "Why don't you join?" Judge Jones said his action was strange in 1876. His reason was, "Rutherford is too good a man; they will murder him. I won't vote his life away."

After lunch, music [and] entertaining and appropriate speeches; first by Rev. B. W. Childlaw and General Lee. I then spoke at some length, apparently acceptably. The audience grew so that when I closed there was a very large gathering of old people and others. In the evening a reception at Mr. Hills' was well attended. Many old friends and the sons and grandsons and daughters and granddaughters of old friends were present. . . .

I find that before the organization of Augusta County, Virginia,

in 1738, the western boundary of the new counties in the western part of the State extended westward only to the passes or crest of the mountains; that is, as far as settlements had gone and the mountain range beyond them. But the grant of the English king extended from the Atlantic coast "for two hundred miles north and south from Point Comfort and *up into the land throughout, from sea to sea, west and northwest.*" It is true this charter of 1609 was annulled upon a writ of *quo warranto* in 1624; but Virginia still claimed the territory and in 1738, in creating Augusta County, first extended a county to the western limits of Virginia, thus including the whole of the old Northwest Territory in the new county of Augusta. *Afterwards*, in 1769, Botetourt County was created out of Augusta and included the Northwest Territory. Delaware therefore was *first* in Augusta County, Virginia, and afterwards in Botetourt.

August 1, 1890. Friday. — Some one said to Simon Cameron: "Your son Don has had fine advantages." "Yes," responded the wise old man, "he has had more than his father, but there is one supreme advantage that he has never enjoyed — the stimulus of poverty and hardship."

I suspect that the best book[s] of a religious sort lately are: "Jesus of Nazareth," by John A. Broadus, [and] "The Man of Galilee," by Atticus G. Haygood.

August 7. Thursday. — An agreeable household today. William Henry Smith, Walter Sherman, Mary, Birch, the boy, nurse, and our usual family. Friend Smith began to read up in my scrap-books and papers for a sketch, perhaps a biography of Lucy. With about one hundred and thirty or forty scrap-books, and perhaps two or three thousand letters to go over the work is at the threshold rather appalling.

FREMONT, August 7, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR: — Your letter of the second instant is before me. It seems to me probable that if I were actively engaged in business, and on the spot, I would go into the enterprise as you have done. I will not therefore criticize it. It is perhaps enough

simply to say, that if my property is increased in value, I do not wish nor expect it to be done without bearing my share of the expense either in land or cash. We shall have no disagreement on that point. Not having been consulted on the ways and means adopted, I may be reasonably excused for awaiting results, or at least full information as to the situation, before advancing land or cash.

With thanks for your attention in sending interesting documents relating to the business, I am with great respect,

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HON. CLINTON MARKELL.

August 10. Sunday.—The strike on the New York Central. Depew in Europe. Cause, the discharge of men because they belong to the Knights of Labor. The need for government protection involves the need of government control of railways. Protection of unwise and unjust management will never do.

Afternoon, drove to the cemetery. No room for trees—I mean, more trees—on my lot. I will plant only the mountain holly from Admiral Ammen's place in Maryland. The brave old admiral prepared the trees by taking them from the forest, pruning them severely, and replanting and rerooting them on his own grounds.

August 11. Monday.—I must prepare to go to visit in camp Webb and the Cleveland Troop and the artillery in the grove near Huron, Sage's Grove. No wonder that in all time the *true* soldier has inspired the best poetry, the finest fiction, the finest history, and biography. Who is the true soldier? The Bayard, the Philip Sidney, the Nelson, the Shaw of Fort Wagner, the Lowell who died at Cedar Creek, McPherson at Atlanta. And nearer home we find one who left us only today, George Crook. Always amiable, unselfish, thoughtful of others, friendly with all, sincere and truthful, brave-hearted in battle. A favorite—the final test—most admired and best loved always by good women, is the truly ideal soldier. Wars will remain

while human nature remains. I believe in my soul in co-operation, in arbitration; but the soldier's occupation we cannot say is gone until human nature is gone.

August 14. Thursday.—Home again after a pleasant visit to Camp Hawkins, or rather to Webb and his favorite troop, the First Cleveland Troop, camped in Sage's Grove, about two miles east of Huron. With them are the companies of the First Regiment of Artillery under Colonel Smithknight. Captain Garretson commands the troop, an excellent officer, with Lieutenant Myers first. Webb is much praised for energy and ability, is indeed the man of all work in the troop; a fine horseman, a splendid quartermaster, etc. . . . Camp life all came back to me as it was twenty-nine years ago. Alas, Lucy could not be with me to enjoy it! Drills, reviews, songs, "the sounds and sights" of the camp once so dear to me. Two days of overflowing feelings—Crook, Comly, *Lucy*, Hastings, and the rest! My old comrade Hawkins as adjutant-general was the ranking officer of the camp. Webb in the charging was at the head of the troop.

SPIEGEL, August 15, 1890.

MY DEAR AUNTY:—It delights me to hear that your "In Memoriam" is as it is. . . . I will be particularly pleased to see the young portrait (sixteen years of age) of Lucy in your volume. For the other there are two. I now prefer the narrow face. In the affair of the Wesleyan "Memoriam," I chose the broader face. It is good but not, I now think, the best. I send you a specimen of the one I like best. Of course, *you will select your own preference.* . . .

Yes, you dear woman, we never make enough of those we love until it is too late!

Ever yours, sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.—My regards to the doctor. We (Fanny and I), will hope to come for a week, the last week in September. We

probably *must* go to the hotel — at least the first half of our stay. We go from Cincinnati direct to New York. — H.

MRS. E. G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

August 18. — It is more often mentioned as time passes that "Hayes is one of the few Presidents — perhaps the only one — whose Administration left his party stronger than it found it."

Again it is noticed that "Hayes is the only President who adhered in practice to his principles on the subject of one term." Not unpleasant reading.

August 19. Tuesday. — To Napoleon. Reached there from Toledo in forty-five minutes — fast going — and received by the mayor and county officials, and by Mr. Justin H. Tyler, the leading lawyer of the county, Judge Haag, and others of both parties, and taken to the good hotel of Mr. Blair. In the evening I met many citizens of Napoleon of all parties.

August 20. Wednesday. — The glad rain of yesterday cleared the air and freshened all nature. I drove in the morning with young Mr. Tyler up the river, east side; again down the river; a lovely valley. About noon went to the fair ground. Dined with the ladies of Napoleon. Nothing better done anywhere.

The meeting of pioneers and others was large. General Lee spoke first. I closed with a rather singular enumeration of the organized counties and States in which the territory now embraced in Henry County was at different times included; the men inhabiting the counties and the names of the counties founding Henry, and the characters they were named after.

In the evening with Lee to Toledo and his home for the night on Ashland Avenue.

August 24. Sunday. — I found a letter of Dr. Franklin to a minister in New Jersey — liberal in tone, full of charity, preferring works to worship — copied in full by Uncle Birchard. I read it this morning to Scott who is still in bed. He was surprised to find a man so liberal in the time of Franklin.

For a week or more I have been dizzy; at times would stagger. Dr. Hilbush says the heart is strong and sound, that the difficulty is stomach dizziness. This may all be correct, it probably is; but it *may* be otherwise. Well, let the end come. The charm of life left me when Lucy died. I believe in the moral government of the universe. I trust and have faith in the power, wisdom, and goodness of the Divine Eternal. Death must be good for its victims. The living left behind must grieve, and for a time seem to lose. But for those who depart the transition must be good and cannot be bad. What is universal, what is allotted to all of God's highest creatures, is surely to promote their welfare and happiness. It is not [to] be feared — to be approached with dread.

Emerson says: — "What am I? What has my will done to make me what I am? Nothing."

August 25. Monday. — At Port Clinton [*en route* to Lakeside], met an officer or soldier of the Seventh Regiment, H. G. Orton, *now* [of] Princeton, Missouri. He said he could not fail to take my hand; that he introduced himself; that twenty-eight years ago he was very happy to see me; never gladder to see anybody than me at Carnifax, September 10, 1862, when I rescued the prisoners of the Seventh who were in the shanties wounded, etc., etc.

I reached Lakeside about 7:30 P. M., and was warmly welcomed by Major Bottsford and others who took my baggage and we tramped merrily to the hotel.

August 26. Tuesday. — A good attendance of the comrades [*at the Twenty-third Reunion*]. Many wives and daughters — all happy, sympathetic, friendly. P. M. over to Kelly Island. It rained (as usual on that trip) but we had a jovial party. In the evening I made a talk on Frémont, Schenck, and Crook, our old commanders, who had died during the last year. What a favorite Crook is with all who served under him!

August 27. Wednesday. — Clear and cool. A large attendance. Perhaps, as often happens, our last reunion is the best. . . . The touching incident of the day was the presentation

to me by Captain Ellen, in behalf of the regiment, of a handsomely framed testimonial to Mrs. Hayes. I replied in tears.

August 28. Thursday.—In the afternoon on steamer to Cedar Point; thence in carriage to the Soldiers' Home. Tea with General Force. Mrs. Horton [General Force's mother-in-law], a cheerful old lady (eighty-five), very deaf but interesting with her fine manners; Miss Pope, an interesting girl, who played good "tunes" on the piano; Horton [and] young Pope. The general (Pope) [brother-in-law of Mrs. Force] seems of sound mind but he is badly paralyzed. Death is preferable. Oh, how grateful I am that Lucy passed away so beautifully!—Reached Cleveland and 891 Prospect about 10:20 P. M.

August 29. Friday.—Met Dr. Haydn at his house. Talked over the Medical College trouble. Decided in my own mind to report in favor of "the university idea" in firm, decided terms, with a few courteous words for the medical faculty to assure them of all consideration for their wishes consistent with the true university.

P. M. Meeting of trustees; elected Dr. Thwing the new president. A fit man, "all around man," if the accounts given by all are correct. I hope he will accept. I spoke of declining by reason of other duties. Mr. Mather very earnestly requested me to remain; promised to overlook absences, etc.

September 1. Monday.—It is so easy to say no in a letter in reply to a letter, that the average man is tempted to do it. In all important cases *face to face* is the way to win.

Our last reunion at Lakeside, Bottsford says, is our best. It seems perfect of its kind.

If I were called on to justify the eulogy of my friend Aaron F. Perry, could I do it better than to say this (*Mem.* :—He said it [my Administration] was "unique in its excellencies")?—

1. Hayes never sought the Presidency, nor any other office.
2. He announced himself in favor of *one* term on principle, and having been elected, adhered to his convictions on this point.
3. He left his country at the close of his Administration in far better condition than he found it at the beginning of his term.
4. His party, at the beginning of his term, was weak and out

of power in the House, the Senate, and with the Executive in dispute. At the end of his term, all branches of the Government were strongly held by his party.

Of what other President can this be said? Of how many Presidents can it be said that they were equally fortunate?

September 2. Tuesday.—On Lucy's birthday anniversary, Miss Kate S. Dalton of Fremont (August 28) read an excellent paper. She is mistaken in one statement. She says: "By her love for humanity, her unaffected simplicity, and the simple power of goodness alone, she commands an enthusiasm that has never been given to the most splendid achievements." All that can be said of her goodness is true. But goodness alone would not have authorized Miss Dalton to say, "she stands without a peer." Her gifts, her powers, her talents in dealing with all men and women, with all of God's creatures, were so great, that to speak of her as a woman of genius does not seem extravagant to those who knew her intimately. It was the union in her of intellectual gifts and goodness, both in an extraordinary degree, that made her the woman she was. Charms of face and person must be added also.

I count one hundred and thirty-five volumes of scrap-books kept from time to time during the last thirty or forty years; chiefly during my Administration at Washington.

September 4. Thursday.—In the evening I heard from Mr. Keeler that today in the post-office at Cincinnati my companion, comrade, and friend, General Edward F. Noyes, died suddenly. No particulars. General Noyes was associated with me in many important things. He was a member of the Literary Club in Cincinnati during a large part of the period of my membership; a member of the bar with me in Cincinnati; an active and eloquent young Republican with me. One of the soldiers of the Burnet Rifles of which I was first captain. He went into the war in the Thirty-ninth Ohio; was awfully wounded. He succeeded me as governor of Ohio. He made the admirable and effective speech nominating me for President at the Cincinnati Convention. He, as a lawyer, represented me in Florida and ably did his part in securing the vote of that State in the close

contest of 1876. He was appointed by me, without hint or suggestion from him, Minister to France where he with signal ability represented the Nation during my term.

One of the most affecting and effective war stories I ever heard was told by him on my urgent suggestion, before the Ohio Commandery of the Loyal Legion, viz., his experience when wounded. His story of the event was thrilling. His coming home; carried in an express wagon to the Wright residence on Elm Street; helped out by chance bystanders; and the cutting off his leg again and again to prevent death by mortification. His saying: "Doctor, if you cut it off again, let it be just below my chin." Comrade, friend, hail and farewell! I envy him his sudden death, if it was without delay or pain. I will attend the funeral.

September 6. Saturday.—To Cincinnati to attend the funeral of General Noyes. On the train from Toledo down were a number of agreeable men. General John W. Fuller, a division commander of General Noyes when he was wounded, is intelligent and entertaining. He was going to attend the funeral. Townsend, of Lima, and his uncle from Malone, New York, were also on the train. He spoke of a new book on the labor and capital question by a man now in New York. He had ordered it sent to me. We reached Cincinnati at 6 P. M. At the Burnet House met General Force, Colonel Neil, Captain Ewing, etc. In the evening called on Mrs. Davis. The doctor and she are as usual. The "In Memoriam" of Lucy not yet ready; a month or more before it will appear. No one at Heron's; left my card.

September 7. Sunday.—Called on Mrs. Noyes with Generals Fuller [and] Force, Colonel Neil, etc. She bore up well. No premonition, beyond the general feeling of the general that he would go suddenly.

September 9. Tuesday.—This evening attended, on the urgent request of Father Bauer, a banquet at Opera Hall to the State Council of the Catholic Knights of America. Very agreeable. Met Pater, of Hamilton, President State Council, and many other intelligent laymen and a number of priests. My speech, humorous, offhand, and in recognition of Catholic friends in

the war — Rosecrans, Scammon, etc. — was exceedingly well received.

September 11. Thursday. — Since my speech before the Catholic Knights I have thought of a better one. The bones of it are: I am a Protestant, born a Protestant, expect to live a Protestant, and shall probably die a Protestant. I can see in the past and today faults in the Catholic Church, but I am grateful for:— 1. Its work in behalf of temperance. 2. Its example in keeping together poor and rich, [its] care for the poor, [its] influence with the poor. 3. For its treatment of the blacks — of all the unfortunate races. *A negro sat with us at our banquet table.* 4. For its fidelity in spite of party; nineteen out of twenty were against Lincoln, but Archbishop Purcell strung the American flag, in the crisis of our fate, *from the top of the Cathedral in Cincinnati, April 15, 1861.* The spire was beautiful before; but the Catholic prelate made it radiant with hope and glory for our country.

SPIEGEL, September 11, 1890.

MY FRIEND:— I am glad you **are** again sound enough for the hard work you are always piling upon yourself, and that good tidings reaches you from Mrs. Smith.

I send you another copy of Miss Kate S. Dalton's good article about Mrs. Hayes. She is a hard-working school-teacher of this town — retiring and unknown outside of a narrow circle — of undoubted talents.

With best wishes,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S.— I go to West Virginia reunion next week at Parkersburg; to National Prison Congress, Cincinnati, the week after; and the following week Peabody in New York; 13th and 16th [of] October, Indianapolis and St. Louis, Loyal Legion. — H.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

September 12. Friday. — Busy all day with preparing speeches for Prison Congress at Cincinnati and for Parkersburg

reunion of the Army of West Virginia. For exercise trimmed the large hemlock near front entrance and other trees. Called on Dudrow as to organizing the Fremont Improvement Society after the model of Stockbridge.

The vertigo was more frequent and troublesome than usual today. What it may mean, I am not confident. Much or little, is the question. In either event I am content. Death must in the long run be good. My children now all have fixed characters and do not need me. They will lead, I am sure, reputable lives; be useful and happy.

September 16. Tuesday.—To Parkersburg. Met by William Bentley, son of General Bentley; taken to residence of Mr. and Mrs. Bentley. All very agreeable. About 11 drove out to the "Big Tent." Very beautifully decorated. A lovely camp. The rain passed away. Afternoon and evening very successful. *Gibson on hand*, also good singing. This makes us safe. Good bands and drum corps.

September 17. Wednesday.—Procession. General Kelley and wife, Governor Fleming, General Powell, Duval, Devol, Bottsford and wife, Major Skinner, and a host of the better brethren. Made a successful speech. A great throng. In the evening bid goodbye to our excellent hosts. To Warren House, Athens.

September 18. Thursday.—To Columbus. With Governor Campbell to State Fair. Mayor Bruck introduced me with pleasant words about my "pure and wise Administration." I introduced Governor Rusk, of Wisconsin, the Secretary of Agriculture. He also was kindly. He said of me, "as a citizen who stands higher in the hearts of the people than any other man living." Words of abuse have turned to praise in my case very largely. This is agreeable.

P. M. Rode back to the city with the agreeable governor, and in the evening called on the Fullertons.

September 19. Friday.—In Edward Taylor's office signed bond and affidavit—justified for two hundred and fifty thousand dollars in unincumbered real estate. At 10:30 [off] for

Toledo. General Jones, of Delaware, on train and had a most entertaining time with him. Reached Toledo about 3:30 P. M. Went out to Birchard's, found all well.

October 8. Wednesday. — Home again direct from Vermont, from Canaan, New York, the Burnham Industrial Farm, etc. Staid September 22 at Cleveland. At Warren, the 23d, addressed the multitude at the dedication of the monument. The next day to Cincinnati.

[The] 25th, National Prison Congress. Spoke in the evening at the Odeon, Twelfth Street. A good attendance of members of the congress; a slim attendance of Cincinnati people — very. The next three days a fine attendance of prison people. Sunday at Vine Street Congregational church. The pastor very energetic and in full sympathy.

[The] 29th, Monday evening, with Frances to New York. Wednesday, October 1, [the] meeting of Peabody Trust. The talk of Senator Gibson and Mr. Courtenay on the policy of concentration, as they call it, shows a diversity of opinion in the board. Many of us prefer one great institution at Nashville as the final useful monument to Mr. Peabody. The gentlemen named want to divide the fund. Many institutions — one in each State. I think the States will establish each its own normal school. Let these schools have an ideal, a model — the great Normal College at Nashville.

In the evening the usual banquet. Frances looked well, and was much praised for sweetness, vivacity, and character.

Mrs. Cleveland is amiable and attractive. Mrs. Curry, of Virginia, was the admired and admirable lady of the evening. A daughter of Mr. Henry was very handsome. Never so many fine ladies present. Ex-President Cleveland was sensible and friendly. He is sensitive still to the newspaper comments on his health.

Mr. Hilliard, of Atlanta, has written a book and will soon print.

Thursday, October 2, dined with Mead. Second meeting of Peabody Fund. Adjourned until first Wednesday after first Monday of October, 1891.

Friday, October 3, via New Haven to Brattleboro. Met Charlotte [DeWitt] at station. With her to Brooks House. P. M. 3:30 drove to the old home, the grandfather's home, in West Brattleboro. Mrs. Mary Hayes Bigelow has it for her summer home. Winter etc., in New York.

Called on Sophia E. Smith, West Village. In the evening saw John DeWitt at his home; a fine young fellow with wife and child.

Saturday [the] 4th, with Charlotte P. DeWitt on the narrow gauge to Newfane, twelve miles northwest of Brattleboro.

At the Jail House with Mr. Underwood and daughters; a good inn. Visited Mrs. Milom Davidson and met there Mr. and Mrs. Gilbert Edgerton. Then the new Birchard home, building on the site of the burned house. *Slept at the Jail Inn.*

[My] birthday. Sixty-eight. A fine full day — foliage never so rich before.

Drove to Townsend with Charlotte. Called on Rev. Clifford Smith, son of cousin Sophia, a fine-looking, intelligent man, wife and son. Left in a shower which soon held up. A delightful drive.

Sunday, [the] 5th, at Newfane. Walked on narrow gauge before breakfast south past the two fine elms in Mr. Davidson's pasture. At church, 2 P. M. Mr. Smith lacks fire; does not put voice and vim into his delivery. Evening again at church and heard Clifford Smith. Slept again at Jail Inn.

Monday, [the] 6th, left for Brattleboro, Springfield, and Burnham Farm. Met at Canaan depot by Mr. William F. Round and driven to the farm. About forty unmanageable boys. Seven "brothers," volunteers who [serve] for five dollars a month, board and clothing. Rise at 5:30 A. M.; do all sorts of farm work; in barns, milking, stock, etc. Rich men pay one hundred and fifty dollars per year for their sons and for two other poor boys the same sum each. Like Metway, as it was. In the evening singing, etc., in chapel. Spoke to them eight minutes. A good audience.

October 7, Tuesday, [was] rainy. Up at the cottage with Mrs. Round; called on her mother; and left Canaan for Albany

about 11 A. M. At Albany met Colonel Charles E. Felton, of Chicago. To have the good company, changed hastily on to his, the first train out. Travelled with him most pleasantly to Buffalo. Then took upper berth to Cleveland. Home at 9:30 this morning. Spiegel looking lovely with its glorious fall colors. Adda Huntington in charge. Good.

(*Telegram.*)

FREMONT, OHIO, October 9, 1890.

CHARLES R. MILLER, ESQUIRE,
Canton, Ohio.

I have just read your letter. The alleged interview* is a fabrication. I never said anything of the sort to anybody.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, October 9, 1890.

MY DEAR MADAM:—I was absent from home when I was pained to hear of the death of your partiotic and able husband. I pray that you and your stricken household may have the best consolations Heaven bestows in such afflictions.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. BENJAMIN F. PEIXOTTO,
Brooklyn, New York.

October 10. Friday.—A long talk with Colonel Haynes, our Member of Congress. He said many things it was very pleasant to hear. His intercourse with men of all parties and sections has been intimate at Washington. He dwelt on the good things now heard at Washington on all sides as to my family, Mrs. Hayes, my Administration, and myself.

General and Mrs. Force came on 2:30 P. M. train from Sandusky. A pleasant ride all around town. In the evening attended church meeting. Our new pastor was frank and bus-

* In *Mansfield Herald*, of October 3, criticizing the McKinley tariff bill.

inesslike. The congregation is demoralized on financial duties by the shiftlessness of the last [pastor] (Mr. Mills) in all business [concerns].

October 11. Saturday.—The funeral of Mrs. Phelps here this morning. Rev. Alanson and Mrs. Phelps lived here (and in this house when first built, for a short time), a few years. Mrs. Phelps was a charming and excellent woman in her prime.

Afternoon, with General Force to the court-house to attend a pioneer meeting. Well attended. General Buckland presided. He called for talkers by township, as Rice, Riley, Ballville, etc. Interesting and cheerful talks. I spoke of Lucy's ancestors, father, etc. The battle of Ballville, I described. After a delightful visit, General and Mrs. Force went home.

Our new pastor, Mr. Albritton, wife, and two sons came to stay with us while the parsonage is getting ready for their occupancy.

CHAPTER LI

LOYAL LEGION ACTIVITIES — MRS. DAVIS'S "IN MEMORIAM" — VISIT TO CHICAGO — STANLEY AT TOLEDO — DEATH OF DOCTOR JOHN DAVIS — REVIEW OF MRS. HAYES'S LIFE — DEATH OF GENERAL DEVENS — WEALTH AND POVERTY — DEATH OF GENERAL SHERMAN — EXPENSES IN WHITE HOUSE — OCTOBER 1890-APRIL 1891

*O*CTOBER 13, 1890.—Rutherford and I reached Indianapolis about 10:30 this morning. Met General Lew Wallace at station;—drove with him to the Denison House. Soon met our friend Judge Martindale and his interesting family.

Our Philadelphia friends, Governor Beaver, Colonel Nicholson, General Brown, Major Lambert, General Merrill, and other Companions met us later. In the evening at the Grand Hotel, with Peck, recorder, on the invitation of General Wallace, I acted as commander. Installed eight or ten new Companions. Then an agreeable banquet. Made an offhand speech; very well received. Before dark visited the Columbia Club and met a goodly number of friendly people. A small talk there.

October 14. Tuesday.—Breakfast with the Martindales. In the afternoon to St. Louis which we reached, passing over the great bridge about 7:30 P. M., and at the Lindel soon after. Visited the headquarters of the St. Louis Companions; also the rooms for receiving. Here often during the stay. Liquor and refreshments, but very little intemperance.

October 15. Wednesday.—Commandery-in-Chief in one of the hotel parlors. Washington State Commandery authorized and other routine business. Drove to the park out Washington Street. Walked to the bridge and took cars over to East St. Louis. Reception for us by Companion Kearnes in the evening. Very fine in all respects. These people are more hearty and jovial than those of the Northern cities.

October 16. Thursday.—Visited Merchants' Exchange. A short speech. The exposition; a few words in the great music hall to a big crowd. Again in the directors' room in reply to Governor Stannard. The grand banquet in the evening very successful. My speech satisfactory; many congratulations. One said: "I liked your *remarks*."

October 17. Friday.—With Miss Virginia and Miss Almy Breckinridge to Shaw's Garden and Park and a beautiful lunch at their home.

P. M. Late at the reception room. Good-bye to Pearce, Corbin, Powell, Devol, Merrill, and all the rest. One of the most gratifying visits and affairs I ever enjoyed. A fine city, great future.

Visited Professor Woodward and the Manual Training School. All good.

Otocber 18. Saturday.—Reached Toledo about 8 A. M. At breakfast on the train met Colonel Hay. A long and most agreeable talk. Hay and Nicolay will issue their Lincoln in ten volumes soon; then a full edition of the writings of Lincoln.

Went to Birchard's. . . . A fine visit of several hours.

October 19. Sunday.—Leaves have fallen a good deal since we left, but the grove is still beautiful.

Ashley, a good-natured, "whole-souled," unscrupulous demagogue, is nominated for Congress by the Republicans. He begins with an attempt [at] a rush.

During my absence many agreeable things said to me about my Administration. The tide grows more favorable and is really strong my way.

Mr. Albritton preached a noble sermon today. It stirred both intellect [and] heart. While he was speaking, I thought of this as my speech at soldiers' meeting: —

We gained all we fought for by our victory, viz., 1. Union, 2. Liberty, 3. Stable popular government.

Next, we gained immeasurably more than we then thought of, viz., 1. General education, 2. Peace, 3. Equality of right, condition, and hope.

So far as laws and institutions avail, men should have equality of opportunity for happiness; that is, of education, wealth, power. These make happiness secure. *An equal diffusion of happiness* so far as laws and institutions avail.

Paralysis! Did I feel or only imagine a numbness of head, of the right leg, and a difficulty in controlling the tongue? This, after the close of the sermon. In any event, I am content. I have had my share of the good of this world and can now follow my darling Lucy! Probably this is too serious; only an unusually bad cold.

October 20. Monday.—*No severe frost yet.* Many trees are green. The large-leaved plants are untouched. The Japanese ivy for the most part is still green. On the west part of my bay it is bronzed beautifully; on the east part still green. The Virginia creeper has lost all of its leaves.

October 21. Tuesday.—Miss Avery came from Cleveland last evening. Reading and writing letters. I call this week my vacation. I have no preparation to make for any speech or meeting this year. Nothing until after New Year's day 1890 [1891]. I may make two speeches in Chicago in November at the Ohio Club and at the Congregational Club—the first on Ohio people and the other on the prison question.

Evening read the last chapter of the capital autobiography of Joseph Jefferson.

October 22. Wednesday.—I could not help thinking yesterday of the fatal stroke sixteen months ago! The darling!

Correspondence. Frances writes pleasantly from the woman's prison at Sherborn where she is visiting Mrs. Johnson. Very glad to have my darling daughter interested in the fallen and unfortunate. She finds a more earnest and deeper character in the friends of humanity than she supposed existed anywhere until she made the acquaintance of the men and women of the Prison Association.

Gathered in the scraps of the Warren and Parkersburg meetings, of the Cincinnati Prison Congress, [and of] the Indianapolis and the St. Louis Loyal Legion reunions. My scrap-books are to contain my autobiography. They will show my doings.

October 23. Thursday. — Attended a full prayer-meeting and then an official board meeting. The board meeting was to receive reports from the canvassers for subscriptions for the coming year. A pretty industrious canvass was made. The results are rather slender.

The Golden Rule furnishes the true solution of many difficult problems in government and society. Bishop Haygood, an ex-slaveholder and an ex-confederate soldier, has given us the best book on the negro question. The title of his work, a phrase of three or four words, tells the whole story: "Our *Brother* in Black." When reformers, religious teachers, and statesmen, and the general public lift themselves up to the height of the argument contained in that pithy title, there will no longer be a negro problem, nor a problem of capital and labor, nor any question as to the treatment of the criminal. The words of the quotation are familiar; the idea is not clearly and hospitably received. The author of "Pilgrim's Progress," seeing a convict carried to his punishment, said: "There goes John Bunyan, but for the grace of God." I have often quoted, and shall continue to quote as long as I speak on prison reform, the significant words of Governor Horatio Seymour in his inaugural address as president of the National Prison Association: "I never yet found a man so untamable that there was not something of good on which to build a hope. I never yet found a man so good that he need not fear a fall."

How will that do for an opening in Chicago?

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, October 24, 1890.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— Your visit was greatly enjoyed by us all. We hope it will be often repeated. Do not postpone; do not wait for a special invitation. Your words about Lucy touch me. They are very kind—very pleasant to hear.

Do not allow them to worry you out of your place. It is only a year until, in all probability, your friends will again come into power. A year is nothing. For your own sake, for the men's sake, for all of us, *hold on*. The tide will surely turn.

I had a delightful time at Indianapolis and at St. Louis. I send you a paper showing Indianapolis.

Kind regards to Mrs. Force and Horton.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

GENERAL M. F. FORCE,
Soldiers' Home, Sandusky.

October 26. Sunday. — A warm, moving, eloquent sermon on the [text]: "Nevertheless Thy will not mine be done." — Luke. The efficacy of sincere prayer is this: It does not always procure the thing prayed for, but it does better — it brings what is best for you. Eloquence is earnestness, enthusiasm, warmth, honesty.

FREMONT, October —, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR:— I am in receipt of your valued favor of the 20th instant in behalf of the Executive Committee of the German Citizens of Kentucky and Southern Indiana who celebrated, October 5, 1890, the two hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first German immigrants who settled in the United States. Your request that I should give you "an estimate of the German element in the United States" finds me altogether unprepared justly and adequately to respond to your wishes. Circumstances permit me to write only a few unconsidered sentences.

All the world thoroughly understands the transcendent merit of German scholars, philosophers, statesmen, soldiers, poets, and musicians. All the higher walks of life are filled with Germans of world-wide fame. But "the plain people," as Mr. Lincoln called his countrymen, who have adopted America as their home — what shall be said of them? On several vital points they afford a valuable and much needed example to our American society of British origin. They are, as a general statement, models of thrift, industry, economy, and contentment. They know and illustrate in their lives the worth of social and family intercourse and happiness.

During the larger part of my life I have lived where the German element was large, and in the town and county of my home, German names and homes are to be seen in every direction. Would that all my countrymen could possess and enjoy their well known and sterling virtues!

You allude with favorable comment to my appointment of Carl Schurz as Secretary of the Interior. Too independent of party for present popularity, those who know him well will always think of him as a gentleman of the purest character, and as an able, patriotic, and scholarly statesman.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

[*Unaddressed.*]

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, October 27, 1890.

MY DEAR AUNTIE DAVIS: — In the hurry of leaving home for New York this afternoon I have just received your "In Memoriam." I have hastily run my eyes over it. You have done it so well. Most heartily I thank you for it. With swimming eyes I read it — and look and look at the portraits! I shall want many copies.

Good-bye. All thanks — all good wishes to you and the doctor.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. ELIZA G. DAVIS,
Cincinnati.

October 27. Monday. — In the evening, about 7 P. M., on the Lake Shore Railroad for New York to attend the meeting of the trustees of the Slater Educational Fund to elect a successor to our excellent general agent, Dr. Haygood, now a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

[New York], October 29. Wednesday. — Met Mr. Gilman and Governor Colquitt; soon after all the other members except Chief Justice Fuller. Made a careful and prudent speech in favor of Mr. [J. L. M.] Curry for executive officer of the Slater Board. Successful.

October 30. Thursday. — On the Congressional Limited to Baltimore. [By] 8:30 at the Rennert Hotel. Called on by Senator H. S. Davis, of West Virginia. A cheerful and interesting talk. He is for a railroad to South America!

October 31. Friday. — With [President] Gilman visited the Johns Hopkins University. Spoke to the historical class under Herbert Adams. The negro condition in the Virginia Military Land District of Ohio. Then with Mr. Enoch Pratt visit the Pratt Library, a branch of it also, and the Johns Hopkins Hospital.

Met Dr. Curry and arranged to have him take Bishop Haygood's duties.

[*Spiegel Grove*], *November 2. Sunday.* — . . . Rutherford read in the last *Century* a good talk by John Hay on Lincoln. Read also in John Fiske's book on "Civil Government in the United States." Massachusetts with her town system and public schools bred an intelligent and wise people. Virginia with her county system and large plantations bred leaders.

November 3. Monday. — The evening mail brought sad news. [Cousin] Russell Bigelow, in the asylum [recently attacked with acute mania], died from exhaustion and lack of sleep Sunday about noon. A noble boy, pure, ambitious, scholarly, and of muscular frame, with a long life before him apparently, gone! His afflicted mother! I wrote to her, but what can be said?

[This] evening learned [too] that Mrs. W. P. Howland, of Jefferson, a lady I knew well and with whom I staid, a delegate last week here to [the meeting of the] Women's Christian Temperance Union, was killed instantly on her arrival home after she got off the train, by a freight train coming unexpectedly. Mr. Howland a leading lawyer of Ashtabula County, a senator in the Legislature when I was at Columbus, and a stanch friend of mine.

Alas! how near we are to the line that divides us from the deepest sorrows, the saddest of calamities!

November 4. Tuesday. — This is the day of the general election. I anticipate Democratic gains — a Democratic Congress.

The first election of importance after a new President is affected by the disappointments of office-seekers, and the other failures to meet extravagant hopes. In this case also the new tariff law—the McKinley bill—is easily misrepresented as increasing the cost of all goods. On the whole, all that is saved in the general disaster is gain. But we shall see. For McKinley himself, defeat, if it comes to him, is no serious disaster. The sober second thought will perhaps elect him governor. The seesaw of political life is to be counted on.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, November 4, 1890.

GENTLEMEN:—I beg you to receive my thanks for an invitation to attend the “Old Roman” banquet in honor of Allen G. Thurman. Judge Thurman has a host of valid titles to the admiration and regard of his countrymen.

I have special reasons to recall with grateful feelings his thoughtful kindness to me when as one of the judges of the Supreme Court he heard my first case before that tribunal. May he long live to enjoy the esteem and affection which are now gathered around him.

I regret that my engagements prevent me from being present at the banquet.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

THE THURMAN CLUB,
Columbus.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, November 5, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR:—I thank you for your interesting and excellent brief in the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. Without investigation or serious thought about it, I have followed Hawthorne and Emerson, both of whom seemed fair-minded on the question. Your brief comes nearer to fixing my attention on this head than anything I have read. Nothing yet said that I have seen has so staggered me as your facsimiles of the handwriting of Shakespeare. If authentic? Could a man who had written so much as appears to be his work at twenty-five or

thirty years of age do it with that hand? Could he have such a hand? Perhaps so, but —

Then your talk about his education and that of his family and the will *do* suggest, if not compel, doubts.

I have turned it over to my son, a lawyer of Toledo, who is a devoted Shakespearean student and collector.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

EDWIN REED, ESQUIRE,
Chicago.

P. S.—Your commendation of *that* Administration, it is pleasant to see.—Can you send me another copy? I want it for a lady who reads and *thinks*—Mrs. John W. Herron, of Cincinnati.

November 5. Wednesday.—Last evening a meeting of the official board of the church. A good attendance. Finance, the business. A good spirit. Fourteen hundred dollars raised of the seventeen or eighteen hundred we should raise. A general disposition to make it up. Kridler, now past seventy, spoke sensibly about “educating the church to give.” Mr. Emerson, a farmer of Ballville, is one of the best and most sensible men in the board.

The election passed off quietly. A good vote polled. I have as yet heard nothing, but I look for Democratic gains in all quarters and a Democratic House.

Am getting up my talk before the Congregational Club at Chicago:—There are but two ways to preserve public order in great nations. One is vast military establishments in time of peace, and that mode every day grows less trustworthy, and the other is absolute justice in the spirit of true fraternity among men—in the spirit of the Golden Rule, and that with every rolling year avails more and more. Indeed it is the only sure reliance of civilized society.

Let us all strive “to hasten the current of that stream of tendency which makes for righteousness.”

November 6. Thursday. — Today the corner-stone of our jail to be laid. I will make my first speech in this town on one of my hobbies, prison reform.

Laura Mitchell came this evening. She will make us happy.

November 10. Monday. — I agreed to attend the Ohio Society in Chicago. . . . Wrote letters all of the forenoon; too many for comfort. And how absurdly prolix many correspondents are! One page is long enough.

Read with Laura, or rather Laura read to me, from [William] Morris' "Wolfings."

SPIEGEL GROVE, November 10, 1890.

In America the opportunities, the work, and the influence of women grow wider and wider. Whether we like this tendency or not, we cannot fail to see it. We ought to recognize it in the training of our girls. The weak point in female education in this country is the neglect of health. We have too much bending over books and too little open-air exercise. Too many studies, too little work and too little out-of-door play.

My wish for the American woman is that she may always be an elevating influence — man's inspiration. Let him go forth to duty while she weaves the spell which makes home a paradise to which he may return, ever welcome, whether he is victor or vanquished.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

Unaddressed.]

November 11. Tuesday. — A happy visit with Laura to Birchard and Mary and the two boys. All were in excellent case. . . . We returned before seven. Read some chapters of Morris' book. Correspondence, of course. A book on the veto power, in which ample justice is done to me. It is by Albert Bushnell Hart. The first number of the "Harvard Historical Series."

November 17. Monday. — Arrived at Chicago on time — before breakfast. At the Grand Pacific. Rained all day. Met

committee of Congregational Club, William Henry and Delavan Smith, General Lake, and many others. At my room all day. In the evening at the supper of the Congregational Club. Mr. Wines with me during the day. He made a capital speech; closed with a feeling tribute to Mrs. Hayes.

I was introduced by Mr. Moore with words of welcome and flattery. Well received. A fairish speech, offhand. Altogether a gratification. At 10:40 Colonel Corbin saw me off. Met McKinley; brave and cheerful over his defeat. A fine specimen of all that he purports to be — an American statesman.

November 18. Tuesday. — To Columbus. Reached the office of Captain Cope, secretary of Ohio State University, at about 11 A. M. Godfrey and Schueller of the board present. Adjourned until 2:30 P. M.

[At] 2:30 P. M. Godfrey, Schueller and now Wing and self make a quorum. President Scott and Cope with us. An important meeting. My aim to get a renewed application for industrial education. The new grant from Congress of fifteen thousand dollars a year, to be increased one thousand dollars a year, is a handsome addition to our income. We divided between equipment and new instruction.

November 19. Wednesday. — Fine weather today and yesterday. The board labored faithfully, joined by Miller and Massie, and were reasonably successful. The industrial department agreed to; thirty thousand dollars for building; also fifty thousand dollars for geological museum and library.

November 24. Monday. — I by an oversight missed the Bible meeting in the Episcopal church last night. I am sorry. I wanted especially to attend. The religion of the Bible is the best in the world. I see the infinite value of religion. Let it be always encouraged. A world of superstition and folly have grown up around its forms and ceremonies. But the truth in it is one of the deep sentiments in human nature.

Evening at the concert of the Schubert Quartette, of Chicago, in the Presbyterian church. A very large and fine audience. This is the first of a series of entertainments for the winter, mostly popular lectures, — six for one dollar and twenty-five

cents. An auspicious opening of the course. As usual in such cases, learning that I was in the audience, the performers sent word that they wished to pay their respects. A hand-shaking of course. Agreeable people.

During the day, correspondence. A little meditation on my offhand talk to be given at the Ohio Society in Chicago. A brag will be in order.

November 25. Tuesday. — I paid three hundred dollars in aid of Mrs. Noyes, widow of General E. F. Noyes, today in check to Mr. W. Hooper. It will, I hope, with the amounts subscribed by others give her a home. Also fifty dollars today in aid of parsonage, etc., of the Episcopal church.

Read up Ohio in the wars of the United States. I leave out the civil side of this brilliant story, with Stanton and Chase and the rest of our honored public men; with Bishop McIlvaine and Bishop Simpson and the long line of eminent clergymen who in the pulpit stimulated the patriotism of our country, and speak only of those who on the battlefield upheld their country's cause.

November 26. Tuesday. — Mrs. Davis tells this of Lucy, a schoolgirl at the Wesleyan Female College. Lucy, a stranger, perhaps homesick, with sparkling eyes and a beaming face said, "Something is going to happen today." "Why, what is it, dear," said [a schoolmate] Mrs. Davis. "Mother is coming tonight," was the reply.

Well, the darling daughter, Frances away from Spiegel two months, since September 24, at Cincinnati, New York, Boston, etc., will come home tonight!

November 27. Thursday. — The rich and the so-called fortunate owe a duty to the unfortunate. The first and by great odds the chief duty is simple justice. They owe them just laws, just methods of business, and a fair share of the good things of the world, such as education, property, opportunity.

December 2. Tuesday. — Returned last evening from Toledo where I spent Sunday with Birchard and Mary and Sherman.

In the evening of Thanksgiving on a sleeper for Chicago. At Toledo Mr. Isaac N. Smead with his son came into the cars. Pleasant chat until 10 P. M. Slept as usual on the train — rest-

ful, somewhat wakeful, until called at early daylight by the porter "near Chicago." Was soon joined by a committee of the Ohio Society who came out ten miles to meet me — Major William E. Bliven and Mr. Jones. Escorted to pleasant quarters at the Grand Pacific. Breakfast with the two. Soon after, Colonel Corbin came. Walked over to the military headquarters. Met there General Williams, General Miles, commander of the Department or Division. General Miles talked of the Indian troubles — the *Messiah* that had come to them. He thinks the army should have charge of the Indians. "You can't suddenly turn them into farmers. I saw a pile of ploughs that would do in an old country where the ground has been broken for years, but utterly worthless to break the hard ground of the dry West," etc. A poor chance for the Indian to become civilized. "He gets arms of the best patterns from the traders."

Passed the Masonic building going up; of steel, to be eighteen stories high. "Can't build much higher. The lower part too dark," etc.

Lunched with Judge Gresham and others (Major Butterworth) at Union League Club. Judge Gresham is trying a *habeas corpus* case. A son-in-law of Judge Otis is imprisoned for contempt in refusing to testify as to violations of the Interstate Commerce Law on the ground that it would criminate himself. The law has undertaken to relieve from danger by enacting that he cannot be injured by his testimony being used against him.

Major Butterworth told of a lunch when a few defeated Republican Congressmen — McKinley, C—, and another — were talking over their defeat. McKinley said: "Oh well, we don't care. We'll soon get back." "Oh, now," said C—, "none of that. It is well enough to say that at home. But here among ourselves we need not *lie* about it." Major Butterworth is capital company in all such social gatherings; an able man, independent to a degree that hurts him with the machine men.

After lunch at my room. Slept and meditated my speech at the Ohio Society banquet.

In the evening with Judge Thoman to the parlors where for an hour or more a stream of ladies and gentlemen were intro-

duced to me. Miss Mary Ballard stood with me; Miss Mary Otis, Miss Florence Smith, and a host of others. Among them many old acquaintances. Escorted Mrs. Bliven to the dining table. Sat at the right of the president (with Miss Florence Smith between Thoman and me). After the banquet I spoke thirty minutes and Major Butterworth ten or twelve. Dancing by the young folks.

Judge Thoman called early Saturday morning and saw me on the cars—8 A. M. Reached Toledo about 4 P. M. [At] the home of Birchard wrote the short speech introducing [Henry M.] Stanley to the audience at the People's Theatre in the evening.

[At] 7:30 drove to the Boody House. Met there Major Pond, the agent of the lecturer. Was taken to the room of Stanley. Sat with him alone a few minutes. He is short, long-bodied, but lower limbs short, strongly built; face healthily florid, hair gray, with bright, friendly expression. Easy and agreeable in conversation, inviting confidence; very pleasant, said: "You would like to see Mrs. Stanley." She came in with him, a handsome, stylish young woman, English rosy complexion, a head taller than Stanley; converses in a handsome lively way. Her mother, Mrs. Tennant, a well-preserved, cordial person.

We soon walked together, led by Major Pond, three squares to the theatre. As soon as ready there (wraps off and the like), Stanley and I walked on to the stage alone; sat a moment on the sofa. I introduced him. He put on an easel his manuscript in large, coarse handwriting; stood erect, after a bow and moderate applause, and spoke rather too low—decidedly too low tones—but with good elocution, manner, and pronunciation, reading not at all. The lecture, so called, was so well committed that he delivered it as if offhand conversation. He did not need his manuscript. The matter was too much of his opinions of and relations with Emin Pasha and too little of his travels, of Africa, and of his adventures.

Sunday, at the Triangle. Walked with Mary to her church—Congregational. Heard Mr. Williams the pastor preach a good, sensible sermon on the text, "Ethiopia shall stretch out her hands," etc. A hopeful talk on the negro.

Monday, called on my old friend [Clark] Waggoner. Talked of his fight with the Standard Oil Company on the pipe-line question. Hopes with confidence that the city will succeed in getting a good supply of cheap gas (three cents per thousand feet), and that the Standard will sell out their plant — their pipes in the streets. We shall see. Also [of] his successful fight against Ashley. Afternoon, with Birchard home.

December 3. Wednesday. — Emerson says: "Why nature loves number five." Why I love number one: I was elected city solicitor thirty or forty years ago by *one* majority — the best lawyer's office in Cincinnati at the time — at a time of life when one's first office tastes sweet in the mouth.

Dr. William K. Rogers, Jr., came from Columbus. Mrs. Rogers [his mother] had seen a notice of the sale of the Hayes Block [in Duluth] at a low figure; knew my old friend was in the bank of Hall and Company that recently failed; fears her estate in Rogers' name may be involved in the catastrophe. I don't see how we can lose the Hayes Block or be involved without my hearing of it. W. K. Rogers is totally unfit to cope with business and business men. He is easily duped; trusts all men who profess friendship; in short, needs a guardian in all business matters. He seems to lack a sense of duty and responsibility. Withal a good man, of culture, of ability, and the talents that would fit him for a professorship in a college. I wired R. P. [Rutherford, who is visiting Duluth] in Scott's name: "How are you? What is the situation? Reply promptly." No answer as yet. Young Dr. Rogers seems all he should be. Intelligent; appreciates his father's worth and weakness. I hope Mrs. Rogers' property is not lost and that my own is in no trouble. But I am somewhat anxious about it.

With Dr. Rogers visited the new opera house. It may be ready to occupy in a month or six weeks. It promises very well.

Correspondence and my books. The *Northwestern Congregationalist*, of St. Paul, contains a stenographic report of my speech on Prison Reform before the Congregational Club of Chicago. It looks well in print; is perhaps my best speech on the question.

December 7. Sunday. — Webb came early and went to church with me. Our new pastor preached a warm, earnest, eloquent sermon to a full church. Talked with Webb on Dr. R. S. Storrs' sermon on Thanksgiving Day. The wickedness of our system of gathering wealth into a few hands, leaving a multitude, of *necessity*, in want. Webb left about 4 P. M. after a good visit. In the evening Rutherford came after a happy trip. He found our affairs at Duluth in quite as good a condition as he expected. The prospect of "the farm," as city property, is good; would sell *now* for one hundred thousand dollars to one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. Rogers well and doing well.

December 8. Monday. — Rutherford brought home another book of William Morris. He thought as it is on the right side of *some* parts of the labor question that I would like it. It is entitled "News from Nowhere, or an Epoch of Rest." It treats of the "Solidarity of Labor." But it is not well done. Its talk of marriage is loose. Its use of low words and phrases is frequent. Not a book up to the subject nor equal to the author's other works.

FREMONT, December 8, 1890.

MY DEAR SIR: — I congratulate you on the completion of your wonderful work, "The Genesis of the United States." The collection and preparation for the press of such a mountain of materials and host of interesting and rare portraits and maps make the beautiful volumes you have published an unique addition to our early history. I cannot speak of the contents of the volumes except from a very hasty and cursory examination.

I am confident that your work will prove of great and permanent value.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

ALEXANDER BROWN.

December 9. Tuesday. — No author, but I have written a good deal — mostly trash — that has been printed. As a mem-

ber of the American Historical Association, I am called on by Paul Leicester Ford to furnish a list of my published writings. Rutherford has got it ready and will send it as requested.

December 10. Wednesday.—The wealth of our country is increasing rapidly and enormously. The question of its distribution presses more and more urgently. The great question in our day and generation plainly is the property question—the question of wealth. Shall it be held, controlled, owned by a few? Or shall it be wisely, equitably, that is widely distributed? More and more, wealth gives power, estimation, reputation. Shall only a few have it? Wealth, education, opportunity, power, go together. Shall they belong to a few, or to the many? They will rule always in a free country. Who shall rule, the few or the many, a plutocracy or a democracy? That is the question.

In the evening met Colonel Brigham and Mr. Williams at the depot. They want Chamberlain to be president of the Ohio University. It will strengthen it with the farmers; make it, in fact, a mechanics and farmers' college, and gain thus in the Legislature the needed votes for its liberal support. This is their argument. They say Mr. Wing is with them and that Massie will probably aid. Godfrey will on personal grounds oppose, they say. I gave them no assurance; would consider it, try to hear the case impartially. [I] believe in making the college a people's college, a college for farmers and mechanics in the best sense—something different from the common, old-fashioned classical college. The truth is, I fear Chamberlain is not large enough in head and character for the place. But—?

Webb and Mr. Lawrence came over to see into the difficulty of the Carbon Company works here. The natural gas company has suddenly cut off the supply of gas from the factories. They have so extended their pipes to Detroit, Sandusky, and Norwalk that they can only supply gas for domestic purposes. They find this more profitable. They induced the factories to come to this region, and now for gain destroy them! This is monopoly. Hateful always.

In the evening discussed magnetism, the human article, with

Mr. Lawrence. There is in it much — mostly mystery — we agree.

December 11. Thursday. — In the evening attended a full meeting of the post. It is a happiness to see the joy it gives the old fellows simply to meet together, irrespective of what is done or said. Officers all elected by acclamation. Captain Young bubbled over with happiness seeing the harmony of the "old post." I was with Greene elected delegate to the state encampment.

Our banks all a little nervous. Rutherford goes to Cleveland to see if he can get cash if needed for a run on the savings bank of which he is cashier. He does not wish to give the sixty days' notice if he can avoid it.

December 12. Friday. — I am "a radical in thought (and principle) and a conservative in method" (and conduct). . . . An address of President White, "Evolution and Revolution," contains sound and liberal talk. "Righteousness exalteth a nation." "Righteousness means rightness, right doing, right dealing, the cultivation of this in the individual and in society." "To do justly, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with God."

E. W. Bemis on socialism writes well. State action, state regulation, state control, are his words. Not state socialism, nor communism, nor nihilism which is anarchy.

The unrestricted competition so commonly advocated does not leave us the survival of the fittest. The unscrupulous succeed best in accumulating wealth.

December 13. — Clear, lovely winter morning. I have often thought of watching a sunrise and trying to describe in cold black ink its brilliant glories. This morning, about half past six, the rosy blush spread over the sky near the evergreens at the small southeast gate. By 6:45 the colors were in strata and so remained with small change for fifteen minutes, viz., first at the earth, lowest, a stream of rosy golden, irregular in width, apparently ten to fifteen feet, then a stream of blue, or light greenish blue, about as wide as the golden below, then golden and rosy again extending laterally north and south for perhaps three or four hundred yards, then blue and again rosy shading

off to leaden-colored sky. At 7:15 the first fiery red of the upper rim of the sun appeared among the evergreens; the streams of alternate blue and rosy disappeared, and the whole southeast sky, up forty or fifty feet or more, was brilliantly and beautifully rosy and silver; and higher up the clouds, each a bundle, became also a rosy silver. About 7:20, the whole round fiery red sun was above the horizon and the light of day rapidly drove away the rosy golden colors with the silver sheen, and the world was awake. While I wrote this the sun has passed under clouds and the appearance at the evergreen trees and north and south of them now is a stream of six to ten feet wide all along the horizon of blue; then four to ten feet of brilliantly rosy red, and above it a dull leaden blue up to the white blue of the sky. Broad daylight and I turn off the gas.

December 15. Monday.—Democracy and Republicanism in their best partisan utterances alike declare for human rights. Jefferson, the father of Democracy, Lincoln, the embodiment of Republicanism, and the Divine author of the religion on which true civilization rests, all proclaim the equal rights of all men.

December 16. Tuesday.—The sudden death of an excellent man; not an intimate friend, but one always esteemed, Henry C. Noble, Esq., of Columbus. He and his wife were among the friends who went with us to Washington in 1877. They were with us returning in 1881. Lucy and Mrs. Noble were good friends, not intimate. Mr. and Mrs. Noble came to her funeral. I wrote today a note of sympathy to Mrs. Noble. Remembering the comfort I got from kind words about Lucy, I praised Mr. Noble; not extravagantly but judiciously, as I could truthfully do.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, December 16, 1890.

MY DEAR MRS. NOBLE:—I have learned that it is pleasant to know that others appreciate the virtues of those we have loved and lost, and this comfort surely is yours. Your husband, in sterling worth, was a rare man indeed. He was able, honorable, and so trustworthy and good. You need not be told of his excellence. You know it better than others. I but express briefly

and feebly what his whole circle of friends and acquaintances would wish you to know they feel. God grant you His support in these desolate days is the prayer of all of his friends and of yours,

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. HENRY C. NOBLE,
Columbus.

December 17. Wednesday. — Reading all that I can get hold of on the negro question. I find nothing which overthrows or even tends to overthrow the position that education will help him wherever he needs help, will strengthen [him] where he is weak, and will aid him to overcome all evil tendencies. The question then is how best to educate him.

To Cleveland this afternoon.

December 18. Thursday. — With D. Z. Norton visited the "University School" of Anderson. It is on a plan that strikes me favorably. It has as its course for eight years, ten to eighteen, training "all around," so arranged as to interest and enlist the boys in the work. Work, industrial; sports, baseball, football, and the like; studies; swimming, skating, and gymnastics; lunch, a simple meal at the school. Boys are weighed, measured, inspected, their defects noted. Exercises fitted to correct defects, forty-five minutes to one hour. *Rest is doing something else.* Dined with Mrs. Norton and Mrs. Castle (1398 Euclid). Spent the evening with Mrs. Austin and Mattie.

December 19. Friday. — I called yesterday on Mr. Covert of the *Leader*; gave him the report of Comrades Alfred Arthur and David Kimberley of their capture of one hundred and forty-five rebels in the Morgan raid near Buffington, Ohio. Published in the *Leader* today. Also talked over the Mohonk Negro Conference. . . . This afternoon to Sandusky. At the Soldiers' Home welcomed by General and Mrs. Force and the fine boy Horton. Mrs. Horton is as ever an angelic old lady. A good visit throughout. "As if in camp again," among the veterans and the general's books and with the general.

December 22.—In the evening, a quarterly conference meeting. The returns of collections not as good as they should be. Mr. Albritton a good deal discouraged. Made a gloomy talk, chiefly on the point of the discords in the church. Mr. Kridler thought the picture too dark. No other one spoke. Seeing we were about to adjourn in a downhearted state of mind, I made an earnest appeal for better feeling, criticized the pastor for "showing the white feather"—a phrase he had used—and complimented him warmly on his sermons; told him how he was uplifting us all, referred to the time of year as a hard one for raising money, and the year itself as a year of unusual money depression. The effect of the talk was good. I called for a rising vote in favor of harmony and of sustaining our pastor. It was carried with much good feeling. We adjourned feeling well—better than at any time for a year or more.

December 24. Wednesday.—Read Emerson on Montaigne, Shakespeare, and Napoleon this week. Began "A Dream by a Modest Prophet," by General Leggett.

December 25. Thursday.—. . . A happy Christmas day [at Toledo] with our excellent hosts, Birchard and Mary. But all day I was thinking of the dear one gone.

December 26. Friday.—We hear that our old friends in Cincinnati, the Davises, [who] had their usual happy Christmas, with probably Huntington and Adda of the party, were plunged into sorrow by the sudden death of Dr. John Davis. About nine he died. Fanny and I will go down tomorrow. They were of our nearest Cincinnati friends. They were at our wedding; *en route* to Washington with us in 1877; at the silver wedding December 30, 1877; returned with the party of our friends when we left Washington in 1881, and were at the funeral of Lucy in 1889. He was true and warm in his friendship. Mrs. Davis wrote the missionary "In Memoriam" of Lucy and succeeded Lucy as President of the Woman's Home Missionary [Society]. A long list of events marks the intimacy and long continuance of our friendship.

FREMONT, OHIO, December 26, 1890.

MY DEAR DOCTOR:— I send you the long delayed letter of Mr. Evarts, merely that you may see it. It does not change facts. The affair is finally settled greatly to my satisfaction, and most beneficially, I am confident, for the cause.

I hear from Lake Mohonk that they fear you cannot attend the next Conference on the Negro Question. I hope you will strain all points to get there. We have now reached the time when both sides of the old line can shut their eyes to the blunders and offenses of the past and deal exclusively with the present and the future. There is enough ill nature in official bodies—enough raking up of the past in Congress and in the press,—to make it very desirable to have one example of a harmonious meeting of the representatives of all sections to discuss the interesting problem. Of course there will be discords, but we may hope that the prevailing temper will be good.

The sudden death of an intimate friend in Cincinnati calls me there at once.

With all best wishes to Mrs. Curry and yourself.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

DR. J. L. M. CURRY.

December 27. Saturday. — With Frances reached Cincinnati about 10 P. M. Rooms good but cold—very. The hasty fire barely touched the climate. A deep snow.

December 28. Sunday. — In Cincinnati, Burnet House; cold and clear; eight inches snow here. After a good breakfast we walked in the clear, crisp air to 323 Elm street, Aunty Davis' — alone now! Dr. Davis died almost instantly — a bursted blood vessel in the brain — after a most happy Christmas with family and guests. All kissed him under the mistletoe, and then! He went upstairs with Huntington to smoke, had a short spell of coughing, in a few minutes was no more. Born January 4, 1821, would have been seventy in a few days. Funeral: first, private, at the house, then at the church. Many (five) speakers. One

took as initials of his virtues the letters which spell CHRIST — viz., conscientiousness, humility, reverence, intrepidity, simplicity, trustworthiness. Others left the impression of his excellent life and character. . . . Evening again with Auntie Davis. She was calm,—but what to do? A large house, alone; or must she load herself with the care of a houseful of relatives? Sad, indeed.

December 30. Tuesday. — Thirty-eight years ago my wedding! Lucy! . . .

December 31. Wednesday. — Visited today by a comrade of the Twenty-third, Harrison Brown, Company B, now living at Jefferson, Ohio. He lost his left arm by a shot at an impudent rebel prisoner in Camp Chase on the dead line, or past it. The shot barely grazed the man shot at and after crushing Brown's arm is now in his hip. He is a powerful man; has double teeth all round; wants and deserves a pension. Was a wild boy; grossly insulted by his sergeant, he knocked him down, and was sent three months to Camp Chase.

I sent "Jane Eyre" and "David Copperfield" to his daughter, a thirteen-year old. I must, if he gets his pension, tell him to come to our reunions at Lakeside.

January 1, 1891. Thursday. — A time to pause, to cast up accounts, to recall the past year, to plan for the new year, to make good resolutions. Walter Scott in his "Journal," January 1, 1826, says:—"A year has passed — another has commenced. These solemn divisions of time influence our feelings as they recur. Yet there is nothing in it; for every day in the year closes a twelvemonth as well as the 31st of December. The latter is only the solemn pause, as when a guide, showing a wild and mountainous road, calls on a party to pause and look back at the scenes which they have just passed. To me this new year opens sadly."

Last evening I intended to look in on the last meeting of the year in our Methodist church to see if it was observed as it was when I was young. Then the old year was "watched out" and the New Year was "watched in" with prayers, hymns, and

solemn exhortations. Those meetings were often very impressive and solemn. But stopping a little before nine o'clock the lights were put out and prayer-meeting over.

The happy old custom of New Year's calling by gentlemen has nearly disappeared. . . . I read Walter Scott's "*Gurnal*," as he often spells it, [and] newspapers, and wrote a few letters. I did not make as many calls as I intended. . . . General Buckland and I talked over the usual topics. We naturally drifted into the war. The famous cold New Year's day of the war, January 1, 1864, was referred to. He was at Memphis. In a few hours [the mercury fell] from 70 degrees + to 16 degrees +. He told of his surprise that old Mrs. Harrington in 1837 should recall his father, Sergeant Ralph Buckland, as a soldier of the war of 1812 and talk of him as she worked at weaving. It was only twenty-five years past; and here we are talking of the beginning of the war almost thirty years ago as if it happened last week.

January 2. Friday. — In the evening heard a lecture to a large audience in the Presbyterian church by Major H. C. Dane, of Boston, on the naval battles of the Rebellion. It was well done, and delighted the audience. The three battles described were the *Monitor* fight with *Merrimac*, March 9, Sunday, 1862, the capture of New Orleans, and the battle of Mobile Bay, August 5, 1864. The whole lecture was spirited, graphic, and extremely interesting. In regard to the battle in Hampton Roads, the new point was that the arrival of the *Monitor* was an accident (?). No order or advice sent her there. I mean, no order from Government. She was to make a trial trip from New York and return. But she sailed down the New Jersey coast; stopped over night; came within sound of the guns of the battle and Worden sailed towards the fight. The battle of Mobile Bay was, according to Major Dane, the turning-point. If it had failed, intervention would have ruined the Union cause. Doubtful. But it was a great battle. Describing the horror of these sea fights as he did, the wonder is that so few comparatively are lost. The proportion of killed and wounded is less than in land fighting.

January 3. Saturday. — Emerson says: "In Europe crime is observed to increase or abate with the price of bread."

Crimes increase as education, opportunity, and property decrease. Whatever spreads ignorance, poverty, and discontent causes crime.

Who are guilty? Criminals have their own responsibility, their own share of guilt, but they are merely the hand. The brains that contrive and control have also their responsibility, their share of guilt.

Whoever interferes with equal rights and equal opportunities is in some sense, in some degree, some real degree, responsible for the crimes committed in the community.

January 4. Sunday. — Webb made us happy by appearing at breakfast this morning. He always makes the day joyous with his spirit and cheerful and entertaining talk. . . . [With him] discussed the statement of the lecturer, Major Dane, that the *Monitor* did not sail from New York for Hampton Roads, but was under orders to make a trial trip and return to New York. Now, in the "Battles and Leaders of the Civil War," by the Century Company, we find a totally different account, [showing clearly that the *Monitor* was ordered to Hampton Roads. This account was] written by S. Dana Greene, Commander United States Navy, who was the second in command — the executive officer — of the *Monitor* in the battle with the *Merrimac*. He says there were fifty-eight men all told on the *Monitor*. What other fifty-eight men, what other so insignificant force, ever fought so momentous a battle? . . .

January 5. Monday. — Sent to War Department — Major Davis of the "War Records" — a box containing three or four books, copies of letters, endorsements, orders, reports of the brigade in [the] Department of West Virginia commanded by me in 1863 and 1864 and by H. F. Devol in 1865, together with papers of that period.

Read Walter Scott's "Journal," Woodberry's "Talks with Emerson," and the "Life of R. H. Dana" by Charles F. Adams.

January 6. Tuesday. — During the night felt uncomfortable; took a small glass of Sauterne; was wakeful; thought for a long

time of Lucy — her wonderful career, capacities, and how she touched closely such a vast variety of people and of life; her travels, her recollections of events, scenes, and characters! A wife, mother, grandmother, as a woman; her child history, with a widowed mother, in narrow circumstances; her life in the country with her grandfather and grandmother — and her famous uncles, in Chillicothe, the ancient metropolis of Ohio, with its able men and attractive and noted women; her visits to Kentucky, both in the country and in Lexington; her going to college and mingling with the boy students, with the cronies of her two brothers, the only girl in the Ohio Wesleyan University at Delaware; her life in Cincinnati, where she knew both the humble and the upper four hundred; her life at the Ohio Wesleyan Female College; married life in Cincinnati with a young lawyer, slowly rising; her growing family of boys, with at last one daughter; the war which she was in the midst of, in camps, in tents, in newly-built log cabins, in hospitals of sick, of freshly wounded, in the mountains of West Virginia near Hawk's Nest, in the Kanawha Valley, in Maryland near Antietam, in Frederick City, Washington, Baltimore, wherever camps and hospitals were found; the wife of a Member of Congress during the exciting scenes of the reconstruction period, knowing and meeting all the noted generals and statesmen; sitting up all night in the House of Representatives to see the bills passed in spite of "filibustering" over the vetoes of President Johnson; once the *first* person to enter with her husband the great reception of General Grant in 1866 (this done purposely to see the whole affair); a trip of ten days or more with a Congressional party to see the South in the holidays of 1865-6, visiting Lynchburg, Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville, Memphis, Jackson, New Orleans, with Vice-President Foster, Senators Wade, Lane, Ramsay, Norton and Members of Congress and their wives; having visited Richmond (just after the close of the great conflict), and Petersburg, with passes from General Grant which enabled her to see all of the awful desolation, spending days in Richmond and Petersburg; having seen the Grand Review in May in Washington; at Columbus three terms of the governorship, having passed through exciting campaigns;

engaged in the benevolent enterprises of the time; always at home with the inmates of the Deaf and Dumb, [the] Blind, [and the] Imbecile [Asylums]; [the] Reformatory and other State institutions; a traveller, familiar with all parts of the United States; down the St. Lawrence several times before her husband was known in public life; on the Mississippi from the twin cities to New Orleans; on the lakes and the connecting rivers from Duluth at the west end of Lake Superior to the mouth of the St. Lawrence; on the Atlantic ocean from Portland to Fortress Monroe; on the Pacific from the Straits of Fuca and Puget Sound to San Francisco; in every great city of the country; familiar with all sorts and descriptions of men and women, farmers, mechanics, artists, scholars, authors, clergymen, miners, ranchmen, sailors, fishermen, cowboys, soldiers, camp followers, hospital people, the very poor and the very rich; acquainted with all that comes to those who pass through the most exciting contests in political life,—the contest of 1876, the nomination, the long and doubtful canvass, the disputed result; the life in the White House during four years; the life of a retired ex-President in the old home at Spiegel Grove; mingling freely always with the religious, the benevolent, the fashionable, and the giddy; fond of all rational sports, games, pleasures, and excitements; a matchless fisherwoman; delighted with all fine animals and knowing them; in love with flowers, gardening, and farming, and always and everywhere at home; easily made happy, and with the faculty never excelled of making all around her happy—always doing it; equally welcome and prized in the house of affliction and suffering and in the scenes of gay life; knowing more people, and known to more people than, perhaps, any other woman of her time [or] that ever lived;—is it strange that one so beloved by such multitudes should have been mourned when she died? What tributes came from the press, the pulpit, by letter, by resolutions of all sorts of public bodies, from private persons, men, women and children, from all the States and Territories of our own country and from abroad! A woman with unsurpassed opportunities to confer happiness, with wonderful powers to confer happiness,

and with a will and desire to make happy, never found in greater measure in any human being.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 6, 1891.

DEAR MADAM:— Your favor of the first instant is before me. I am confident that the governor of New York [David B. Hill] will give due attention to the facts you spread before him in behalf of the application for pardon you refer to. It is a mistake to call on strangers in distant States to express opinions on *ex parte* statements. The tendency is to injure your case. It looks as if you were relying on personal influence, clamor, instead of the merits of your case. I must, therefore, decline, respectfully, to comply with your request.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MRS. ADA SPRINGER.

January 7. Wednesday.— About midnight I heard Scott at the telephone. He was receiving from the telegraph office a message announcing the death of Charles Devens in Boston. I could not learn if any particulars were given. The phone was working badly. General Devens was a member of my Cabinet. He has been for some years a judge of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. He was a model gentleman. He was a bachelor. He was an orator, a soldier of credit, carried a Rebel bullet in his body, was much honored for character, ability, and life. Lucy admired him; we were all fond of him. I would like to attend the funeral. Many engagements are in the way. But I would try to arrange them, if it were not for the inclement Eastern winter which we hear of, and for the chance of losing time and health on snow-bound trains. I sent the following dispatch in the morning:—

“I mourn the death of my trusted and true friend General Charles Devens. He was eminent in his profession. He was a patriotic soldier and a wise counsellor. He will always be remembered by those who knew him as a noble gentleman. I regret exceedingly that I cannot attend the funeral.”

January 8. Thursday. — I began with Lucy Keeler the work of selecting tributes to Lucy for the sketch of her for Howe's "Historical Collections." No easy job in the abundance of material. It is probable that these tributes were to be found in many thousands of the newspapers and periodicals of the United States. Few and rare were the newspapers in which they did not appear. It has been said that "perhaps no woman that ever lived was so widely known and so widely mourned when she died as Mrs. Hayes."

In the evening I attended the G. A. R. meeting and saw the new officers installed. Called upon for a talk, I gave them an account of the death and services of General Devens. I go this afternoon to the Soldiers' Home at Sandusky.

January 9. Friday. — Attended a campfire in the great dining-room of the Soldiers and Sailors' Home where a large assemblage of the veterans and citizens of Sandusky were gathered. There was a good glee club. . . .

I spoke third and made the longest speech of the evening — perhaps fifty minutes. It was well received. I was content with this my first speech this new year.

January 11. Sunday. — I have this morning written many letters and am now square with correspondents. I decline all invitations on my table today: To Ohio banquet in New York next month; to Loyal Legion ditto, ditto; to Detroit Congregational Club.

Now I take up the sketch, etc., for Lucy — the darling! — for Mr. Howe's "Collections." A gossipy book, but enough of the solid to make its biography and history valuable.

[*Columbus*], *January 14.* — A good meeting of the board of trustees [of the State University]. Got a full resolution for forty thousand dollars for industrial training.

January 15. Thursday. — The [natural] gas going — gone. The event and the sorrow of the time. — To Auntie Austin's, Cleveland.

January 17. Saturday. — With Mrs. Herron to Fremont.

January 18. Sunday. — Steady winter weather. With Mrs. Herron all day, reading, etc. No church.

Private.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 19, 1891.

MY DEAR SENATOR:— This reply to your letter is for your own eyes alone. Governor Foster has been totally misinformed. His opinions on the situation here are *sheer nonsense*. This is an enthusiastic soldier town. To appoint McCulloch [postmaster] would *offend* the whole soldier sentiment and *would* make a *muss*. They are both fair men personally, but for months it has been generally understood that Mr. Loudenschlager would be appointed. The appointment of Mr. Loudenschlager would be satisfactory. He took no particular pains to pile up papers. Within a week or two industrious efforts have been made by other candidates. Petitions have been got up. People signed freely to get rid of importunity. Letters are given carelessly. But all will be well the moment that Loudenschlager is appointed.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE JOHN SHERMAN.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, January 22, 1891.

MY DEAR GENERAL:— It is and has been one of my vanities to keep engagements. I have practiced it. But now, for reasons I need not detail, I may not do it. You can't count on me absolutely. For this, as one principal reason, I did not venture to commit myself to come to the memorial service as the orator of the occasion. Again, I cannot, and ought not to undertake the principal — the formal address. If on thinking it over you find it worth while, I can speak ten or twelve minutes. Let Senator Hoar, or some companion of the [Loyal] Legion, deliver THE address, and let it be *so understood*. If this suits, you may be sure *I will come if I can* any day from February 24 to March 20 which you may select. Now, don't let this interfere with your

plans. You must drop me out if my suggestion in the least embarrasses.*

January 23. Friday. — Mrs. Herron returned this morning to her Cincinnati home after a visit we enjoyed so much. I accompanied her to Toledo. Birchard, Mary, and the fine boy met us at the station. After a few minutes the train started with my most prized friend among all the living. I went to the Triangle, dined, [and] remained until it was time for the evening train.

January 24. Saturday. — The church and the clergy do good; how much we do not know, probably cannot appreciate. Emerson says the sermon and the Sabbath are great gains for which we are indebted to the church. There are many others. The harm of a fixed professional priesthood is due to that principle which leads all men to exaggerate — to magnify their office. This leads them to increase the list of acts which they teach are sinful. This, when it increases their own power. In like manner they neglect to urge as essential virtues elements of character and conduct which tend to weaken their influence, or which do not enlarge it.

Touching temperance, there is in this country, at least, no half-way house between total abstinence and the wrong side of the question.

January 29. Thursday. — Finished a little talk for the Western Reserve University inauguration at Cleveland February 4. One idea in the line of my nihilism I get in, viz., that *property is a trust for the welfare of the public.*

FREMONT, OHIO, January 30, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR: — I am informed that it has been reported in the House of Representatives that (presumably by reason of my connection with the Ohio Wesleyan and the Western Reserve Universities) I am opposed to the permanent provision

* Draft of letter, unsigned and unaddressed, undoubtedly to the chairman of the committee at Boston engaged in arranging for public services in memory of General Charles Devens.

proposed by means of an annual tax for "the Ohio State University Fund." This is a total mistake. The higher education, has been neglected in Ohio. Industrial education is greatly neglected. I earnestly hope that every friend of either will support the measure.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE SAMUEL M. TAYLOR,
Columbus.

February 1. Sunday.—Walked as usual on the porch immediately after rising; usually walk half, two-thirds, or a full mile before breakfast. Do it at the rate of a mile in twenty minutes—three miles an hour.

Mr. Albritton is having a very successful "season" of awakening in our church. He fills the church full. All of the back-sliding or cold members seem to be interested, good numbers are crowding to the altar, and many give their names to the church.

SPIEGEL, FREMONT, OHIO, February 3, 1891.

DEAR MRS. HERRON:—I go this morning on the early train to Cleveland to the inauguration of President Thwing of the Western Reserve University. Various claims on my time have prevented me from writing notes on your brother Clinton's favorite essay—"Self-Reliance." This is not my first reading of it. But I did not before fully appreciate its wisdom—insight—intuition. The last half or one-third of it is in Emerson's best spirit. It is worth dwelling on. It does satisfy. In it he repeats his idea of the answer to the questions—*Whence?* *Whither?*—as clearly as such transcendent thoughts can be expressed in finite terms by finite beings.

What a *lift*—something more than rest—your presence and our sympathizing reading on high themes has given me! Thank you. The bell rings and I go in haste.

With all thanks.

MRS. HARRIET C. HERRON,
Cincinnati.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

February 6.—Returned from Cleveland on mail train reaching home soon after 4 P. M., after a fine visit at Aunty Austin's.

The burning question of our time in all civilized countries is the question of wealth and poverty, of capital and labor. Small progress has yet been made towards its solution. Why? Because ignorance and not intelligence has taken hold of it. The potent objection, the stronghold of the existing injustice is the futility, not to say folly, of the remedies which ignorance is able to contrive. Let men both intelligent and true to the interests of the laborer take up the problem. All fair-minded men admit that labor does not now get its fair share of the wealth it creates. All see that wealth is not justly distributed. Let education send into our society a body of laborers educated and intelligent — able to deal with this grave question.

February 7. Saturday.—Last Tuesday on early train to Cleveland, so as to attend the funeral of Captain C. H. Morgan of the Twenty-third O. V. I. Snow, wind, bitterly cold. . . . A short service and talk in the cold [cemetery] chapel. Captain Morgan's wife and mother and children from Buffalo present. At the grave I spoke in two sentences the comrades' sorrow, and their sympathy with the widow and orphans.

Wednesday at 11 A. M. [the] board of trustees of the college [met]. President Thwing all ready with docket and in a prompt and businesslike way dispatched all that came before us. He, the president, appeared to great advantage. A good executive.

[At] 3 P. M. in the new Young Men's Christian Association's hall, speaking by President Haydn, retiring, President Eliot, of Harvard, Mr. McGiffert, and others, and myself for the trustees. All passed off well.

Evening, 7:30, at the banquet at the Stillman. I spoke in a jocular vein; Dr. Haydn, with wit; President Thwing, soberly, impressively, and admirably.

February 10. Tuesday.—W. K. Rogers came as I was taking my walk on the porch before breakfast. He is [here] to have Mrs. Rogers buy with me Mrs. Webb's one-third of the Duluth block for twelve thousand dollars. It is no speculation

but seems best in order to give us full control of it. We talked over old times, Mr. Evarts' vanity, etc., and his kindness, good nature, and agreeable ways. Also of Windom.

February 11. Wednesday. — In the evening a rumor of General Sherman's death. He has had erysipelas for some days. All beneath my roof are full of admiration and affection for you, dear General. He is the most interesting and original character now living in the world.

February 12. Thursday. — The news from General Sherman is this morning: "The physicians have given up all hope. It is only a question of hours." Alas! — He was loved and admired by Lucy. He was my friend. Long before any other prominent man, he said: "Our next President should be one of the volunteers, a man of character, a soldier of approved record, a man like Governor Hayes of Ohio." He was with us on our famous trip to California and Puget Sound in 1880. What kind words he wrote about Lucy!

Spoke at 4 P. M. to a large audience of students, professors, and a few citizens at Oberlin. Passed off well.

Cleveland, February 14. Saturday. — General Sherman died at 1:50 P. M. Sent dispatch to Senator John Sherman — condolence. In the evening gave the *Leader* and [the] *Plain Dealer* one-third of a column interview on General Sherman.

February 15. Sunday. — At 2 P. M. at the Stillman. Presided and spoke on General Sherman to the Companions of the Loyal Legion. Read the letter on the death of his [son] Willie, 1863, at Memphis.

February 16. Monday. — About noon with Dr. —, General Barnett, and Henry Sherman left for New York to attend the funeral. Found the doctor a thoroughly read gentleman in war matters and in many other directions, and a most agreeable travelling companion. Sherman, nephew of the General, is intelligent and agreeable. The general [Barnett] is, as always, genial, sensible, and good.

February 19. Thursday. — Funeral. Met intimately the President; so full of appointment of Secretary of Treasury that

no room for anything else. Agreed with him as to the appointment of Foster; met Foster at his door. [Also] Ellis H. Roberts, of Utica.

Met at Sherman's Cleveland, Depew, Choate, Hawley, Manderson, *et al.* Choate had charge of me; Depew, of Cleveland. A spontaneous outpouring of people of all sorts and deep feeling manifested.

Left on the train with mourners about 7 P. M. "Nearer my God to Thee," "God be With us Till we Meet Again." [Greeted] by silent masses of men and women — the faces of all solemn, and full of sympathy, some weeping — at Lancaster, Harrisburg, and [other cities].

St. Louis, February 21. Saturday. — Father Tom Sherman [here]. Governor Stannard invited General Schofield and his son-in-law to dinner with me at his fine homelike home.

February 23. Monday. — Left St. Louis with funeral party Saturday evening. Reached Columbus at 1 P. M. yesterday. Home today via Cleveland.

March 3. — To Columbus. Met with the university board. In the evening addressed finance committee of Senate in favor of one-twentieth mill act for the Ohio State University.

March 6. Friday. — Home with Laura.

March 9. Monday. — "To know all would be to pardon all," is a French proverb. I would add, "*God knows all.*" Spent the day getting up my talk on Devens. It is rather unsatisfactory. Laura aided me in the search for facts, and comment in the Boston press and by Boston men.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, March 10, 1891.

MY DEAR THOMAS:— I received from you or some other friend a "Washington letter to Philadelphia *Press*" on the President's expenses. It is carefully written and *seems* to be trustworthy. So far as I am concerned it is in a good spirit, but is totally misinformed as to the result.

The truth is, that having been adopted by my Uncle Birchard when quite young, as *he* had been adopted by my father when left an orphan as I was, I never was under the necessity to study economy. He required me at school to keep an account of my expenses, and occasionally examined it. But he never, that I recall, found fault with me on the score of extravagance. I never received in any office more than I expended. Rarely as much. Possibly in the city solicitor's office of Cincinnati I received as much as I spent, and about as much in the Presidency. As governor and as Member of Congress, and in the army, I always spent more than I received. My habits were not expensive, and my family never lacked carefulness, but we had enough to warrant it and we lived freely, travelled always a good deal, and did not pinch ourselves in any respect.

As to the Presidency, this was the situation: We were opposed to the use of wines and liquors in our household. We continued at Washington the habits of our Ohio home. A bright and persistent correspondent, who failed to get the office he wanted, attacked us savagely on all occasions. He started many ill-natured stories showing that we were too economical, and repeatedly charged that the total abstinence rule at the White House was due to a desire to save expenses. We did nothing that even *seemed* to warrant this attack. We spent in hospitality, charities, and generous living the whole amount. My belief is, that no others ever spent as much in the White House as we did. Many old congressmen (Mr. Stevens, Fernando Wood, and, I think, S. S. Cox) said repeatedly that they had known and heard of no one who entertained as much. Mrs. Hayes took pains always to have young ladies as guests from all parts of the country, South as well as North. Special entertainments were frequent. And the regular routine of affairs was made exceptionally brilliant and expensive. Many new dinners and entertainments were added to the "of course" affairs. Mrs. Hayes was busy with her whole-hearted energy in looking up the needy.

When we left Washington a story was started that I had saved about twenty thousand dollars during my term. This was shown by the reduction of my indebtedness to that amount.

This had an appearance of truth, and was perhaps derived from one of the family. But on looking up affairs at home it turned out that a large part of this reduction of my debts was from collections on real estate sales made before I left home. I left Washington with less than one thousand dollars.

If you find who the correspondent is, and that he is a fair-minded man, as I think he is, you may, if it seems sensible to do so, talk this matter up with him. But do not publish this letter, which is for your information. The thing is not important *now*. I am not blamed by any person on the score of economy so far as I know.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE THOMAS DONALDSON,
Philadelphia.

March 22. Sunday. — Last evening at 7 P. M. returned with Rutherford from the Boston trip. Cousin Charlotte Birchard DeWitt came with us. Found all well at home.

Our Boston visit, trip, the Devens memorial, and all were most gratifying in all respects. . . . [We] reached Boston Wednesday afternoon. [Were] met by General Carse, Colonel Rand, Colonel Livermore, Colonel Pope, General Fairchild. Taken to the Vendome. Cordial welcome by these friends and all very agreeable. Evening dined at the Algonquin Club by Colonel Rand. Present, Colonel Rand, General Carse, General Martin, Mr. W. D. Howells, Colonel Pope, General Fairchild, R. P. Hayes.

[On the] 19th, Thursday, Webb, Mr. Cutler, General Schurz and son Carl came. Dined, or lunched rather, with Howells, Elinor, John, Mildred, and John G. Mitchell, Jr. Mr. Beard, Senator Hoar, and many others called. Drove with General Carse and Colonel Rand. In the evening the Music Hall was crowded with distinguished people: governors, judges, lawyers, *et al.* Decorations and proceedings fitting. Rev. Dr. [Phillips] Brooks prays at a rushing pace—a real “spurt”—but the language and matter are both choice. My piece was well enough—better than I anticipated..

After, visited the Thursday Evening Club. Abbott Lawrence, Charles Francis Adams, Jr., Mr. Atkinson, etc., etc. Also the Algonquin. A dinner with Carse, Rand, Schurz, Nicholson, etc., etc. Chancellorsville well fought over; like *our Shiloh*.

March 20 [Friday], with Carse visited the post-office — a capital institution. General Carse ought to be Postmaster-General. I predicted it to him — two years hence.

March 23. Monday. — [On the] 20th [of] March at Boston, with General Carse and Colonel Rand, called on Governor Russell. A young, cheery, hopeful, gentlemanly man — said to be of sound and level head — with a future. How strange. The ancient commonwealth, the home of conservative opinion and conduct, with its boy governor! But I liked him — predicted good things. I have hopes for him. God bless him! How my heart goes out to promising clean young fellows!

Tried hot lemonade with a little whiskey to throw off a cold. It probably does help.

Mrs. Albritton, Bristol, Thraves, Dewitt aid Fanny with her lace curtains for dining-room.

March 24. Tuesday. — I hear of the death of General J. C. Lee, of Toledo. He was one of the acquaintances with whom I had much interesting intercourse, without great intimacy. We ran together twice, I for governor and he for lieutenant-governor. He was a strong and able speaker — too diffuse, too "long-winded," but often eloquent, forcible, and effective. He is about sixty-three years of age — yes, sixty-three in January. We have been interested together in the Historical and Monumental Association of the Maumee Valley. He was the life and soul of the body. As secretary he did its whole work. Will it survive him? — Doubtful.

March 25. — A letter from Newton M. Anderson, of the Cleveland University School, invites me to speak on the 13th [of] April, at the opening — Monday evening. The school is unique. Taking boys at ten, keeping them eight years, it tries to develop and train the whole man — body, mind, moral nature; habits, manners, temper; — to make healthy, brave, graceful, industrious as well as learned and intellectual men — skilled in

manly games and exercises, skilled in manual labor, fit for the places they are to fill in life.

Our American society is changing, studying, thinking. The man of the future is not [to] be an owner of privileges above his fellows by inheritance of rank, or property, or special privileges. He may not be. The man of the future is to stand where his gifts, his powers, his merits place him. Let him be so trained that he can and will prefer to stand alone.

March 27. Friday. — [Weather] too bad to attend funeral of General Lee. Wrote a few thoughts for the University School opening at Cleveland. Theme, a well-rounded education, or education that fits the young for life and its duties.

SPIEGEL, March 28, 1891.

MY DEAR FRIEND: — Your letter of the 23d is before me. I am still hoping for Mrs. Smith's recovery. How lasting some wounds are! I can't put aside some dates. Twenty-one months ago today we bore away my precious wife to her long home. My eyes grow dim as the date is read at the top of this page. But *she was — she is* precious.

God bless you!

Ever sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

P. S. — My love to Mrs. Smith and do get rid of *too much business — not of ALL.* — H.

HONORABLE WILLIAM HENRY SMITH.

March 31. Tuesday. — To Columbus about 11 A. M. Met Captain Cope at his office, also Mr. Wing. It was arranged that I should meet them at 7:30 P. M. to go before the House committee on the division of the fund for agricultural and mechanical colleges recently adopted. Wilberforce, an institution of the African Methodist Episcopal Church for colored students, claims half the fund. [At] 7:30 P. M. met President Mitchell,

a three-fourths white man, Maxwell, ditto, before the committee. Captain Cope made a good speech. I spoke about as usual.

COLUMBUS, April 1, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR:—Whatever the event of the present affair—and it ought not to be in favor of your claim—I feel satisfied that *Ohio can and ought* to aid you to *equip and support* an industrial department at Wilberforce. I will gladly coöperate with you in this. It will yield more than your equitable share of the Morrill Act. Please *think of this seriously*.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

PRESIDENT MITCHELL.

FREMONT, April —, 1891.

MY DEAR COLONEL:—It is very gratifying to be assured that the Companions of Massachusetts are satisfied with the part in the ceremonies in memory of General Devens that fell to me. The affair as planned and carried out by your commandery was so admirable that failure by others would have been a specially regrettable circumstance. May I not venture to congratulate you on your personal share in the success of the occasion? Your skilful guiding hand was surely everywhere, but so adroitly hidden that the affair seemed to have grown to perfection by its own sweet will. With all brotherly regard to General Carse and all Companions.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

COLONEL A. A. RAND,
Boston.

April 4. Saturday.—President Scott, of Ohio State University, the lecturer S. P. Leland, of Chicago, and Rev. Mr. Albritton dined with us. President Scott prefers to leave the presidency of the university; but if he is to remain wants it settled soon. We are now at the forks of the road. We are

likely to have a good endowment under the one-twentieth mill act and ought to mature a system of instruction and a general policy for the future. We agree entirely about this. I advise a meeting of the board as soon as the Legislature has acted on all measures — on appropriations, etc., etc. At this meeting we ought to settle the question of the presidency for some years to come. If it is deemed best to insist on President Scott, we should relieve him from other duties. Dr. Orton is my choice. But there seems no prospect of getting him to accept.

April 5. Sunday. — Talked over the presidency for the Ohio State University with President Scott. We agree that Gladden, Orton, and Tuttle are the preferred names. Can we get them? Or any of them?

April 7. Tuesday. — Our G. A. R. memorial meeting at Toledo — twenty-fifth anniversary — last evening was very successful. I spoke my “piece” with unction. The reporter says “delivered splendidly.”

April 10. Friday. — Dr. Curry is earnest and active as to the work of the Slater Board. He speaks of a meeting in New York, May 18. I will be disposed to support him throughout. He is able, wise, zealous.

My next speech is for the G. A. R. State Encampment. I must patch carefully together the best things I have said on the war — the *ideas* of the war, the comradeship, the results, especially *peace*.

April 11. Saturday. — Read “Cymbeline” — the Hayes (“Haie”) incident in the lane when the Britons turned on the Romans and restored their fortunes.

April 13. Monday. — To Cleveland to speak in the evening at the opening of the University School. The affair was in every way gratifying. The parents of Newton M. Anderson, the principal of the school, were present, and of course very happy to witness the triumph and honors he has won.

The audience was intelligent and enthusiastic. My part in it was well received.

April 15. Wednesday. — Reached Fremont at 4:30 P. M. [In Cleveland] called on General Leggett. He confirms my recollection of the General Johnston affair in connection with General Johnston's proposed invitation into my Cabinet, viz., that General Leggett found at Richmond that General Johnston's character and conduct were patriotic and upright, but that some associations and connections were such that it might be embarrassing to him and to me to offer him the place.

The general [Leggett] has suffered seriously from a cold taken the day of General Sherman's funeral in New York. I found myself cold and got out of the carriage and walked perhaps a half mile or more. I asked the Secretary of War to join me after I had gone a few squares and he (Mr. Proctor) did so gladly.

April 16. Thursday. — Emerson says: "Through the years and the centuries, through evil agents, through toys and atoms, a great and beneficent tendency irresistibly streams."

What Mr. Emerson calls a "beneficent and irresistible tendency," the simple and sincere mind will continue still to call by the old Saxon word which signifies the Supreme, Eternal Being, God.

April 17. Friday. — Planted a mountain holly about four and a half feet high on our lot southwest of the monument — one of a large number given me by Admiral Ammen twelve years ago and planted in Spiegel Grove. Also a beautiful Japanese evergreen, with a lovely golden hue — one of a great number of Japanese trees and shrubs sent me by our consul some ten or twelve years ago. It is more than seven feet high.

SPIEGEL GROVE, April 17, 1891.

My DEAR SIR:— In reply to your question as to the use of wine at public and large private dinners, I am not confident that there is any marked decline in the practice of placing it on the table at such banquets. But if my observation is correct, the number of those who decline to partake of it is increasing, and

the number of those who drink to intoxication, even in the slightest degree, is less than it was a few years ago.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

EDWARD W. BOK,

Ladies' Home Journal.

April 19. Sunday. — Have read Montaigne and Dr. Curry's "Gladstone" the past week. Am to speak in Steubenville Tuesday week. Will patch up a soldier speech.

In substance Montaigne says: The greatest piece of good fortune for a man is "to be born at the right time."

April 20. Monday. — Read about Macaulay; finished his essay on "Church and State" in which he uses up Gladstone. The Grand Old Man, with his almost sixty years of conspicuous public life, is nearer right now on the vital questions than ever before. He is not a model of clearness and force in his style. Macaulay finds him, more than fifty years ago, eloquent, stately, grave, and religious, but lacking in definiteness, logic, and other great qualities.

April 21. Tuesday. — Reading "The Light of the World" by Edwin Arnold, and finished preparation for G. A. R. speech.

April 22. Wednesday. — Clark Waggoner, an honest and intelligent man, an earnest worker in honest politics, with no zealous watchfulness or tact in behalf of his own promotion or pocket, needs a place. He is now nearly seventy-one. I do what I can. The fates seem against him. He called today and lunched with us.

April 23. Thursday. — This morning finished the poem of Christ's life on earth. Mary Magdalene the sinner becomes angelic. The story seems more mythical, less real and authentic, as told here.

April 24. Friday. — Received a dispatch from R. F. Grundy, Baltimore, of the death of his father Richard Grundy. He was formerly in charge of the lunatic asylum at Dayton, afterwards

at Athens. A very able, wise, and skilful man in his profession, and of large general ability and culture. I sent a dispatch of condolence and appreciation. He was one of the friends made in public life, when I was governor of Ohio, with whom my relations were intimate.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 24, 1891.

MY DEAR SIR:—If I can do anything for our old friend Charley Cist, I will gladly do it. You express precisely my opinion and feelings about him, and I am obliged to you for giving me an opportunity to unite with you in his behalf. I will immediately write to Mr. McGuffey in explicit terms recommending the course you suggest.

Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

HONORABLE GEORGE HOADLY.

SPIEGEL GROVE, FREMONT, OHIO, April 24, 1891,

MY DEAR SIR:—I learn by letter from Governor Hoadly that there is a movement to admit to the Old Men's Home of Cincinnati my old friend, Charles E. Cist. I believe I am fully informed of the unfortunate facts in his life. Nevertheless I think of him as a good man. He fell under circumstances of great temptation. Who of us has not? The home is an excellent charity. If I were in charge of it I would prove the excellence and genuineness of its charity by extending its benefits to Charley Cist.

In the most explicit and decided terms I recommend his admission to the home.

With all regard. Sincerely,

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

MR. ALEXANDER H. MCGUFFEY,
Cincinnati.

THE END.

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